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COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG
ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

ON

S. 1832

A BILL TO AMEND THE IMMIGRATION ACT OF
OCTOBER 16, 1918, AS AMENDED

PART 2

SEPTEMBER 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 28, AND 29, 1949

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 11 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Herbert R. O'Connor presiding.

Present: Senator O'Connor (presiding).

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

Senator O'CONNOR. The hearing will come to order.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to present our witness, Mr. Malkin.

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you raise your right hand?

In the presence of Almighty God, do you swear that the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.¹

TESTIMONY OF MAURICE MALKIN, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Senator O'CONNOR. For the record, will you give your full name?

Mr. MALKIN. My name is Maurice Malkin.

Senator O'CONNOR. What is your address?

Mr. MALKIN. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. In order to keep the record straight, may I insert the statement in the record that this is a continuation of the hearing on S. 1832 which was introduced by Senator McCarran and is for the purpose of excluding and deporting subversive aliens.

Senator O'CONNOR. At the request of the chairman of the committee I am presiding, and am very pleased to have you submit any statement you desire to submit. The members of the staff of the committee will then conduct the interrogation.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Malkin, I understand you have a prepared statement you would like to read at this time.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. At the beginning of my statement, I would like to give a short biographical sketch of myself, indicating where I was born, when I came to the United States, and my former experience.

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

Mr. ARENS. Please proceed.

Mr. MALKIN. I was born in Minsk, Russia, on November 10, 1900. In 1914, I came to the United States with my parents. Thereafter, I became associated with the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World. In 1919, I helped organize and was a charter member of the Communist Party of the United States. Thereafter, I associated myself actively with the Communist Party's activities in this country until 1936 and the beginning of 1937, when I left the party.

Mr. ARENS. By the way, how did you happen to break with the party?

Mr. MALKIN. I broke with the party because I disagreed with Moscow dictating to us what to do in this country. That actually was the reason.

Mr. ARENS. When did you break with the party?

Mr. MALKIN. At the end of 1936 and the beginning of 1937.

I believe that the Communist Party presents a real and continuing threat to our form of government. Since I left the party, I have done what I can to expose the Communist Party in the United States for what it is—a revolutionary foreign party whose aim is to destroy our freedom and democratic institutions by force and violence.

The Communist Party of the United States was organized and has been led by aliens since its inception in 1919. The alien organizational efforts are directed through such channels as the foreign-language groups such as the Russian Federation in the Socialist Party and the Ukranian, Italian, Jewish, Bulgarian, and other language federations and groups.

The backbone of the original Communist Party was the Russian Federation. They were the most active in immediately alining themselves with the Lenin-Trotsky Bolsheviks of 1917.

The various language federations of the Socialist Party of the United States were invited to form the Communist Party by Ludwig A. C. K. Martens, then the unofficial Soviet Ambassador to the United States. He was deported from the United States in 1920 as persona non grata.

Since Martens' deportation, the Communist Party in the United States has been directed by the Comintern in Moscow. Every movement of the front organization that has been organized since then has been directed by the Comintern directly through its representatives to the United States or through the Communist Party leaders who take orders from the Moscow representatives.

One such Communist-front organization is the American Slav Congress, which was conceived and organized by the Comintern. Its foundation was laid by B. K. Gebert as early as 1930 through the Polonia Society and other Communist-front organizations which later merged into the Slav Congress with the Ukranian-American Fraternal Society, headed by Mike Tkach, charter member of the Communist Party, one of the officials of the Ukranian Daily News, and a national committee member of the International Workers Order, representing the Ukranian Fraternal Society in the IWO.

Mr. DEKOM. May I interrupt you with a question?

You named B. K. Gebert.

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; he is in Poland at the present time, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he an official of the Polish Government?

Mr. MALKIN. Mr. Gebert at the present time is in charge of all trade-unions in Poland under Comintern direction.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he not a delegate to the World Federation of Trade Unions in Paris?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you identify the World Federation of Trade Unions?

Mr. MALKIN. The World Federation of Trade Unions was conceived, organized, and the foundation laid by the Profintern. In English that means the Red International of Labor Unions, whose headquarters have always been at Moscow. They were organized in 1920-21, with the cooperation of the American delegates, one of whom was William Z. Foster.

Mr. DEKOM. Is Mr. Gebert an American citizen?

Mr. MALKIN. Gebert was never an American citizen. He has always considered himself a citizen of Poland. To my knowledge, he never even bothered declaring his intention of becoming a citizen.

Mr. DEKOM. How long was he in the United States before he returned to Poland?

Mr. MALKIN. I knew Mr. Gebert from about 1919 to about 1939 or 1940.

Mr. DEKOM. Did he go back to Poland on the ship *Batory*?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, he did.

Mr. Gebert was a member of the central executive committee of the American Communist Party since its inception in the United States.

Mr. DEKOM. When was that?

Mr. MALKIN. From 1919 up to the time I left the party, to my knowledge. I worked with Gebert. He was district organizer in Chicago when I was organizational secretary under Gebert.

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you continue, please?

Mr. MALKIN. The Russian-American Fraternal Society was headed by Daniel Kasustchik. This Daniel Kasustchik, to my knowledge, has been a member of the party since 1919. He was one of the leaders of the original Bolshevik group in the United States. He is at present one of the leaders of the Slav Congress; in fact, one of the executive committee members, together with Mike Tkach and other people whom I will name. He is also one of the leaders of the International Workers Order, representing the Russian Fraternal Society.

In 1943, Gebert united a number of the pro-Communist Slav organizations into the organization which is called the American Slav Congress. Leo Krzycki, a leader in Communist front organizations among the Polish population, was also instrumental in establishing the American Slav Congress, as was George Pirinsky, who was recently ordered deported by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for being a Communist. Pirinsky is free on bail pending an appeal.

The Communist Party is able to mold the opinions and sympathies of aliens in this country through its fronts, like the one mentioned above, and through its control of foreign-language papers such as the *Ruski Golos*, the Russian daily, the *Glos Ludowy*, a Polish paper,

and various other foreign language papers published throughout the country in all foreign languages.

Mr. ARENS. You say that the Communist Party is able to wield influence over the minds of aliens. How extensive is the influence of communism among the aliens and foreign language groups?

Mr. MALKIN. It is quite extensive because the Communists control quite a few of these alien fraternal and sickness and death benefit societies, singing choruses, gymnastic societies, and also by publishing daily, weekly, and monthly organs in foreign languages.

Mr. ARENS. How many organizations among foreign language groups, in your judgment, are controlled by Communists?

Mr. MALKIN. I would say quite a few. I cannot tell you exactly the number, but they have control in practically every nationality group: Hungarian, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Finnish, and Jewish; practically in every foreign-language group.

Mr. ARENS. What you mean is that they do have groups within each of the nationality units, but you don't mean to testify here that they control all persons of each nationality group?

Mr. MALKIN. In some groups they might control a big faction of those groups. There would be quite a few of the Communists within the group who would take control of it and who are the heads of it. In some of these groups the Communists are not in control, but they do have quite an influence.

Mr. ARENS. I wonder if you could be a little more specific, Mr. Malkin, in telling us the total number of the members of the groups that are controlled by Communists, so that we would have perhaps a little better understanding of the extent and scope of Communist control in foreign language organizations?

Mr. MALKIN. For instance, in the Jewish group, the Communists, to my estimation, control approximately—and by control I mean have influence over—between 150,000 to 200,000 as a minimum in the United States. That is done through its control of the International Workers Order and various Jewish-controlled unions, like the furriers union in New York and other sections of the needle trades industry throughout the country.

Mr. ARENS. To be just a little more specific still, I would like to pose a hypothetical situation and then ask you a question about it. Let us say that there is an organization of 10,000 persons predominantly of foreign birth. Is it your testimony that the persons in the group are led by the Communists, or that the organization itself is used by the Communists for direction and control? In other words, the Communists are the rudder of the group; is that what you mean?

Mr. MALKIN. That is correct; yes, sir. The Communists actually are what you would call the leadership of the group, and they wield influence due to the fact that they form the leadership. I would not say that the majority of the members are Communists.

Mr. ARENS. Your testimony, then—and I am not trying to put words in your mouth, I am only trying to clarify the concept here—is that a number of these foreign-language groups are directed and controlled by the Communists, which does not necessarily mean that all of the membership of the group is Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. That is true, of course.

Mr. DEKOM. How do the Communists gain control so easily?

Mr. MALKIN. The Communists gain control, whether it be a trade-union or a fraternal organization, by having what they call something like military discipline and voting in groups and blocks.

For instance, let's take a local union. It might have a membership of 12,000, but only about 300 of 400 will come to regular meetings. Now, amongst those 400 there will be, we will say, 100 Communists, but they vote in a block like a disciplined group. By voting in that group they are able to wield influence over the others. Not only that, but the Communists have got into the habit of dragging out the meetings until 12 o'clock or 1 o'clock at night and until such a time that other members who are not so much interested in the organization, and who are just card-carrying members, go home, being tired of having the meeting dragged out. But the Communists remain there until the last moment and are able to take control by voting in blocks.

Mr. ARENS. How do you distinguish between a foreign-language group composed largely of foreign-born persons and other groups, from the standpoint of susceptibility to Communist control and domination? I noticed, if I may make an observation, that you have testified to the effect that Communists are particularly active and particularly powerful among foreign-language groups.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How do you account for that? What is your analysis of that situation?

Mr. MALKIN. My analysis of that is that an American group, not a foreign-language-speaking group, is able to read the American press, the American literature, the American history, and is able to mold its opinion more toward the American-history side. They are able to read both sides of the question. They will read the Soviet side of the question and they will read the American side of the question. They will be convinced more by the American part of the question than they will be by the foreign-language part of the question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information, Mr. Malkin, respecting the number of foreign-language publications in the United States which are or were in the past under Communist control and domination?

Mr. MALKIN. I have not, but I could get it.

Mr. ARENS. Will you be kind enough, Mr. Malkin, when you return to your office or your home, to assemble that information in memorandum form and submit it to the subcommittee?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; I will.

Mr. ARENS. Will you accompany that with a statement that these papers are, in your judgment, on the basis of your background and experience, Communist controlled and dominated?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

(The material is as follows:)

FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS

The following is a partial list of the Communist publications amongst the foreign language press in the United States:

Parvor: An Armenian weekly.

Radnicki Glasnik: A Croatian language daily located at 1629 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Saznanie (Knowledge): Bulgarian language weekly. Official Communist Party publication.

Schodeni Visti: Ukranian Daily News. Official Communist Party organ, New York City.

Russki Golos (Russian Voice): Russian daily under Communist Party influence.

Narodni Glasnik: Croatian weekly. Published by Communist Party.

Novy Mir: Official weekly of the Russian section of the American Communist Party. Official publication of the International Workers Order. Published in New York City.

New York Tyd: Finnish language paper under Communist domination.

Uus Ilm (The New World): Esthonian language weekly.

Laisve: A Lithuanian daily. Published at 46 Ten Eyck Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Official party publication in the Lithuanian language.

Ludovny Dennik: Slovak daily published at 1510 West Eighteenth Street, Chicago, Ill.

Rovnost Ludu: Slovak daily published at 1510 West Eighteenth Street, Chicago, Ill.

Pravda Weekly.

L'Unita Del Popolo: Italian. Published in New York City.

Naleben: Published in New York City by the Communist Soviet front "The Icor."

Vida Obrera (Workers Life): Semimonthly. Communist initiated and controlled.

Vanguardia: A Portuguese Communist Party paper.

Vienybe: A Lithuanian triweekly. Communist initiated and controlled.

Toveri (Comrade): Finnish Communist Party section weekly.

Tyolaisnainen (The Working Woman): Finnish weekly. Communist initiated and controlled.

Tyomis (The Worker): Finnish Communist Party daily.

Obrana: Communist controlled Czech weekly published at 3624 West Twenty-sixth Street, Chicago, Ill.

Desteptarea: Rumanian weekly. Published at 6527 Russell Street, Detroit, Mich.

Greek American Tribune: Published in New York City.

Eteenpain: Official organ of the Finnish Federation of the Communist Party of the United States of America. Published at 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City. Communist headquarters.

Fraternal Outlook: Published by the International Workers Order at 80 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Morning Freiheit: Jewish Communist daily. Published at 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City.

Deutsche Amerikaner (German American): Published at 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City.

Glos Ludowy: Polish daily. Official Communist Party publication.

The Communist Party has either under its full control or influence between 200 and 250 foreign-language periodicals in daily, weekly, and monthly publications throughout the United States. These also include trade-union publications and fraternal foreign-language publications, etc.

Senator O'CONOR. Mr. Malkin, did your work, while you were an active member of the party, bring you in direct contact with this method of operation?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Senator O'CONOR. As a member of the party, did you have direct contact along the lines indicated by the last questions which have been propounded to you?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. As an organizer, and as a member of the party, I used to have direct contact with these papers, for this reason, I will give you an illustration:

If I am an organizer of a certain territory and a Communist paper is within my territory, I would be in full charge of that paper. I would give orders to the others, the editor of that paper, as to what to publish and as to what they should not publish.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you name some of those papers?

Mr. MALKIN. The Ukrainian Daily News.

Mr. DEKOM. The editor is Mike Tkach?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

There used to be a paper called the Novy Mir, a Russian paper. The Russki Golos was not controlled by the Communist Party at that time, but its sympathies have always been toward the Soviet Union.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you familiar with the Croatian newspaper, Narodni Glasnik, published in Pittsburgh?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. It is edited by an old friend of mine by the name of Toni Minerich.

Mr. DEKOM. I wonder if you would enlarge on the matter of this editor of the newspaper Narodni Glasnik?

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you just give us some detail, please?

Mr. MALKIN. Toni Minerich has been a member of the party, to my knowledge from personal contact with him, since 1925. He was originally a coal miner.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is he an American citizen?

Mr. MALKIN. I recall that he was naturalized in 1927 in the Pennsylvania district. I have known Toni Minerich for years as a party member. I worked with him in the party and also with his coworker Borich.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that Frank Borich?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he now under deportation order?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, that is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not Toni Minerich was an official of the Young Communist League?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, a member of the National Executive Committee.

Mr. DEKOM. And an organizer?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, that is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not he has ever been in prison?

Mr. MALKIN. He was arrested, I think, in Pittsburgh or in Philadelphia for disorderly conduct, having a meeting without a permit, or something of that kind.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he active in the organization of the American Slav Congress?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he one of the original organizers?

Mr. MALKIN. He was one of those; yes. He was from the Croatian division.

Mr. DEKOM. There are a number of newspapers published in Detroit at 5856 Chene Street, including Glos Ludowy, which you have identified as a Communist paper. Can you state whether the Narodna Volya published there is a Communist paper, too?

Mr. MALKIN. The Narodna Volya is the original Russian name of the terrorist group that Lenin's brother¹ was hanged for his participation in the assassination of Czar Alexander in 1880. Narodna Volya was also the name of their paper. That is Pirinsky's paper.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it a Bulgarian paper?

Mr. MALKIN. It is a Bulgarian paper.

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you continue with explaining the details of your credentials?

¹ Alexander Lenin (Ulianov).

Mr. MALKIN. During my activity in the party, I used to come in contact with a lot of these newspapers. There used to be a paper called the Uj Elöre of which Peters was in charge of at one time.

Senator O'CONNOR. We have heard a lot about him.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you identify him further?

Mr. MALKIN. I testified in Peters' deportation hearing and identified him in New York.

Mr. DEKOM. You identified him as what?

Mr. MALKIN. J. Peters was born in Hungary. He was active in the Hungarian revolution in 1919.

Mr. DEKOM. That was the Communist revolution?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right; under Béla Kun.

He came to the United States with another person called Emil Gardos. He started to work, and I met him for the first time in 1923 or 1924. He was later in charge of all of the underground apparatus of the organization, the hush-hush organization of the party, and the espionage that the party did for the Soviet Union in this country. He collaborated with the Central Control Commission and the resident GPU agents in this country, some of whom I will name later in my statement. They were later known as NKVD.

The foreign-language newspapers published on behalf of the Communist Party are governed by a policy laid down in the first section of conditions for admission to the Communist International, which were adopted by the Second World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1920. That first section provides as follows:

SECTION 1. The general propaganda and agitation should bear a real Communist character and should correspond to the program and decisions of the Third International. The entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula, it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank-and-file workingman and workingwoman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press day by day.

All periodicals and other publications, as well as all party publications and editions, are subject to the control of the presidium of the party, independently of whether the party is legal or illegal. It should in no way be permitted that the publishers abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the party.

Wherever the followers of the Third International have access, and whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal, whether the columns of newspapers, labor meetings, or cooperatives, it is indispensable for them not only to denounce the bourgeoisie but also its assistants and agents, reformists of every color and shape.

In order that the above rules and conditions be carried out, the Communist International has always maintained representatives in the United States, some of whom enter the country illegally and on false passports.

The following agents have been here under the conditions and during the stated period for the purpose mentioned above and to keep the aliens in line with Moscow's political and diplomatic moves, whether on a Soviet national scale, or whether on its international diplomatic fronts:

The first agent I want to mention here is Ludwig A. C. K. Martens. He was here from 1918 to 1920. He was the unofficial Soviet Ambassador to the United States, and the original organizer of the Com-

unist Party in the United States. He performed the wedding of the American party with the Communist International.

Another agent who was here was a person by the name of Valetzky. He was here in 1922.

The third agent was John Pepper, alias Schwartz, alias Joseph Pogany. He was one of the leaders of the Hungarian revolution in 1919, and was sent here in 1923 as a Comintern representative to the American party.

Pepper came back in 1928 and 1929, until he was expelled and recalled by Moscow, because he had alined himself with the Bukharin faction in Russia against Stalin.

Another one is P. Green. He called himself P. Green, but his real name is Gussev. He was here in 1925 and in 1926.

Another one who was here was a man by the name of Ewart. He went under the name of Brown. He was a member of the Communist Party of Germany, and was sent here by the Comintern in 1926 and 1927.

Another agent who was here was one by the name of Jenks. He was here in 1931 as a representative of the Comintern.

After him came a person by the name of F. Brown, that is, he called himself Brown, but his real name was Alpi.

Morigni was here from 1931 to 1939. He left this country after my testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee naming him as one of the Soviet agents.

Mr. ARENS. Is your testimony with respect to these agents you say have been sent into the country at various times based upon your experience, observation, knowledge, and experience?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. That is as a former Communist Party official?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

The next representative to the United States was a person by the name of Harry Pollitt, a member of the executive committee of the British Communist Party. He was here from 1933 to 1934, helping to direct the San Francisco general strike with Harry Bridges.

To help him in this work was Mrs. Kuusinen. She is the wife of Kuusinen¹ who was named Premier of Finland during the Finnish-Russian War of 1940-41, by the Comintern. She is one of the leaders of the Communist Party in Finland now.

In 1938 and 1939 there was another representative here by the name of Dengal.

The Young Communist International also sent its representative to the United States to direct the Young Communist League. That is the youth organization of the Communist Party.

Amongst those here during different periods was one by the name of Rust, and another one who called himself by the name of Bob.

Most of the people whom I have named came here under fictitious or false passports.

Mr. ARENS. How did they get those fictitious or false passports?

Mr. MALKIN. To my knowledge, although I was never there—I found this out while being in the party through various channels in the party—the passports were made from original American pass-

¹ Otto Kuusinen.

ports, or from passports of Americans who came to the Lenin School, and from other sources which I will enumerate in my statement.

Mr. DEKOM. I notice that all of the Comintern representatives are aliens. Is it customary to send aliens to run the American Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right. They will never send an American because an American might work with the other fellows and not carry out the wishes of the Comintern.

There was another representative who came here in 1938 to the World Youth Congress from France. I named him before the Un-American Activities Committee and Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt practically called me a liar. He is one whom the French Communist Party was tickled to death to get rid of. He was a friend of Ercoli, alias Togliatti,¹ the leader of the Italian party. His name is Prof. Ambrosio Donini. In 1946 and 1947, during the Italian elections, the Di Gasperi government recalled Professor Donini from his position as Ambassador to one of the European countries because of his membership in the Communist Party.

This same Donini was CI Rep and came as a delegate to the World Youth Congress which was then held at Schenectady.

Since its inception in the United States, the United States party has been one of the main sources of espionage for the Soviet Government through the information that the membership gathers in industrial units, armament factories, naval shipyards, et cetera.

Besides having the regular party members gather that information, the Soviet Government established regular espionage apparatus through the Soviet Embassy, the Amtorg, trading agencies, purchasing missions, and the United Nations.

The following are but a few of the agents who have been here and who have done their work loyally for the Soviet Government:

Alexander Karen was one of the resident GPU agents in the United States who was here from 1928 up to 1933.

Valentin Markin was here from 1933 to 1938, and was a regular resident GPU agent in the United States. He was killed in New York mysteriously. No one ever found out how he was killed. They found him dead; that is all.

Colonel Bykov was here from 1938 to 1940. Through information that I have received, which I have checked, he was one of those who were instrumental, in my opinion, in killing General Krivitsky.

Mr. ARENS. What first-hand information do you have on that?

Mr. MALKIN. I don't know whether the information is first-hand or second-hand but I have checked and double-checked with quite a few of my former comrades and other people.

Colonel Bykov was actually in charge of the GPU during that period and he was actually the type to do the job. He was a hatchet man. He was actually the type to do the job if no one else could do it.

Another GPU chief in the United States was Boris Shpak.

At the present time Moscow and the Communist Party in the United States are concentrating a great deal on the United Nations.

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, upon what do you base that statement?

Mr. MALKIN. I base that statement on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, on the policy of the party, on the language of the Daily

¹ Palmiro Togliatti.

Worker, the language in the party press, and on the activities of the party.

Senator O'CONNOR. Have you been keeping in touch with those activities?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

That is done, for example, by placing people on the United Nations staff such as General Victor Yakhontoff, who has supported the Communist front through the Friends of the Soviet Union. I think that organization is out of existence now. In the early thirties he used to speak at their meetings.

He was always a member of dozens of Communist front organizations. Every time the Soviet Union wanted to put up some kind of a front for the defense of the Soviet Union, or for the defense of their mock trials that they were carrying on in 1936 and 1937, one of those used to put up the front was General Yakhontoff. He claimed he was a former Russian general in the Czar's army.

Mr. ARENS. What is Yakhontoff's official status in the United Nations?

Mr. MALKIN. He is employed by them.

Mr. ARENS. But you don't know in what capacity?

Mr. MALKIN. I don't.

I used to see General Yakhontoff going in and out of the Communist Party headquarters. I cannot place him as a member of the party, but to go in and out of the Communist Party headquarters you have to be a party member in order to get into the inner sanctum. Otherwise, you can never enter.

Mr. DEKOM. I have here a copy of the new telephone directory of the United Nations dated February 1, 1949. On page 90, I show you a name. Is that the name of the man you have been referring to?

Mr. MALKIN. That is the same one, Gen. Victor A. Yakhontoff.

Mr. DEKOM. This indicates that he is in the translating division.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell me what he does from the standpoint of Communist work?

Mr. MALKIN. He used to be put up as a speaking front, or as a writing front, for all Communist apologetic organizations to the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. You say he used to do that. Do you know what he has been doing during the course of recent months?

Mr. MALKIN. I haven't seen his name on any Communist fronts lately, but during the war he was active in the American-Soviet Friendship Society and on every other Soviet front that there was.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he connected with the American Slav Congress?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he one of the writers for *New Masses*, a contributor to *New Masses*?

Mr. MALKIN. He was a contributor to *New Masses*. He also contributed to *Soviet Russia Today*.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you identify *New Masses*?

Mr. MALKIN. *New Masses* was a monthly magazine published by the Communists for the intelligentsia, for what they called the "American intelligentsia." I would call them students, writers, artists, and so on.

Mr. DEKOM. Was it an official publication of the party?

Mr. MALKIN. It was organized, controlled, managed, and everything else by the party.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he ever a speaker before the International Workers Order?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, General Yakhontoff spoke before that group.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that an organization listed by the Attorney General as a subversive organization?

Mr. MALKIN. It is not only listed as such, but it was organized by the Communist Party in 1929.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not he was a lecturer or a speaker at the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, that is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you identify that school?

Mr. MALKIN. Jefferson School is a continuation of the Workers' School, whose lecturers, managers, textbooks, and everything else, are controlled by the party.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he connected in any way with the Mother Bloor Celebration Committee?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you identify Mother Bloor?

Mr. MALKIN. Mother Bloor is what they call "the mother of the American revolution." That is what they consider her. She has been a charter member of the American Communist Party, and she has been active in trade-unions way before the Communist Party was active. She is a woman of about 87 years old, formerly the wife of Browder, and formerly the wife of a couple more I can't remember.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do you mean Earl Browder?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, the unofficial wife, of course.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly continue, Mr. Malkin.

Mr. MALKIN. Another partner of General Yakhontoff in the United Nations is Millard Lampell who, to my knowledge, is at present employed as a script writer, I think, for the United Nations.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit in evidence a clipping from the New York Times stating Millard Lampell's connection with the Radio Division of the United Nations.

Senator O'CONNOR. The clipping will be received in evidence.

(The clipping referred to is as follows:)

[From the New York Times, August 10, 1949]

RADIO, VIDEO

A series of six documentary radio programs designed to show the need of world reliance upon the United Nations for peace, welfare, and security will be broadcast in weekly Sunday installments by the National Broadcasting Co., starting September 11. The programs, presented in cooperation with United Nations Radio, will be supervised by Norman Corwin, head of special projects for the UN's Radio Division.

In addition to supervising the series, Mr. Corwin will write, direct and produce the initial program entitled "Could Be," which will be aired on the tenth anniversary of the Nazi attack on Poland. This full-hour broadcast will strive to show what could happen if all nations got together to solve the problem of maintaining peace.

The first two programs will be 1 hour long and the others a half hour. The time for each broadcast will be announced later.

Others in the series will deal with the function of the United Nations in its objective of keeping peace, a tour behind the scenes of UN activities, an illustration of the achievements of the Economic Commission for Europe, a treatment on genocide and the story of the International Refugee Organization.

Radio writing and producing talent from this country, Great Britain, and Canada will be called upon for the scripts. The list includes Millard Lampell, writer of *October Morning*; Allen Sloane, a writer recently returned from Europe after working out of IRO headquarters in Geneva; W. Gibson-Parker, formerly of the British Broadcasting Corp., and now production chief for United Nations Radio; Jerome Lawrence, and Robert E. Lee, a radio writing-directing-producing team; Gerald Kean, supervisor of the English Language Section of the UN's Radio Division; and Len Peterson and Andrew Allen of the Canadian Broadcasting Corp.

Mr. MALKIN. Mr. Lampell, to my knowledge, has been on a dozen Communist fronts. He has been connected quite a few times with the Hollywood group that has been indicted, I think, for contempt of Congress. He has been on many Communist fronts, to my knowledge.

Even as late as September 1 of this year, his name appeared in the *Daily Worker* as one of the speakers, together with Howard Fast, who admitted then being a member of the Communist Party, at the Jefferson School. Mr. Lampell is listed as active in a protest being sponsored by the Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that a Communist-front organization?

Mr. MALKIN. That is a Communist front—organized, led, and controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. DEKOM. Has Millard Lampell ever been a contributor to the *New Masses*?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Has he been connected with the Progressive Citizens of America, to your knowledge?

Mr. MALKIN. I cannot name the Progressive Citizens of America as being all Communists. Some of them are just plain fools, that is, most of them, and the ones that control the organizations are Communists.

Mr. DEKOM. Has he been connected with the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that a Communist front?

Mr. MALKIN. That is a Communist front controlled by the party through people such as our friend Paul Robeson and others.

Mr. DEKOM. Has he been a contributor, to your knowledge, to the magazine *Mainstream*?

Mr. MALKIN. *Mainstream* is a continuation of the old *Masses*. *Masses* and *Mainstream* it is called.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he a contributor?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Has Millard Lampell, to your knowledge been connected with the New York Committee to Win the Peace?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you identify that organization?

Mr. MALKIN. That was a New York committee organized after the war to combat the Marshall plan and to fight every other suggestion or proposal that the President or the United States Congress would make against the iron curtain countries, any of the countries controlled by the Soviet Union.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he a speaker at the Win-the-Peace Conference in Washington, which was organized by the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. With further reference to the activities of Millard Lampell, were they notorious and pretty generally known, or were they all secret and clandestine?

Mr. MALKIN. Sometimes they were carried out in secret, but the information would leak out at conferences.

Senator O'CONNOR. What I have reference to, and what I think may be of particular interest, is whether or not there was sufficient knowledge of the activities of Millard Lampell so that those in charge of appointments at the United Nations would be wary of him.

Mr. MALKIN. There is quite a group around New York that could give you more information on that, based on their personal knowledge of him.

Senator O'CONNOR. Have you previously testified concerning him?

Mr. MALKIN. No.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you testify concerning him before the Un-American Activities Committee?

Mr. MALKIN. I testified before the Un-American Activities Committee in 1939.

Mr. DEKOM. May we submit for the record the public record of Millard Lampell's connection with some 30 Communist-front organizations reported in public sources?

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes; that will be introduced and marked.

(The documents referred to are included in appendix V, p. A80.)

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you proceed, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. To continue, we have the agents of this international organization carrying out a policy of world revolution and chaos. Now, we come to the question of citizenship and its misuse.

It has always been the Communist Party line in the United States to misuse American citizenship and its certificates. Since it has been so easy to become an American citizen, it has been the party line and policy to get the members to become American citizens in order to enable the Communists to run for political office and to participate in election campaigns, and to try to elect its representatives to political offices so as to utilize the election of its representatives and their positions in advocating the overthrow of our Government by force and violence with the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States.

The other use of American citizenship is to enable them to go from Moscow to other parts of the world on American passports to carry out the Kremlin's line without being molested by foreign governments.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Mr. Malkin, you made a statement a moment ago with reference to the overthrow of our Government by force and violence. Have you ever heard that statement made at any party meetings that you have attended?

Mr. MALKIN. That has not only been stated at meetings, but it is a statement contained in the literature from the time of the inception of the party throughout my existence in the party. In 1920, when the party had been organized, the party issued a paper called the Revolutionary Age. I remember that James Larkin, an Irishman who was deported from the United States back to Ireland in 1923, and Harry Winitsky, who edited the paper, were prosecuted on a charge of criminal anarchy for coming out with the statement:

We Communists do not believe in ballots; we believe in bullets.

Those are exactly the words that were used.

Throughout the party's existence and my existence in the party, there was never any doubt in the minds of the leadership and in our minds, and in the minds of the rank and file that was theoretically developed in the party, that the party never will accomplish its aims; that is, the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States by peaceful means.

We always taught in the schools of the party, and we were taught that the controlling interests of the United States, or of any democratic country, what the Communists call the bourgeois countries, will never give up their power peacefully. Therefore, it is up to the Communists to take control at an opportune moment such as an economic or political crisis in the United States. That would be done through arming what they called their party members, their sympathizers, and what they call the proletariat in the United States, by capturing arsenals, and by agitation in the National Guard and the armed forces in an effort to get those soldiers or sailors within the armed forces to come to their side, and through those means to overthrow the democratic form of government of the United States and establish the Soviet Government.

Birth certificates and American citizenship certificates have been used to send American party members to the Lenin school and other sabotage schools to train for leadership in the methods of sabotage and propaganda in the United States. Citizenship papers have been used for the above-named purposes, as well as for the forging of passports for Moscow agents to enter the United States without detection. That has been going on since the party's inception in 1919.

Mr. ARENS. Now, may I just ask you at this point, first of all, how extensive this practice has been, to your experience?

Mr. MALKIN. It has been quite extensive. In fact, the party could have sent hundreds of agents to Moscow on American papers. For instance, in the case of people who are dead, they take that certificate and go and get a passport. Somebody else gets it. I mean a passport to leave the United States to go to Russia.

Mr. ARENS. How about the entrance to the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. In the case of an entrance to the United States, you could take an American passport that has already been used by an American student who is there. They would use his passport, or make a copy of it in a building called the Omsk in Moscow, where they forge all kinds of foreign passports, counterfeit money, and everything else.

Mr. ARENS. Do they forge visas?

Mr. MALKIN. They forge visas and passports.

Mr. ARENS. How extensive has been the entrance into this country of agents on fraudulent papers?

Mr. MALKIN. It has been quite extensive.

Mr. ARENS. How extensive is it at this time, to your knowledge?

Mr. MALKIN. At the present time, to my knowledge, they are a little more careful, because the Soviet Government knows, and also the party knows that its existence in the United States is legally endangered, that they are on their hind legs.

Mr. ARENS. What do you mean by that?

Mr. MALKIN. That the party is liable to be driven underground. This is what they fear most and what they are seeking to avoid. If Congress passes a bill outlawing the Communist Party, it will set up machinery to neutralize the influence of the party among the pseudo-liberals and wealthy stooges in this country from which the Communist Party derives much of its support.

They are scared.

Mr. ARENS. Are they at this time still sending agents?

Mr. MALKIN. They do, but not to the extent that they used to.

Mr. ARENS. Are they still sending them here in the same manner you have described previously?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. By false and fraudulent documents?

Mr. MALKIN. That is correct. The fact is—I do not know exactly the names of the people, I am trying to check on that—that there are three representatives here in the United States now from Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. What do you mean by three representatives from Moscow?

Mr. MALKIN. From the Comintern. They are not GPU agents, but agents of the Comintern.

Mr. ARENS. Who are those men?

Mr. MALKIN. That is what I am trying to find out.

Mr. ARENS. How do you know that they are here?

Mr. MALKIN. I was told that through information I received from the party.

Mr. ARENS. Did they indicate what status they have here from the standpoint of our immigration laws?

Mr. MALKIN. They are called the CI Commission.

Mr. ARENS. What do you mean by CI Commission?

Mr. MALKIN. The Communist International Commission.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Is it unusual to send a commission?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, it has been done before.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that a trouble-shooting unit?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

They are actually in charge of, if necessary, reorganizing the party, giving orders to the party, and everything else. Leaders, like William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, and Eugene Dennis have never had much to say about the American party anyway.

Mr. ARENS. As to these three top men of whom you say you have information are here, what is their immigration status? Are they affiliates of embassies, affiliates of some purchasing commission, or what are they here as?

Mr. MALKIN. I would doubt very much whether they are affiliates of any purchasing commission or any diplomatic group. They are here just as agents who came here illegally, and they give the orders.

Mr. ARENS. How did they get here?

Mr. MALKIN. They usually come here on different passports, not their own, because the Soviet passport authorities know that the American Government will have a check on them and keep an eye on them, so they come in under other false passports.

Mr. ARENS. During your experience as a member of the party, did you have occasion to arrive at a conclusion as to the extent to which the officials of foreign governments and affiliates of international or-

ganizations participate in the Communist apparatus in the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. They would not do so openly, because, to my knowledge, no worker in the Soviet Embassy, or any of the purchasing commissions or trading organizations, or any so-called legal group that might come here from the Soviet Union, representing the Soviet Government, are allowed to participate openly in the activities of the Communist Party.

To my former knowledge, and to my knowledge at the present time, the way things work is that the Soviet Government might have its agent here, and he might act as a janitor at the Embassy, for example, but still give orders to the Ambassador.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent is the Communist apparatus in the United States directed through the consulates and the embassies?

Mr. MALKIN. Directly they never do, because that is what they have the control commission and party for. The central control commission of the Communist Party is actually the group in the party that is the top layer of the party. They are over the Politburo and everything else. That is the discipline and control group that controls finances and that disciplines the behavior of every party member. That group sees to it that the party carries out the Moscow line.

Their function is to first gather information that is collected by the organization apart from the party. Let's say, for instance, that the Brooklyn Navy Yard will have a party unit which is called a nucleus. That party unit, when they get together, will furnish information on the caliber of guns and what they are doing in the navy yard. At this unit meeting there will be present a representative of the district organization. He gathers that information and sends it to the organization department.

The organization department sends it to the control commission, and the control commission transmits it by cable to Moscow, or, if necessary, gives it to one of the couriers through the Communist International representative here. Sometimes they give it to the resident GPU agent, who transmits it to Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know any resident GPU agents who are presently in the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. No; not at present.

Mr. ARENS. What is the source of your information about these three top men from Moscow who you say are here to direct and control the Communist apparatus?

Mr. MALKIN. My information is that just a few weeks ago there was a meeting of the top layer of the party.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. MALKIN. At Beacon.

Mr. ARENS. In what State is that?

Mr. MALKIN. That is at Beacon, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that meeting held?

Mr. MALKIN. That meeting was held at a farmhouse. One of the party members present gave me the information as to what was going on at the meeting. Present at that meeting was the whole group of the 11 persons being tried there now, as well as Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Alexander Bittleman, and another group.

The information that I received was that there were three strangers there. They didn't look like Americans. They kept quiet except for one who delivered the line of the discussion, actually to the orders. No names were mentioned, and up to the present time he doesn't know the names of those people.

Mr. ARENS. Is my understanding correct that the men who are presently on trial in New York City as Communists were in attendance at this session?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right. That is not unusual. It always has been that way. That was what they call an enlarged plenum of the Politburo.

Mr. ARENS. When was this session?

Mr. MALKIN. Just a few weeks ago up at Beacon.

Mr. ARENS. And your informant was a man who was in attendance at that session?

Mr. MALKIN. He is a party member; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Does he know that you have broken with the party?

Mr. MALKIN. He knows. I meet with him once in a while so that no one sees us.

Mr. ARENS. What is your vocation and occupation?

Mr. MALKIN. I am a machinist, but for the past year I have been, on and off, employed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service as an expert witness in deportation hearings.

Mr. ARENS. Have you other contacts with present agents of the Communist Party who are in the United States other than the man you have talked to?

Mr. MALKIN. I have with one or two other party members who are in the party, but who are not in the top layer.

Mr. ARENS. But the man that you talked to who attended this meeting was in the top layer?

Mr. MALKIN. He is one of the top layer of the party.

Mr. ARENS. Who attended that meeting? Can you clear the record?

Mr. MALKIN. According to my information, there were present Jack Stachel, John Williamson, Alexander Bittelman, Eugene Dennis, Gil Green, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Margaret Krumborn, and quite a few others.

Mr. ARENS. What transpired at that meeting, to your knowledge?

Mr. MALKIN. They were mainly discussing the line of the party at the present time and how to pursue the Foley Square trial.

Mr. ARENS. You mean how to proceed at the trial?

Mr. MALKIN. The policy at the trial. It was decided up there that, instead of using as witnesses for the defense aliens or those who have been naturalized, that they would use strictly American-born persons as witnesses for the defense, so that they should not be deportable and should not have to go through denaturalization procedures.

Mr. ARENS. What else was decided there or discussed there?

Mr. MALKIN. That is exactly what he told me.

Mr. ARENS. What else was decided there, or discussed there?

Mr. MALKIN. Mainly that question was discussed and the question of the drive for the defense; that is, how to proceed with the drive for \$450,000.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you have any reason to believe that the commission was appointed because of the trial of the Politburo of the Communist Party here?

Mr. MALKIN. In my opinion, this commission was sent here because the party in the United States finds itself in danger of being liquidated; that is, of going underground.

That question of going underground is quite an important question to the Communist International. Quite a lot of people in government may disagree with me on my idea of underground. They feel that going underground will just drive the agents underground so their identity will not be known. Our experience has been different in 1919 and in 1920. The policy of underground is very, very important to the Communist International.

Mr. ARENS. Is it more difficult for the party to function underground than it is in the open?

Mr. MALKIN. Of course. It stifles the party; it kills the party. In 1919 when we split from the Socialist Party, there were 87,000 of us split from the Socialist Party. After being underground for 1½ years, the party dwindled to 3,500, because they were not able to carry on open press agitation, open propaganda, open schooling, and everything else. That killed the party.

It was necessary for Lenin to send a letter to the American party telling them that if they did not get out of the underground the party would be stifled to death.

Mr. ARENS. Now, tell me about this defense fund you mentioned a few moments ago, for the alleged Communists on trial in New York City. I understood you to say there was a fund being raised.

Mr. MALKIN. That is right. There was discussion of the procedure of raising the \$450,000 defense fund, because it takes quite a lot of money to defend these 11 persons with all of the lawyers, staff, and everything else. The amount was laid down by the CI rep who spoke.

Mr. ARENS. What do you mean by the CI rep?

Mr. MALKIN. Communist International representative.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he the real boss of the American Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. And has he always, to your knowledge, been an alien sent here by Moscow to direct the party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did your informant meet the man who was the boss?

Mr. MALKIN. He was present at the meeting, but everyone had to remain seated until after they left. No one was allowed to write anything down or to make any notes, or anything else. That is the usual procedure in an underground party.

Mr. ARENS. Did your informant describe the appearance of his bosses?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; he told me.

Mr. ARENS. What did he say they looked like?

Mr. MALKIN. He said one looked like a German, and the other two looked like Finns.

Mr. ARENS. Did he describe the accent they used?

Mr. MALKIN. He mentioned a German, Russian, and English accent, you know, comrades, and all that stuff, in German guttural sound.

Mr. ARENS. Did he describe the physical appearance of these men?

Mr. MALKIN. One was quite heavy. One of the fellows who was sitting must have weighed some two-hundred-and-some-odd pounds.

He was short and chubby, blond, with blue eyes. He had a scar on his forehead, on the left side of his forehead.

Mr. ARENS. Over his left eye?

Mr. MALKIN. I don't know whether it was over his left eye. I know he had a scar on his forehead.

Mr. ARENS. Did he describe either of the other two to you?

Mr. MALKIN. No. He said that he didn't remember their description because they were there just for about a half hour and they had to leave, and no one was allowed to leave until they had left.

Mr. ARENS. How many persons were in attendance at the meeting in total?

Mr. MALKIN. About 15 to 18 people.

Mr. ARENS. And it was conducted in a farmhouse?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Did he indicate the location of the farmhouse?

Mr. MALKIN. He said they were taken there by car and that right near, he knows, is Beacon. It was in Beacon, so it must have been right near the Communist camp. The party has had a camp there for years.

Mr. ARENS. Where is this Communist camp?

Mr. MALKIN. It is right in the township of Beacon, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been to that camp?

Mr. MALKIN. There is Camp Unity and Camp Nitkedaiget.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been to those camps?

Mr. MALKIN. I have been to both camps.

Mr. ARENS. Is there a meeting place in either camp?

Mr. MALKIN. There are quite a few houses built there.

Mr. ARENS. These camps are owned by the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; and its front organizations.

Mr. ARENS. What are these camps used for?

Mr. MALKIN. They are summer camps for Communists, or sympathizers. They go out there as people go out to any other camp or country place.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly proceed with your statement, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

The use of citizenship papers to enter the United States without detection has been going on since the party's inception in 1919. That was especially done during the Spanish Civil War, the war in 1936 and 1937, when passports were forged by the hundreds and were collected by the GPU and the Communist Party representatives in Spain from the recruits that reached there from the United States and who were joining the loyalist army.

Mr. ARENS. Are you saying, in effect, that passports which were issued by this Government to American citizens for the purpose of going to Spain were then taken by the Communist representatives in Spain from the persons to whom the passports were issued?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. For the purpose of establishing, or attempting to establish, American citizenship by persons who were not Americans?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. In fact, the passport of every recruit that went to the loyalist army from the United States was immediately taken away by the commissar of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who at that time was in charge, a fellow by the name of George Mink.

Mr. DEKOM. How did these commissars have authority to do that? Was the unit controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. The whole thing was controlled by the Communist Party. It was nothing but a Communist organization throughout. The brigade was recruited by the Communist Party through Communist agents, through Communist headquarters by Communist fronts, and through funds collected by the Communist Party through front organizations such as the American Committee for Aid to Spanish Democracy, and similar fronts.

Every one of those passports was taken away by these agents. When the end of the Spanish Civil War came, or when a soldier finished his term and wanted to go back to the United States, most of them never received their passports back again. Those passports were taken to Moscow, and they were used to forge other passports for use by Communist agents who traveled around the world.

Later the same procedure of the forgery of passports was used by a person known by the name of Gerhart Eisler. He used the citizenship of a person whom I know well, Sam Liptzen, who claimed he had lost his certificate. This same Sam Liptzen, in my opinion, gave him that paper willingly, because Sam Liptzen has been a charter member of the party. He never deviated from the party line. He carries out the party discipline according to the 21 commandments of Comrade Stalin. He writes once in a while for the Jewish Daily Freiheit, which is the daily Jewish Communist organ in the United States. He is a member of the left-wing and control group of the furriers' union in New York.

In my opinion, his statement that he lost that citizenship certificate was an absolute lie.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Malkin, you have mentioned the furriers union on one or two occasions. Is that a Communist controlled union?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Who is president of that union?

Mr. MALKIN. Ben Gold.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. He is a member of the party since 1921 and I was at meetings with him throughout my period up until 1937.

Mr. DEKOM. Isn't he one of the few Communist officials who publicly admits being a member of the party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

That American citizenship papers have been a blessing to the Communist International is exemplified in the sending of American naturalized citizens to Moscow to learn and to teach at the Lenin School. Following are the names of just a fraction of the numbers that were there.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you identify the Lenin School?

Mr. MALKIN. The Lenin School is the school where the Communist Party sends its potential leaders to make professional revolutionary leaders out of them. When they get hold of a bright young man who is willing to be a yes-man for the party and to carry out orders without question, he is sent to the Lenin School for training in party leadership.

Mr. DEKOM. What type of things do they learn?

Mr. MALKIN. They learn everything from political economy from the Marxian point of view, to the ultimate aim of the overthrow of the

United States Government, sabotage, how to make demolitions, how to create riots, how to participate in riots, how to lead crowds in rioting, how to create action committees, such as they did in Czechoslovakia when they took over the Government; as was done in San Francisco, in 1933 and 1934, during the general strike in San Francisco. That was a small rehearsal of the later action in Czechoslovakia.

Mr. ARENS. How many naturalized citizens have been sent from the United States to this Lenin School?

Mr. MALKIN. Hundreds.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time?

Mr. MALKIN. Since the party's inception.

Mr. ARENS. Are they still sending them?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, they always send them because they have to carry on continuously what they call the education of leadership.

Mr. ARENS. How do these people get to be naturalized citizens if they are Communists?

Mr. MALKIN. They deny that they are Communists.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Malkin, you testified a little while ago with respect to the foreign-language groups that are under Communist control and domination. Is there any particular element or group in our population which is especially under Communist control and domination?

Mr. MALKIN. As a unit, or as a group?

Mr. ARENS. Yes. We are composed, as we all know, of a nation of various nationalities of various backgrounds. Is there any particular group or element which is especially under the control and domination of communism?

Mr. MALKIN. I wouldn't say the whole group. I would say that parts of those foreign groups are. Take, for instance, the Polish population. As a whole, it is loyal to the United States. But a small fraction of their group is under the domination of the Communists, especially ever since Russia took over Poland, and ever since the end of the war.

In the case of the Hungarians it is also the same way. I wouldn't say that the whole Hungarian population in the United States is disloyal. I would say that a very small minority is disloyal. The large majority of the Hungarian population in the United States are absolutely loyal American citizens.

Mr. ARENS. What I was driving at is this: To be a little bit more specific, are the Communists making disproportionate inroads among the foreign-language groups which originated in those countries which are now behind the iron curtain as distinguished from people who have come from other nations, or other lands?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, they are making inroads.

Mr. ARENS. On a proportionate basis, are they making more inroads?

Mr. MALKIN. They are making more inroads now because, in my opinion, of two reasons:

Let us say, for instance, that John has relatives in Hungary. If he doesn't abide by the decisions of the Communists, of the organization that the Communists are working in, he is afraid that his relatives will be harmed in Hungary through terror and through intimidation. Therefore, the Communists are making more inroads amongst the people from those countries where they control at the present time than they did before.

Mr. ARENS. What is the total membership of the Communist Party in the United States at this time?

Mr. MALKIN. The card-carrying members would be about 75,000 to 100,000.

Mr. ARENS. How many persons in the United States are under the Communist discipline, control, or direction?

Mr. MALKIN. Under the Communist discipline, I would actually figure, throughout the United States, about 4,000,000.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Four million?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What do you mean by under Communist discipline? I know that I used the term, but I would like to have you describe it.

Mr. MALKIN. For example, the International Workers Order has 135,000 members. That is controlled by the Communist Party. That is, the organization is controlled by the Communist Party. The furriers' union is controlled by the Communist Party. That is 16,000. The United Electrical and Radio Workers has locals controlled by the Communist Party with a minimum membership of about 75,000. The hotel and restaurant workers, I would estimate, have about 75,000 members. If you figure them all up, you can see how I arrive at my figure.

Mr. DEKOM. You don't say that the individuals themselves are under party discipline, but rather that they are members of organizations whose leaders are under the party's discipline?

Mr. MALKIN. They have to carry out the decisions formulated by the leaders. For example, in the Robeson affair, I would not say that all of them were Communists. Most of them are dumb, but are carrying out the discipline of the organization that ordered them to go there.

Mr. SCHROEDER. How many of them are conscience members in the International Workers Order?

Mr. MALKIN. I would say that that all depends on what you consider the conscience member, because, if you talk to one of the members there, even though he is not a member of the party, he will be afraid to talk against the Communist Party because he is liable to lose out in the organization, so he will never tell you whether he is against them or for them. Most will speak for them.

Mr. DEKOM. How many know that the IWO is an affiliate of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. I would say that 95 percent of them know, because that organization was organized by the Communist Party and has been publicized in every paper in the country like the Jewish Daily Forward and other foreign-language papers. It is a known fact that Communists were leading, that they were under the leadership of Max Bedacht, William Weiner, and all the others, who are known as Communist members, members of the central party.

William Weiner used the alias of Warszover and was held on false passport charges during the war, and I think was pardoned by President Roosevelt.

Mr. DEKOM. Please go on.

Mr. MALKIN. One of those that went to Moscow and spent quite a few years there is a dentist known as J. Mindel. I think he is a naturalized citizen of the United States. He is known as "Pop"

Mindel. He is one of the directors of the Workers' School. He taught at the Lenin School for quite a few years, and was known as a Red professor from 1929 to 1934, at the Lenin School. He is at present one of the directors of the Workers' School in New York.

Another one is A. Pomerantz, a Polish-born naturalized citizen, who works on the Jewish Morning Freiheit and who is also known in Moscow as a Red professor.

William Weinstone, one of the members of the central committee of the Communist Party, is a former graduate of City College of New York. To my knowledge, he derived citizenship from his father. He was a district organizer of the New York Communist Party from 1926 to 1929. He was district organizer in Detroit, and a former director of the New York Workers' School. That is the official Communist Party school. He was the American representative to the Communist International from 1929 up to about 1933 or 1934, and was known in Moscow as Randolph. Randolph was the name of all American representatives in Moscow.

Mr. DEKOM. Regardless of what their real names were?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. If their name was Randolph there, they knew that he was the American representative from the American Party to the Comintern?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Another one is Beatrice Siskind, alias Beatrice Johnson. She has never even declared her intention of becoming an American citizen. She was in Moscow on a false American passport and spent a few years there with the Lenin School. On her return to the United States in 1929, she resumed her Communist activities as director of the Chicago Red School and other subversive activities. This Beatrice Siskind, alias Johnson, is under deportation proceedings at the present time, and I think she is now on \$10,000 bond. I think 2 weeks ago she was let out of Ellis Island.

Beatrice Siskind has a brother and sister who are also members of the Communist Party. Her brother is George Siskind, who has been a member of my branch of the party for years while I was a member of the party. He was formerly district organizer for the Communist Party in New Haven around 1927 and 1928. In 1932, he became agitation and propaganda director in New York City. I think he is also an alien. I don't think he is a citizen; not to my knowledge, anyway. He is still active in the Communist Party.

His younger sister is also a member of the party and is married to a Communist who is one of the engineers working for the Board of Transportation in New York. At least he was working there.

Mr. ARENS. To your knowledge, is there a fund contributed to, or created by, the Communist Party in this country which is used for the purpose of furnishing bail for alien Communists in deportation proceedings?

Mr. MALKIN. To my knowledge, there has never been such a fund established. It has been the procedure with the party to get some close sympathizer—"sugar daddy"—for the party to post a bond. If the respondent or the defendant jumps bail, the Communist Party usually makes good for that through the Communist International fund, or through the Amtorg, or through some other channel.

Another person who is traveling at the present time for the GPU and for the Communist International—and I am not sure whether he is naturalized or not—is a fellow by the name of Philip Ahrenberg, who I have known as a Communist since 1919. He was formerly a mens' clothing worker from New York. He has been traveling for the Comintern and the GPU since 1938.

Mr. DEKOM. The GPU is now called the MVD, the Ministry of Internal Affairs?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, they are known as MVD.

Another person who entered the United States is the wife of Earl Browder, Arisa Beckman. She is the wife of Earl Browder, formerly director of the Lenin School in Moscow, working in the discipline section of the GPU for foreign students in the Lenin School. She was in charge of putting foreign students who rebelled against the Communist International policy at the Lenin School in line.

Mr. DEKOM. Did she do any work with the foreign language groups in the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. She did some, but officially, I don't know. To my information, this wife of Earl Browder, through the intervention of Mrs. Roosevelt, came into the United States legally after leaving the country and going to Montreal, Canada.

Another person traveling in Europe is a former wife of Earl Browder, that is, the wife before the one I have just mentioned, whose name is Kitty Harris. Kitty Harris has traveled under the name of Catherine Harrison. She has been working for the CI and for the GPU for years.

Mr. ARENS. What did she do?

Mr. MALKIN. She worked as an agent, or as a courier for the Communist International, gathering information that is relayed from one country or another to her superiors.

Another one is a sister of Earl Browder, Margaret Browder, known as Jeanne Montgomery. She has been doing the same work as Kitty Harris.

The third one who has traveled for the CI was Otto Hoiswood, alias Billings. He is colored. I think he is back in the United States, but he traveled for quite a few years for the GPU.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have some further names you wish to give, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. Rudolph Baker, former district organizer of the Communist Party, former member of the IWW, charter member of the Communist Party, was district organizer of the Communist Party in Detroit in 1925 and 1926, went to the Lenin School, Moscow, 1927, and has been traveling for the GPU and for the Communist International since then. His citizenship is doubtful in my mind. I am not sure that he is an American citizen, but that can be checked with the Immigration Department.

B. Finkelbeig, charter member of the Communist Party and the Russian Federation in the United States, former director of World Tourists, Inc., and coworker of J. Golos,¹ former boy friend of Elizabeth Bentley, member of the central control commission of the Communist Party for years, and has been traveling as a representative of

¹ For the story of Jacob Golos, see testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, p. 106.

the Communist International and the GPU. He has been working with Charles Dirba, chairman of the all-powerful central control commission of the Communist Party of the United States, gathering information of industrial plants, shipyards, et cetera, to be transmitted to the Soviet Government in Moscow.

Alexander Trachtenberg, director of International Publishers, a Communist publishing house, member, joined the Communist Party in 1920-21, former member of the Socialist Party, and came to the United States in 1906. He was naturalized in 1912. He is a member of the central control commission, and to my knowledge chief of the party's GPU section. Trachtenberg has made numerous trips to the Soviet Union.

Ben Gold of the United Fur and Leather Workers Union has been a member of the Communist Party since 1920. He is a naturalized American citizen. He went to Russia in 1929-30 and he carries out the party line strictly according to orders of the party.

Max Bedacht, recently so-called officially expelled from the Communist Party, one of the top heads of the International Workers Order, a member of the national executive committee of the Communist Party since 1919, since its inception in the United States, has made between five and six trips, to my knowledge, to Russia.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he a delegate to the Comintern?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir; he went to numerous conventions or congresses of the Comintern.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Is he now residing in New Jersey?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

William Weinstone has been named before as having been to Moscow on numerous occasions, and he has been a representative to the Communist International for a few years at Moscow. He is a citizen and a graduate of City College of New York.

Max Weiss is one of the members of the national committee of the party who has made numerous trips to the Soviet Union and perjured himself on statements in getting passports to go there.

Mr. ARENS. How do you know that?

Mr. MALKIN. He admitted it at Foley Square where he appeared as a witness and the question was asked of him: Why did he make different statements on his application for passports, and he admitted that.

Alexander Bittelman, member of the Communist Party, alien, theoretician of the American Communist Party who, to my knowledge, went to the Soviet Union five or six times under names that I knew him as, such as Spielberg, Goldstein, et cetera. He is now under deportation proceedings.

Jack Stachel, agitation and propaganda director in the Communist Party in America, joined the party in 1922, in the Young Workers League, at 208 East Twelfth Street, New York City.

Mr. DEKOM. What are the functions of the agitation and propaganda department?

Mr. MALKIN. They are to distribute, publish, and to see that every member of the party is acquainted with the party line and the party literature, that every member of the party understands the structure, aims, and principles of the party, and the aims and principles of the party the way they were taught. The ultimate aim is to overthrow

the American Government by force and violence and to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States. That is the ultimate aim.

Mr. SCHROEDER. In these large-scale operations which you cited in the party, what is the source of money for these members to travel around?

Mr. MALKIN. From 1919 up to 1926 and 1927, the Comintern and the Soviet Government used to finance the American party, either through a shipment of jewels for conversion to cash in the United States in 1920 and 1921—that is, the crown jewels—or through Amtorg, or through some “sugar daddies” who would give the American party money and would be repaid by the Soviet Government.

Mr. DEKOM. Was this during a period when millions of Russians were starving because there was not enough food?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; that was during the period when the Hoover Relief Administration was out in Russia giving the Russians relief. It was called the American Relief Administration.

Mr. DEKOM. At the same time the Soviet Government was spending money abroad for propaganda and agitation; is that right?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. In fact, there used to be special funds for the Daily Worker, because the Daily Worker is always losing money. It was mainly established through funds that were given by the Soviet Government and the Comintern through different channels, either through couriers or through Amtorg representatives, or people who would come here with jewels and English pounds for conversion to American dollars.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you identify the Daily Worker?

Mr. MALKIN. The Daily Worker was established in 1922 as the Weekly Worker. In 1923–24, it was established as the daily paper in the English language. That is the official organ of the Communist Party in the United States and up to 1939–40, it used to have on its masthead: “Section of the Communist International.”

Mr. DEKOM. Is it still the official organ of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Even though they have removed that from their masthead?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

John Williamson, alien, joined the Young Workers League in 1921–22, formerly resided at Seattle, a former member of the national executive committee of the Young Workers Communist League, now a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party, United States of America, is at present one of the 11 people, together with Stachel on trial at Foley Square, New York City, on the charge of advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

John Williamson has made numerous trips to Russia to different congresses of the Communist International under different aliases and passports. He has never even bothered to formally file a declaration of intention. Together with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, we established that he was alien-born. I think he was born in England.

Irving Potash, manager of the New York joint council of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, also one of the 11 on trial at Foley Square. He spent some time in the Soviet Union during the early

1930's. He went there on a forged passport because he was an alien. He is now under deportation proceedings.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Is Williamson under deportation proceedings?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Herbert Benjamin, who, to my knowledge, is Ben Herbertson, joined the Communist Party in 1919. He is an alien who did not register for the draft in the First World War. He has made numerous trips to the Soviet Union. In the early 1930's he was the leader of the Unemployed Council and the National Hunger Marchers to Washington. He became very friendly with the deceased Harry Hopkins and Aubrey Williams.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you identify Aubrey Williams?

Mr. MALKIN. He was the national administrator of the National Youth Administration under President Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins was the close adviser to President Roosevelt, and also, I think, he was the Administrator of the WPA.

Herbert Benjamin was district organizer for the Workers (Communist) Party, which is the Communist Party, at Cleveland in 1925-26. In 1927, he was district organizer at Philadelphia, Pa. He is now one of the national directors of the International Workers Order, which is the Communist fraternal front.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know of any principal officer of the International Workers Order who was not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. No; not to my knowledge, because most of the national officers of the Communist Party—and I say this through my personal knowledge of having been with them in the party—have been members of the Communist Party and are still members of the party.

Mr. DEKOM. Is the International Workers Order ever used as a means of finding financial support for the Communist Party personnel? In other words, to give them jobs in the IWO?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; people who are in danger of being deported, or whose names have been in the public eye too much, are sometimes removed from positions of the party and placed in positions in the International Workers Order, such as a person by the name of Shimshom Milgrim, alias Sam Mills, who was formerly held for deportation around 1935-36 as an alien, and whom I have known in the party since he came from Poland in 1922 with a transfer from the Polish Communist youth organization to the United States.

Mr. DEKOM. Have IWO positions ever been used to give financial support to Communist Party sympathizers?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, it has been used to give financial support to the Communist Party as such in an indirect way by placing page advertisements in the Daily Worker, and the amount would ordinarily be around \$5,000 or more. The IWO, in order to show that they spend money for publicity, would pay the Daily Worker \$10,000 for a \$500 page to show that they paid for publicity.

Mr. DEKOM. Do they do that for foreign-language Communist papers?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; they do do that.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that an extensive practice?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. To support the Communist press?

Mr. MALKIN. The Communist press and the Communist-front press.

Mr. DEKOM. That is, those papers and organizations which are sympathetic to the Communists?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Mike Obermeier, a leader in the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union in New York, representative of the labor union known as the Profintern, who spent sometime in Moscow during 1930, 1931, and 1932, and came back to the United States as the Profintern representative. He has traveled Europe extensively and is now under deportation proceedings.

B. K. Gebert, whom I mentioned previously as one of the originators of the American Slav Congress and one of the members of the national executive committee of the Communist Party, took numerous trips to Russia on different false passports. He is now in Poland as chief of the labor department of the Polish Government.

William Weiner, alias Bill Blake, also known as Welwel Warzover, who was convicted by the United States Government on a false-passport charge during 1939, and who is an alien. He has never even declared his intention of becoming a citizen and he traveled on false passport from the United States to Russia on numerous occasions. He was later released by orders or by interference, or whatever you might call it, from President Roosevelt.

Bill Simmons joined the Communist Party in 1919; he is a clothing worker. He was a former district organizer in New Haven, 1925-26, and spent some time in Mexico as the American Communist representative in Mexico during the early twenties, and became somewhat of an expert for the Communist Party on Latin-American affairs. He was an organizer of the Anti-Imperialist League in 1924-25, and has been traveling in Europe and this country since 1928. He is still out on the road.

Of these I have mentioned just a few examples of how the Communists misuse their citizenship and passports by violating our laws. Our Government could do very little to stop it due to our lack of proper immigration and naturalization laws.

When a Communist comes up for a citizenship, and especially one that is known as such, he is able to bring character witnesses for himself that the Government might temporarily think are unimpeachable, like the recent case of Susi.¹ United States District Court (*United States v. Susi*). On the basis of character witnesses, citizenship was granted because of certain restrictions in the law.²

Mr. DEKOM. Was deportation pending against Susi at that time?

Mr. MALKIN. No, there was a question of citizenship. The Government claimed that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. As of the time he was up for his naturalization, were there also any other proceedings pending in regard to deportation?

Mr. MALKIN. I don't think so, but maybe there were.

I have testified for the Immigration and Naturalization Service on numerous deportation hearings as an expert witness, and I became somewhat acquainted with some of the procedures. These are the reasons why I claim that some of the laws that are in effect at the present time are inadequate.

¹ Arduilio Susi.

² The Government failed to produce the chief witnesses against Susi.

I also refer to the dragged-out hearings on procedures and appeals during which time the alien is able to carry on subversive activities and help subversive elements to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

There is the case of Gerhart Eisler, who was out under bond pending an appeal on deportation proceedings and was able while on bond to carry on lectures and propaganda against our Government during that hearing.

Irving Potash, Jack Stachel, Mike Obermeier, John Williamson, Claudia Jones, Beatrice Siskind, George Pirinsky, are some of the cases that have been held under deportation proceedings in the Government and who were able to carry on propaganda while out on bond.

The only way to enable us to get rid of a great many of these alien agitators and to tighten our naturalization and deportation laws is to overhaul our administrative department laws to enable the Immigration and Naturalization Service to put the laws into effect and properly execute them and expedite the deportation of these dangerous aliens.

Senator O'CONNOR. We are certainly obliged to you for your very clear-cut and intelligent presentation of the situation. I would like to say that for the record because it has been very intelligent.

May I ask you if you could be more specific in regard to the last statement as to the necessity for the amendatory legislation and also with regard to the administrative practices? Could you give us some details as to just what you think might be done to correct this very alarming situation?

Mr. MALKIN. The present laws do not allow the Department of Justice and the Immigration and Naturalization Service to give a hearing to an alien who has been in this country and who has been a member of a subversive organization, to give him a hearing as to the evidence, and deport him immediately. Under the present laws he is allowed to appeal and appeal and appeal, and that proceeding is dragged out for years.

Meanwhile, the appeals are going on, and he is able to carry on this subversive work. The proper thing to do would be to give the Immigration and Naturalization Service actual authority to have a hearing on a case with proper evidence against the respondent and give him one hearing. If it is proved he is a member of a certain organization, he should be deported without further hearings of any sort.

Because of my knowledge of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, they are actually in charge when the person comes into this country. I do not see why they should not be fully in charge to get rid of him if he is subversive, instead of dragging out a hearing and giving the alien all that liberty and democratic procedure which is accorded United States citizens, when he is trying to destroy our freedom.

I know we are not like other countries. We are a democracy. We must not practice any Fascist or dictatorial laws, or totalitarian laws that are practiced in the other countries, but still on this question these people come into our country and they do not bother to even declare their intention of becoming citizens for many years. They get their education here, make their livelihood here. They are given

all the freedom in the world, freedom they would never get in their former homes, and still they do not see fit to declare their intention of becoming citizens; some of them for 25 and 30 years.

Mr. ARENS. If Congress should pass a law in effect outlawing the Communist Party, what, in your judgment, would be the effect of that statute on the Communist apparatus and Communist activities in the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. In my opinion, if the Communist Party is outlawed that would insure the ultimate destruction of the party in this country and provide the necessary statutes to apprehend and punish foreign espionage agents who are now operating in this country.

Senator O'CONNOR. The question was asked you along a different line, and very much in point. The subject matter is of intense interest to all the members of the Senate as to what, in your opinion, would be the result of the passage of a statute outlawing the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. That would smash the Communist Party, in my opinion.

Senator O'CONNOR. Do you have any fears at all that it would drive them underground as a result, which would be bad?

Mr. MALKIN. No, due to my former experience in 1920 and 1921, when the American Communist Party was underground, when we split away from the Socialist Party and formed the Communist Party. Then we were about 87,000 members.

Three years of underground illegality deprived the party of open propaganda through the press, leaflets, open demonstrations, attraction of youth, attraction of other elements of the party, which cut off all of that source and practically stifled the party. Within a 2-year period, the party was only 3,500 members strong, because even those people who supported the Communist Party financially who were not members of the party ran away.

Senator O'CONNOR. After it then regained a legal status, so-called, to what total figure did the party grow prior to your severance?

Mr. MALKIN. It took quite a few years after the letter from Lenin to the American party. Lenin stated the following, and I am quoting verbatim:

The American Communist Party must strive to get out from underground as fast as possible. If not, it will be stifled to death.

It was after quite a few years of building up the Daily Worker, open education of trade unions, open education of mass organizations, and everything else, that the prestige of the party was regained. But actually, underground, the illegality kills a Communist movement, just like it did in Germany as soon as Hitler drove it underground; just like it did for a certain period in Canada in 1939 and 1940. I had a little experience, having helped out the Canadian Government during that period for a short while, in driving some of it underground.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it not a fact also that the espionage and much of their subversive activity is already underground?

Mr. MALKIN. Actually, the way they work underground now is that they took away all forms of identification material from the party members, party membership books, and so forth. They hid the records of the party, and leadership is kept in the background, but still they are able to carry on an open propaganda campaign; carry on open meetings, mass meetings; open speech making, and everything

else, demonstrations in Washington, demonstrations in Poughkeepsie, and others.

Underground they would not be able to do that. It would kill them. Once the party is driven underground, once that happens, there is a lack of effort and they are out of breath. That is the time they are dead.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask this question? It is undoubtedly naive to the Senator here, because he has been conducting hearings on the other subversive bills, but I would like to ask what, if a statute were passed saying that the Communist Party as such were outlawed, would you do then to subdue the other organizations which the Communists would undoubtedly form? How would you designate the organizations which would be outlawed in addition to just the name "Communist Party?"

Mr. MALKIN. The name of Communist Party does not mean a thing because the Communist Party has had numerous names.

Mr. ARENS. How are you going to outlaw it?

Mr. MALKIN. Any party that is organized, whether under a different name, as Communist Party, or Workers' Party, or any other name, as long as its ultimate aim is the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

Senator O'CONNOR. Also, of course, the pending bill before this committee provides that any such movement which is directed from abroad, which has any foreign sponsorship or control, is deemed to be inimical to the interests of the United States.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, but there is also a danger to that, too. The Communist Party of the United States could pull a trick like they pulled during the Roosevelt administration: "Well, we disaffiliate from the Communist International. We are no longer with them." How will you prove that? The only way would be to realize that as long as the Communist Party has never in its history openly repudiated its conditions of admission to the Communist International, the 21 conditions, it is still affiliated in spite of all statements that they might make.

Any organization that is left in any way, shape, or form by the party, or through its membership, or any Communists of the organization, should also be outlawed. That is, such as a trade union. You cannot outlaw all trade unions, but you could disband the trade unions and get a person like Ben Gold out and democratically supervise the election of a real democratic leadership for that union.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have difficulty in proving a man is a Communist now? How do you prove a man is a Communist now? Let us assume that Mr. X has been indicted, or is up under deportation proceedings as a Communist, and he does not admit that he is a Communist. How do you prove that he is a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. By former comrades of his in the party, and by different petitions and statements that he signs, so-called nominating petitions. Most Communists in New York or other parts of the country have been arrested on demonstrations on and off, and we could use that method.

Mr. ARENS. Can a court conclude from the fact that somebody signs a petition nominating a known Communist for a public office, that he participated in a demonstration which was sponsored by the Com-

munist organization, and that he belonged to an organization which has been designated by the Attorney General as communistic; can the court conclude from all that that he must be a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right, because any person with any common sense would know that after he has attended five or six demonstrations by Communists and he is impressed with them, that he is a Communist, but that member does not have to carry a membership book. He is an official member regardless. He is a practicing Communist. Those Communists are more dangerous than the party members, actually.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you name some people who have been prominent in the Communist-front movement?

Mr. MALKIN. I could name quite a few—Archibald MacLeish, Theodore Dreiser, Waldo Frank, Robert Sherwood, Olin Downes, of the New York Times, and many Hollywood writers. A lot of them are not definitely members of the party.

Harry Hopkins was never a member of the Communist Party, but still he catered to Herbert Benjamin to a certain degree. So did Aubrey Williams. He was a member of the League Against War and Fascism, which was a Communist front. So did Mr. Iekes.

Mr. DEKOM. How about Sidney Hillman?

Mr. MALKIN. Sidney Hillman, to my knowledge, although I was never at a party meeting with him, has been a member of the Communist Party since 1921.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Communist Party embrace a code of ethics or morality which would induce them to commit what we would normally call deceit, misrepresentation, or fraud?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. The Communist Party, according to the writings of the party, and according to Lenin's teachings, and a pamphlet that we introduced as evidence, called *Left-wing Communism an Infantile Disorder and State and Revolution*. In that pamphlet, Lenin says that the Communist Party must practice in order to penetrate mass organizations, trade-unions, and other organizations, where Communists would not be allowed to enter, must practice deceit, fraud, perjury, and everything else in order to get in. He must use all means to gain their ends.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do you know anything about the activities in Central and South America of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. I have known for quite a while of the way the Communist Party directs its apparatus.

In Central America and South America, the Communist Party has been concentrating, since the early 1920's, and during the Sandino uprising in Nicaragua, 1927, of the South American section of Latin America. Why? Because of their low living standards and because they are more gullible for everyday revolution and they are easily attracted toward revolutionary uprisings through the manipulations of the Communist Party, and through propaganda on the part of the Communists on their low standard of living.

For instance, we will say Cuban sugar workers and tobacco workers, and so forth. Lately the Communist Party has been concentrating on the Marshall plan, and the United States has given the Soviet

Union a great set-back with the Marshall plan. So, they are trying to concentrate around here, and also through China.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask this: I understood you to say earlier today that you had broken with the party because you realized that the party was controlled from Moscow. Has that always been the case?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How come you did not break with it sooner? Did you just arrive at that conclusion after you were further enlightened, or what was the series of facts which made your mind evolve to the conclusion that it was controlled and directed by Moscow?

Mr. MALKIN. I have known that it was controlled by Moscow throughout my membership in the party, but it took a couple of years behind prison walls to give me a little further education.

Mr. ARENS. Do you care to elaborate on that?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. I was convicted in 1926 in New York for my activities in the furriers' strike. I was sentenced to 2½ years at Sing Sing State prison, charged with felonious assault. While in prison, I was able to restudy some of the party literature. I also borrowed quite a few books on American history in the prison library, and between the two of them, I became more enlightened toward Americanism and away from communism.

Then, when I came out of prison, and I went back into the party, I began my revolt against the party. I attempted to organize within the party so that there would be a split, to break away from the party. I was not successful, of course, because some of the people notified the party of my heresy, so that is how I came to be out. It took quite a few years for me to decide, because it takes a member who joins the party and throws himself energetically into all of the party's affairs and work, quite a bit of time. He has to be convinced of a certain principle, what he thinks is a principle, and it takes quite a long time to break away from it.

Mr. ARENS. Did the rank and file of your Communist members in the United States, or persons under Communist discipline, realize that the party is controlled and directed from Moscow?

Mr. MALKIN. Most party members who have been in the party less than a period of 6 months realize that.

Senator O'CONNOR. Were there any efforts of reprisal made against you when you left?

Mr. MALKIN. There were plenty of them. In fact, every time I appear at a deportation hearing I usually get threats and telephone calls, 12 to 15 times a night, telling me to increase my insurance on my family, et cetera. We all go through that. We all go through that who have cooperated with the Government and broken from the party. We almost all must go through that stage. Some weaken, and some do not.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Are there any activities in Puerto Rico to organize those people into the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; the Communist Party has been active in Puerto Rico and throughout that section.

Senator O'CONNOR. How about the Canal Zone?

Mr. MALKIN. That, too. In fact, I remember a party man by the name of William Fenning who was sent there as an engineer on the Canal in 1925, and he was carrying on party work there. In fact, the

agents who are organizing the party there were in an organization called the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, under the leadership of a fellow by the name of Marcel Sherer, who is a charter member of the party.

Mr. DEKOM. Did the United Public Workers' Union go down there, too?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right, after the ground work was laid by the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that a Communist-controlled union?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know who is its president?

Mr. MALKIN. Abram Flaxer. I have known him. It was originally organized in the home-relief set-up known as the Home Relief Employees' Association.

Mr. DEKOM. Thank you.

Mr. ARENS. We have information to the effect that persons are arriving in the United States from Puerto Rico at the rate of a little in excess of 1,000 a week, persons who are technically American citizens. Do you have any information respecting those persons who are arriving and who may be subversive?

Mr. MALKIN. Lately it has been the party policy of getting South American agents, Communist agents, or Communists, Chilean or Argentinians. They will go to Puerto Rico and reside there for a few months. They make out papers that they were born in Puerto Rico, and since they are natives of Puerto Rico they are American citizens. That is how they entered the United States. Actually they are Argentinians or Chilean Communists.

Mr. ARENS. What is your source of information on that?

Mr. MALKIN. My sources of information are from a couple of officers of merchant ships and people from unions.

Mr. ARENS. How extensive is that practice?

Mr. MALKIN. It is quite extensive.

Mr. ARENS. Does your information indicate that that process or practice is used currently?

Mr. MALKIN. That is right.

Mr. SCHROEDER. In other words, somebody in the Puerto Rican Government issues birth certificates that these people are natives of Puerto Rico?

Mr. MALKIN. There must be some clerical workers, or somebody higher up in the government, who issues these certificates. Otherwise, if they cannot get certificates, they get what they call secondary evidence of their birth, because there is such a thing as secondary evidence of proving birth without a birth certificate.

Mr. ARENS. What connections, if any, do the Communists in Canada have with the Communists in the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. The Communist Party of Canada and the Communist Party in the United States are brother parties. They are under the same discipline, and they are supposed to exchange information and advice, financial and every other way.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent is there transportation of Communists between the two countries?

Mr. ARENS. Communists just walk across the border by proving American citizenship with a certificate, and even a chauffeur's license.

You could walk into Canada and you could come back with all kinds of reports.

Mr. ARENS. Where all did you operate in the course of your services?

Mr. MALKIN. I operated all over the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Were you in the full time pay of the Communists?

Mr. MALKIN. At times. I worked in a shop, and at times I was a full time functionary of the party.

Mr. ARENS. What was the nature of the remuneration that you received?

Mr. MALKIN. Actually, it was a ruling in the party at that time that a single man was supposed to get from \$25, \$35, to \$50 a week. That is, plus traveling expenses, of course.

The party then paid \$15 weekly for every child and \$20 extra for a wife if she was unemployed.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do, specifically?

Mr. MALKIN. I was actually in the organization in every way, in the trade-unions and mass organizations.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us more specifically what you did within the unions, or within the groups that you contacted?

Mr. MALKIN. I went to organize in the field where there were no unions during the early period from 1930 up to, say, 1935. I went to organize in the places where there were no trade-unions. I would send in Communists within that industry and build up the local union.

Mr. DEKOM. They were not identified as Communists, were they?

Mr. MALKIN. No, they were not.

Mr. ARENS. After the union was organized, what did you do?

Mr. MALKIN. We placed Communists in control of that union, of the finances, of the organization, and anything else. Any member who did not toe the line was told about it, and it was just too bad.

Mr. SCHROEDER. What is the nature of the Progressive Labor Party of Canada?

Mr. MALKIN. That is a Communist Party. That is the official Canadian Communist Party. That is a section of the Communist International, the same as the American Communist Party is a section of the Communist International.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any information respecting the atom spy ring operating in Canada, and presumably, in the United States?

Mr. MALKIN. I am a little bit acquainted with it. One person I knew was a fellow by the name of Sam Novick, of the Wholesale Radio Corp. He used to run the LaFayette Radio Corp., and Wholesale Radio. He later became president of the Electronic Corp. of America, the outfit that provided a "cover" for Russian espionage agents in this country during the last war. How I got acquainted with him was that I was supposed to leave for the Soviet Union and a banquet was given in my honor at the Hotel Albert in 1932. That is how I got acquainted with Sam Novick.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he at the banquet?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Was that a Communist banquet?

Mr. MALKIN. It was not official, but it was called the Comrades of Malkin and he came there. I also met him at his office a few times, at 100 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether he was a party member?

Mr. MALKIN. No; I don't think he was.

Mr. DEKOM. How did he get involved in this dinner?

Mr. MALKIN. I was acquainted with him through a fellow by the name of Irving Koenig, who used to buy some material from him for the Stewart-Warner Corp., and who made numerous trips to Russia.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he a Communist?

Mr. MALKIN. No.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting any persons in the Government of the United States who are at the present time, to your knowledge, either Communists, or directly under Communist discipline?

Mr. MALKIN. No; not now.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do you know any in your own State?

Mr. MALKIN. In a State; yes.

Mr. SCHROEDER. In a State government?

Mr. MALKIN. The teachers, and I have given affidavits. In fact, these are now in possession of the board of regents.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that in New York State?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I would like again to remind you that we have asked you and you have agreed to transmit to the subcommittee a list of these papers which you feel are Communist papers.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I have no further questions.

Senator O'CONNOR. Thank you very much, Mr. Malkin.

Mr. MALKIN. Thank you, sir.

Senator O'CONNOR. We will recess at this time.

(Whereupon, at 3 p. m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10:30 a. m., September 8, 1949.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Forrest C. Donnell presiding.

Present: Senator Donnell (presiding).

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Frank W. Schroeder and Otto J. Dekom, professional staff.

Senator DONNELL. The hearing will now come to order.

Mr. Arens, will you proceed?

Mr. ARENS. This is a continuation of the hearings on S. 1832 to provide for the exclusion and deportation of subversives.

Our next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. John J. Huber.

Senator DONNELL. Mr. Huber, do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HUBER. I do.¹

TESTIMONY OF JOHN J. HUBER

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Huber, is it agreeable with you for all or any part of your testimony today and your identity to be released publicly?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Senator DONNELL. Pardon me, Mr. Huber, it is now about 7 minutes before the time the Senate convenes, and I am wondering whether you would be willing to go right ahead with your statement, and then respond to questions of Mr. Arens, or his assistants. I will ask that I be excused from attendance. Are you willing to go right ahead, Mr. Huber?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Senator DONNELL. Very well. I am glad to have met you.

Mr. ARENS. Will you please state your name and give us an outline of your background and experience?

Mr. HUBER. My name is John J. Huber. I was born in New York City and have lived in that city and its environs all of my life. In 1937, I was employed in a supervisory capacity in the WPA in New

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

York City, where I came in contact with fellow workers who were members of the Communist Party.

My superiors in WPA knew that I did not share the Communist ideology and suggested to me that I could be of service to our Nation and our democratic way of life if I would cooperate with Government officials in identifying the leaders in the Communist Party in this country. I offered my services in any manner that the Government saw fit to use them. Accordingly, I was requested to go to the local office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in New York City for instructions. I did this and was asked whether or not I would be willing to join the Communist Party in order that I might be kept informed on party matters and report them to the FBI. I told the FBI officials that I would endeavor to join the Communist Party on behalf of the United States Government and would report to the FBI office or its agents the information I gained from such membership.

Thereafter, I continued on friendly relations with my coworkers in the WPA office and within a few weeks was invited to join the Communist Party of the United States. After the invitation was repeated two or three times within a short period of time, I agreed to and did join the Communist Party. It was under these circumstances that I became a member of the Communist Party of the United States in the latter part of 1938 and held membership until the middle part of 1947, at which time I ceased my work with the FBI of my own volition.

Mr. DEKOM. To what extent did you devote yourself to party work?

Mr. HUBER. During my period of membership in the Communist Party, I gave my full time to party activities. I did not miss a meeting of my unit of the party in 8 years. I was a member of the Teamster Branch of the Water Front Section of the Communist Party, which was the most powerful and militant section of the party in the United States. I progressed through various stages in my work, from distributing leaflets and the Daily Worker to active participation in such Communist front organizations as the American Slav Congress, the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the Council on African Affairs, the Spanish Action Committee, and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

I was in close contact with the leaders of Communist Party as well as these various front organizations and was admitted to the closed executive meetings. I have an intimate acquaintance with many of the leaders of the Communist Party, particularly in the New York City area, and stand ready to make such information available to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Mr. DEKOM. During your work as an under-cover agent in the Communist Party, did you maintain any continuing record of your own activities and of party activities with which you had connection?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I did. I not only made periodic reports to the FBI, but I also kept a continuous diary over a period of about 8 years. I have this material here with me and, as you can see, it is contained in two large notebooks, running into nearly 1,000 typewritten pages. I will be happy to turn this information over to you.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will receive that in evidence and mark it "Huber Exhibit 1."

(The documents referred to were marked "Huber Exhibit 1," and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DEKOM. As a member of the Communist Party, were you issued periodic membership books or cards?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I was. I have them here with me and will be glad to submit them to you.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, these membership books and cards will be received in evidence and marked "Huber Exhibit 2."

(The documents referred to were marked "Huber Exhibit 2." and appear following p. 512.)

Mr. DEKOM. I notice that your Communist Party membership cards are made out to three different units: "Connolly Branch," "Eleventh Assembly District," and "Unity Center." Would you please explain the difference in names?

Mr. HUBER. There is no difference; they are all one. The names were changed from time to time, but these are all the same unit. The unit is located at 2744 Broadway, New York. In July 1943, for example, every branch of the Communist Party changed the name it had been using and became known as the assembly district club in which it was located. For example, the James Connolly Branch and the Earl Browder Branch became known as the Eleventh Assembly District Club. The Seamen's Branch, located at 230 Seventh Avenue, became known as the Seamen's Club. That change occurred throughout all the Communist Party branches in the New York area. The reasons given for that change were that the name Assembly District Club would add prestige and would aid in drawing new members, and that, in time, these clubs would take their places beside the Republican, Democrat, and American Labor Party clubs in their respective neighborhoods. It was pointed out that the Communist Party commanded more respect in neighborhoods where those clubs were situated since the substitution of the term "club" for that of "branch." The fact that a recent recruiting drive had added 5,500 new members to the party ranks was given in justification of that change in terms. The only branches of the Communist Party which had not changed to the use of the term "assembly district club" are those attached to the industrial section. That designation would not fit those clubs since their branches were among needleworkers, some of which were located in shops where comrades worked.

Mr. DEKOM. Go ahead, please.

Mr. HUBER. I would also like to submit to the committee a number of letters, papers, and testimonials which give a picture of my services in the party and of my connection with party members and activities.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive these and mark them "Huber Exhibit 3."

(These documents were marked "Huber Exhibit 3" and appear following p. 512.)

Mr. DEKOM. In the course of your party activity, Mr. Huber, did you attend any schools or courses of instruction?

Mr. HUBER. Yes. When new members were taken into the Communist Party, they were given about 10 lessons in training sessions designed to teach the new members the principles of communism. Thereafter, the new members were assigned to sections where they were taught the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Mr. DEKOM. What was the nature of the teaching you received?

Mr. HUBER. Let me give you an example. On March 6, 1940, I attended a new-members class at 131 East Seventeenth Street, New York City, led by Charles Cook. His topic of discussion was Struggle for Peace. Cook said in this class that, "if this country becomes involved in an imperialist war, a civil war will ensue to stop such a war, because the capitalists will arm the masses who will then turn their guns on them." Cook, in his talk to the new class, stated that the policy of the Communist Party was the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

Mr. DEKOM. On the basis of your years of work in the Communist Party, your observation of party activity, and your contact with party leaders, what is your evaluation, your judgment of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. HUBER. In my opinion, the Communist Party of the United States is the most dangerous and vicious organization that has ever existed within the borders of this country.

Despite the alleged dissolution of the Communist International in 1943, the Communist Party in this and every other country in the world still takes orders from Moscow. That was proven beyond a doubt by the complete repudiation of Earl Browder and his policies, upon direction of Jacques Duclos, French member of the Comintern.

The Communist Party will stop at no lengths to achieve its avowed purpose of overthrowing our existing Government by force or otherwise, in order to establish a communistic regime in its stead. It is true that the constitution of the Communist Party no longer contains the phrase pertaining to the revolutionary overthrow of the Government, but that phrase is engraven in the hearts of all Communists and is merely omitted from their printed matter in order to prevent the party from being declared illegal. The party will use the weapon of revolution, through ordering general strikes, through creating social unrest, through propagandizing against capitalism as the root of the evils suffered by the masses, and through golden promises of an utopia, where everyone will share alike and be equal.

Further, the party will use its best weapon, that of boring from within, joining democratic coalitions, until the Communist members gain control of the leadership, and by getting large numbers of Communists elected or appointed to Government agencies.

The membership of the Communist Party consider it their sacred duty to work diligently every waking hour, to accomplish something for the improvement and advancement of the party and its aims. Comrades hold key positions in all city, State, and Federal agencies. They never cease their efforts to achieve the accomplishment of the party line as outlined for them by the national committee. They thrive on the discontent of the masses, and unflinchingly operate to sow seeds of dissatisfaction, resulting in the successful recruiting of thousands of malcontents.

In conducting their Communist activities, members of the Communist Party are apparently given free rein in this country. They are permitted to hold public meetings, mass demonstrations, distribute literature criticizing and denouncing our Government and its foreign and domestic policies—all openly conducted under the auspices of the Communist Party and its front organizations.

Communist Party membership book, 1943

PREAMBLE

to the

Constitution of the Communist Party
of the U.S.A.

The Communist Party of the United States of America is a working class political party carrying forward today the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Adams, and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence; it upholds the achievements of democratic freedom, the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and all popular liberties; it is devoted to defense of the immediate interests of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation, and to preparation of the working class for its historic mission to unite and lead the American people to extend these democratic principles to their necessary and logical conclusions

by establishing common ownership of the national economy, through a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, by nation, by race, and by color, and thereby the abolition of all class divisions in society, that is, by the establishment of socialism, according to the scientific principles advocated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, embodied in the Communist International; and the free cooperation of the American People with those of other lands, striving toward a world without oppression and war, a world brotherhood of men

NECESSARY READING

To fulfill the obligations of Party membership—to know and especially to understand events and problems—to effectively work amongst and influence your fellow worker, trade union brother or sister, neighbor or friend—every Communist should get the habit of reading regularly, each day—THE DAILY WORKER.

Begin reading the Daily Worker and weekly Worker NOW and EVERY DAY HEREAFTER.

For more advanced thinking and studying by all Communists, and especially indispensable for every Party functionary, starting with the Branch officers, is the reading each month of the official theoretical organ of the Party—THE COMMUNIST.

Communist Party
of the U. S. A.

1943

No. 6465

Membership Book

Name JOHN HUBER
(PRINT)
State N. Y. District N. Y.
County N. Y. City N. Y.
Section (A.D. or Ward) 7-9-11
Branch Cornwall

This book was issued on 12/12/42
(date)



No Party Membership Book is valid unless it has this Seal stamped thereon.

1943 MEMBERSHIP DUES

JANUARY DUES	FEBRUARY DUES	MARCH DUES	APRIL DUES
ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT
MAY DUES	JUNE DUES	JULY DUES	AUGUST DUES
ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT
SEPTEMBER DUES	OCTOBER DUES	NOVEMBER DUES	DECEMBER DUES
ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT

Place Dues and Assessment Stamps on This Page

Place Additional Stamps on This Page

JANUARY	FEBRUARY
MARCH	APRIL
MAY	JUNE
JULY	AUGUST
SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER
NOVEMBER	DECEMBER

1942 DUES ARREARS

SEPTEMBER DUES	OCTOBER DUES	NOVEMBER DUES	DECEMBER DUES
ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT

Place other stamps here

No 3809

Communist Party of the U. S. A.

1944 MEMBERSHIP BOOK

Name JOHN HUBER
 Sex M District A-7
 County Wash DC City A-7
 Section (A.D. or Ward) 7-9 TAM
 Branch 11 BA

This membership book is valid unless it
 is cancelled on 11/16, 1943 (date)

John Huber
 Signature of Member
 Secretary of the District
 Secretary of the Party

This membership book is valid unless it
 is cancelled on 11/16, 1943 (date)

January DUES	ASSESSMENT
February DUES	ASSESSMENT
March DUES	ASSESSMENT
April DUES	ASSESSMENT
May DUES	ASSESSMENT
June DUES	ASSESSMENT

Place Dues & Assessment Stamps on This Page

July DUES	ASSESSMENT
August DUES	ASSESSMENT
September DUES	ASSESSMENT
October DUES	ASSESSMENT
November DUES	ASSESSMENT
December DUES	ASSESSMENT

Place Dues & Assessment Stamps on This Page

FOR OTHER STAMPS

1943 DUES ARREARS

September DUES	ASSESSMENT	October DUES	ASSESSMENT
November DUES	ASSESSMENT	December DUES	ASSESSMENT

Preamble to the Constitution
of the
Communist Party of the U. S. A.

The Communist Party of the United States of America is a working class political party carrying forward today the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence; it upholds the achievements of democracy, the right of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and all popular liberties; it is devoted to defense of the immediate interests of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation, and to preparation of the working class for its historic mission to unite and lead the American people to extend their democratic prin-

ciples to their necessary and logical conclusion:

By establishing common ownership of the national economy, through a government of the people; by the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, nation by nation, and race by race, and thereby the abolition of class divisions in society; that is, by the establishment of socialism, according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and the free cooperation of the American people with those of other lands, striving toward a world without oppression and war, a world brotherhood of man.

NECESSARY READING

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Begin reading the DAILY WORKER and weekly THE WORKER now and EVERY DAY hereafter.

For more advanced thinking and studying by all Communists, and especially INDISPENSABLE FOR EVERY PARTY FUNCTIONARY, starting with the Branch officers, is the reading each month of the official theoretical organ of the Party—THE COMMUNIST.

HUBER EXHIBIT 2

No.	10235	1944
<i>Communist Political Association</i>		
MEMBERSHIP CARD		
<i>John Huber</i>		
Club	<i>Unity Center</i>	County <i>Ny</i>
City	<i>Ny</i>	State <i>Ny</i>
Issued	<i>6/6</i>	1944
<i>Robert Green</i> SECRETARY		

MEMBERSHIP DUES

July	August	September	October	November	December

Initiation Stamp


DUES RATES

Effective July 1st, 1944 to December 31st, 1944
 \$5 for last 6 months of 1944

	PER MO.
Regular dues (for those earning over \$30.00 per week)	\$1.00
Earning from \$20.00 to \$30.00 per week50
Earning less than \$20.00 per week25

Communist Political Association membership card, 1944.

HUBER EXHIBIT 2

N ^o	23730	1945
<i>Communist Political Association</i>		
Membership Card		
<i>John Miller</i>		
Club	<i>Unity Club</i>	County <i>Wm</i>
City	<i>N Y C</i>	State <i>N Y</i>
Issued	<i>12-1-45</i>	194 <i>5</i>
		<i>John Miller</i> State President

MEMBERSHIP DUES

First Quarter	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	Fourth Quarter

Initiation Stamp

DUES RATES

	Per Quarter
Regular Dues _____	\$3.00
For those earning \$25.00 or Less per week _____	1.00

Communist Political Association membership card, 1945.

HUBER EXHIBIT 2

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF PARTY MEMBERS

To attend club meetings, read the Party press and literature, pay dues regularly and be active on behalf of the program and policies of the Party.

To at all times loyally defend the interests of the workingclass against the forces of fascism and reaction.

To fight against all forms of national oppression, discrimination and segregation, and all ideological influences and practices of "racial" theories.

To fight for the full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people, for Negro and white unity.

To participate in working out all policies and tasks of the club, and to regularly examine the execution of such policies.

To vote for all officers, committees and delegates, and be elected to any office or committee in accord with provisions of the Constitution.

To appeal any decision with which there is disagreement to the next higher body, carrying out the decision while appeal is pending.

To strive to master the program and policies of the Party, the principles of Marxism-Leninism.



No. 8726

No.

1946 MEMBERSHIP CARD
COMMUNIST PARTY
of the U.S.A.

Name of John Huber

City New York

Date Issued Oct 1945

Bob Thompson

State Chairman

1946 DUES

JAN.	FEB.	MAR.
APRIL	MAY	JUNE
JULY	AUG.	SEPT.
OCT.	NOV.	DEC.

1945 DUES

3rd QUARTER	4th QUARTER
INITIATION STAMP	ASSESSMENT STAMP

DUES RATES

Income over \$6.00 per week	per mo. \$2.00
Income \$3.00 to \$6.00 per week	\$1.00
Income under \$3.00 per week	75c
Unemployed	10c

Read the DAILY WORKER
and the WORKER
Read our Ideality Magazine
POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Communist Party membership card, 1946.

HUBER EXHIBIT 2

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF PARTY MEMBERS

To at all times loyally defend the interests of the workingclass against the forces of Reaction and reaction.

To fight against all forms of national oppression, discrimination and segregation, and all ideological influences and practices "racial" theories.

To fight for the full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people, for Negro and white unity.

To attend club meetings, read the Party press and literature, pay dues regularly and be active on behalf of the program and policies of the Party.

To participate in working out all policies and lines of the club, and to regularly organize the execution of such policies.

To vote for all officers, committee and delegates, and be elected to any office or committee in accord with provisions of the Constitution.

To appeal any decision with which there is disagreement to the next higher body, carrying out the decision while appeal is pending.

To strive to realize the program and policies of the Party, the principles of Internationalism.

No: 10948

NEW MEMBERSHIP CARD
COMMUNIST PARTY
of the U.S.A.

Name: *Johnny Huber* NY
 Date: *11/19/46*
 Club: *11/19/46*
 Signature: *Bob Thompson*
 Title: *Club Chairman*

1947 DUES

JAN.	FEB.	MAR.
APRIL	MAY	JUNE
JULY	AUG.	SEPT.
OCT.	NOV.	DEC.

1946 DUES

OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
INITIATION STAMP		ASSESSMENT STAMP

DUES RATES

	per mo.
Income over 40.00 per week.....	\$2.00
Income 35.00 to 40.00 per week.....	\$1.50
Income under 35.00 per week.....	10c
Unemployed.....	10c

Read the DAILY WORKER
and the WORKER
Read our Monthly Magazine
POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Communist Party membership card, 1947.

HUBER EXHIBIT 3

NEW YORK CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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 Tom Brown, Women's Director
 George Green, City Secretary
 Ben. Max, Credit Director
 Robert Brown, Public Director

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

90 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Telephone 2-2321

May 4, 1940

John Huber
 187 E. 184 Street
 Bronx, New York

Dear Brother Huber:

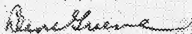
I have been informed by the Executive Committee of Lodge 999 that you have been proposed as the adult Sponsor to the Youth Division of Lodge 999.

I am sure that you can appreciate the important responsibility that the International Workers Order has in organizing young people into our Order so that we can give expression to the social, sport and cultural needs of the Youth and bring them into the fold of our working class movement. I am sure you can also understand that young people need the experienced guidance of adults in order for them to be able to carry on their activity in the proper manner.

I am, therefore, writing you this letter to appeal to you to cooperate with Lodge 999 to the fullest extent and in this way make your contribution to the building of the Order amongst the young people. I would suggest that you get in touch with the young people and make the necessary arrangements to meet with their Executive Committee as well as to be present at their meetings. Finally, as the Sponsor, it is also advisable that you meet with the adult Executive to report to them on the work of the Youth Division.

We must again repeat that the assignment is a very important one involving our need to help young people become a part of our Order and we, therefore, urge you to take this position with a full sense of responsibility of its importance.

Fraternally yours,



Dave Greene, Secretary
 City Central Committee IWO

DS:hs
 msp:ps
 m.15

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—Family Medical Service

Specialist Service

Birth Control Center

Letter from Dave Greene, International Workers Order.

HUBER EXHIBIT 3

YOUNG FRATERNALISTS

YOUTH DIVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

President
BOB VAILNational Secretary
HELEN WARDENRecording Secretary
FANNIE GARDNER

July 29, 1940

NATIONAL OFFICE
25 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.
Telephone 47722John Huber
237 East 184 Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Brother Huber:

Last night at our Executive Committee meeting we discussed the new edition of TD 962. Sister Ray Glusman was up to the adult meeting a few weeks ago and had a talk with you.

At my rate at last night's meeting we felt that it was necessary to call a meeting with some of the people responsible for the Division backbone what steps we can take now so that in the Fall we can really look to have a well functioning Division on the West Side.

In this meeting we are calling yourself, Marty, Ruth, Ben Glitsky as well as our Exec Executive Committee and Bob Vail. I hope that you will make every effort to attend this meeting on Monday, July 30, 7:30 PM at the National Office, Room 1802.

Fraternally yours,

Fannie Gardner
Fannie Gardner
Manhattan Youth Director

uogm/28

HUBER EXHIBIT 3

SPANISH REFUGEE APPEAL

THE NATIONAL SPANISH REFUGEE APPEAL COMMITTEE

Dear Friend:

We are most anxious to close our records on the Tag Days held on last May 24th, 25th and 26th.

Our entire Board of Directors is, as you know, at this time standing trial in Washington before the Federal Court. They are counting on your support as they have in the past. I can think of no better way that you can help support our Committee than by returning the remaining cans you have in order that we may spend relief to the heroic Spanish Republicans who still remain in exile in Southern France.

According to our records, we find that there are still five cans outstanding from your organization. Will you make every effort to return these cans to our office at 122 1/2 Lexington Avenue (32nd Street) as soon as possible.

On behalf of the Spanish Republicans in exile, we thank you for all that you have done to aid them.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Parker
Dorothy Parker
Chairman

Spifs
wspw/12

Letter from Dorothy Parker, Spanish Refugee Appeal.

HUBER EXHIBIT 3

JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE

192 LEXINGTON AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • Murray Hill 3-0180

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National Honorary Chairman

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July 5, 1944

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HARVARD MANE

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Harvard University

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Author

BY REV. EDWARD I. PARDONS

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PROF. KENNETH ROSSMILL

Brown University

DR. FRANCIS J. SUTCHNER

Postage Station, Cal.

PAUL ROBERTSON

Felt, FLOWEL SHAWLEY

Harvard College Observatory

DAVID THOMAS

Author

DAVID MAY WHITTY

Author

DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY

Pres. Emerita, Mt. Holyoke College

DR. MAX YERGAN

Council on Africa Affairs

and others

Mr. Johnny Huber
16 Cortlandt Street
St. Vernon, New York


Dear Johnny:

It was perfectly wonderful the way you worked and the way you helped at the Groppler Party last Saturday. I can't begin to tell you how much Sophie and the Committee appreciate everything you did to make the party such an overwhelming success.

I know you must have been ever so tired on Sunday but I also know that it is a great satisfaction for you to realize that we cleared \$2,000 at the party. This is, of course, the largest amount that has ever been made at one of the Groppler Parties, and Dr. Bersky and the Gropplers and all of us are elated over the success.

The \$2,000 will immediately be sent to Portugal for the relief of the Spanish refugees and members of the International Brigade who are living there in the day to day hope that they will soon be returning to their own lands.

Cordially yours,


Helen R. Bryan
Executive Secretary

uymw/16

HUBER EXHIBIT 3

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 4-6100

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October 26, 1965

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MRS. STANLEY P. SMITH
CHANNING H. TOLIAS
DOXY A. WILKERSONMr. John Huber
15 Cortlandt Street
Mt. Vernon, New York

Dear Johnny:

You were one of the principal persons responsible for the success of last Sunday's affair for Paul Robeson at 16 West 12th Street. I write to you to thank you most sincerely for what you did; for the fine spirit of cooperation which you showed. All of us think of you as part of the Council's staff and were very happy to include you in the group.

Yours most sincerely,

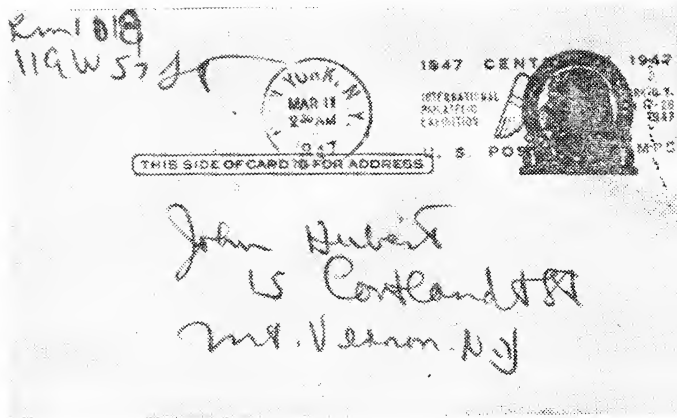


MY:jd

Max Yergan

Letter from Max Yergan, Council on African Affairs.

HUDER EXHIBIT 3



Dear John, -
Please call me,
meanwhile please hold
fast. Eve. April 12th open
thanks. Sam Kenin
G 5-6908

Post card from Sam Kenin.

HUBER EXHIBIT 3

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Sciences*

370 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. - WATSEMAN 8-1800

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 Oscar Williams
 Dr. Max Yergan
 Sam Young

March 12, 1947

Mr. John Huber
 15 Cortlandt St.
 St. Vrain, N.Y.

Dear Johnny:--

We at the School were wondering and hoping too, that you would help us out at a reception the school is tendering to Mr. Philip Foner on the occasion of publication of a book he has written on the history of the American Labor Movement.

The reception is to take place on March 29 here at the school, in the library from 2 - 7 P.M.

We would love to have you help us at the bar and would be such appreciative if you could let us know soon.

You can reach me at the school anytime between 11 and 6 P.M.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Barbara Aronson
 Barbara Aronson

HUBER EXHIBIT 3

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL of Social Science

839 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

RECEIVED 2-19-52

DR. ROBERTO ULLMAN, Director
12005 120th St., New York

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1947-1952

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Dr. Max Lichten

Full Time

Wednesday

Dear Jimmy, There is going to be a party given in honor of an important person on Sunday Dec. 3rd. I was hoping you would be free to help us out. Jimmy, please let me hear either way as soon as you can. Call me at home before 10³⁰ morning or at the school after that, so I can give you further directions in a speedy letter.

Regina

Letter from Regina Wilson, Jefferson School of Social Science.

The party is given the status of a legal political party, similar to the Democratic and Republican Parties, is permitted to nominate candidates and place them on election ballots. In New York City, the council contains two elected Communists, while a number of other past or present councilmen are known to be closely tied up with the party.

The mistake this country is making by allowing them such freedom is that we do not face the fact that the foremost allegiance of all Communists is to the Soviet Union. They prove this constantly by continually denouncing and criticizing the United States and all its policies, while at the same time revering the virtues and correctness of all Soviet actions and policies.

There is no doubt in my mind but that, in a war involving the United States and any foreign communistically controlled country, the Communist members in the armed forces in this country would actively become foreign agents, utilizing every unprincipled and unscrupulous means available to sabotage the defense of the United States.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you familiar with the statement recently made by the heads of Communist Parties in various western countries, including the United States, concerning what they would do in the event of a war between the United States or their own countries and the Soviet Union?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; that they owed their allegiance to Russia, and that they would not fight for this country, because this country consists of just a bunch of capitalists. At all of our meetings, it was, "Stalin says this" and "Stalin says that; it must be right." It was always Stalin and the Soviet Union.

Loyal Americans do not take the Communist Party seriously enough, for they feel that it is but a minority party consisting of a small membership and "it can't happen here."

While it is true that there is a yearly turn-over of thousands of members, it must be emphasized that this does not mean these thousands have renounced communism. They may no longer be dues-paying and registered party members, but they retain their homage and allegiance to the principles of communism. This boosts the number of Communist believers in this country up past the million mark, a fact which the party is well aware of, but cleverly disguises in its unceasing recruiting.

It is a misconception, which the party will not try to correct, but will rather try to increase, to have us believe that the Communist Party is not as strong today as it was 10 years ago. The party is not only stronger, but it is growing steadily, by reason of the steady influx of members from communistically controlled labor unions, from foreign-language-speaking groups, from the theatrical and entertainment fields, from veterans' groups, from the youth of America, from among the Negro people, and from consumer and community groups. The day-to-day recruiting of comrades has yielded the Communist Party handsome dividends in increasing their numbers.

Communists have infiltrated into mass organizations and into civic and citizens' groups. They were even instructed to move into the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. They hope, work for, and expect some day to get their policies accepted and put into action by these organizations.

In New York City they have organized tenants' leagues in every community, and, on the basic and vital issues of housing, rents, and landlords, have duped innocent people into joining and working for the party.

In my close association with front organizations (excluding Communist-controlled unions), which are used as transmission belts to disseminate the party line, I have seen just how many people are being taken in and fooled by the innocence of front organizations. Front organizations are formed by the party to publicize and campaign on specific issues, and these issues can be traced back to the Communist Party for their origin. They are one of the richest sources of recruiting members into the party and collecting funds with which the party can carry on campaigns.

The Communist fronts are increasing in number today, and can boast of such well-known figures as Dashiell Hammett, Lillian Hellman, Dorothy Parker, Herman Shumlin, Norman Corwin, Harlow Shapley, Ella Logan, Charlie Chaplin, Edward G. Robinson, and John Garfield as just a few of the drawing cards which attract the general public to their meetings and into eventually becoming members there. Such meetings invariably revolve around Communist campaigns and disseminate Communist-inspired propaganda.

In my opinion, these front organizations should be publicly exposed and their danger, true nature, make-up, and origin shown for what they really are.

In the field of education, there are a few hundred members of the Communist Party who are teaching the children of New York City in our public schools. The party realizes, more than do most Americans, that it is in the schools and by teaching youngsters the Communist distortions of history and the principles of revolution, that they have their ripest fields for propaganda and future members. That they are correct in this Marxist realization is more than proven by the numbers of students who join students' leagues and youth organizations controlled by Communists.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Did you yourself become well known in Communist Party circles?

Mr. HUBER. I did. I was present at so many meetings, and served drinks at so many others, that I got to be known by hundreds of party members. As a matter of fact, Mr. Schroeder, I made it a special point to be conspicuous, because I wanted to be well known in party circles so that I could get as much information and get to know as many members as possible. I made it my job. It was the best way I knew of carrying out my assignment for the Government.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you get to know top officials of the party?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; in the same way. I even got to know the drinking habits of the party leaders. Paul Robeson, for example, used to like the way I mixed rum and coke for him and he would often come over to me, after a Communist Party meeting, and thank me for the drinks I had made for him.

Mr. DEKOM. How high did you get in attending party meetings, to which levels of party authority?

Mr. HUBER. To all levels, city, State, and national. As a matter of fact, I was one of the few people to ever sit in on a meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEKOM. Isn't that one of the most secret meetings of the party high command?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; it certainly is.

Mr. DEKOM. How did you happen to get in on that meeting?

Mr. HUBER. I knew the guard at the door, and he was a good friend of mine in the party, and he did not question me when I walked into the meeting. That was one of the chief advantages that I gained from becoming so well known in party circles. I was often able to attend closed meetings to which I was not supposed to come, but I got in anyway and nobody questioned me.

Mr. DEKOM. Because of the secrecy and importance attached to the meeting of the national committee, I want you to give us as detailed a report on the meeting as you can reconstruct from your memory and your notes.

Mr. HUBER. This was the meeting of the national committee of the Communist Party at the Albert Hotel, on November 15, 1945.

The entire national committee was present, having come from all over the United States. This particular meeting was one of the most important meetings of the party and was attended by the top leadership.

The meeting was opened by Saul Wellman, who made the following speech:

Leadership is an important thing. In the main, our party has a strong and healthy leadership, but some bad and negative features have been noted. We have carried over many people about whom we know too little, exactly who they are, how they make their living, their union connections, activities, and so forth. We must complete the review of them rapidly. Residence committee members have started to go out into the districts to acquaint themselves with the details there. We are bringing many new problems closer to the committee—how our enemies are working in the party.

The committee interested itself in the case of Comrade Donchin in Philadelphia. He had presented charges against Comrade [Eugene] Dennis for slander and character violation. Our review committee heard Donchin and rendered the opinion that it was his intent to weaken the party. The committee characterized Comrade Donchin's behavior as arrogant, and decided to dismiss these charges against Comrade Dennis by Comrade Donchin on the ground that his charges were not solely against Dennis, but were against every member of the board. This is just one example of the upsurge of weak leadership during the period of revisionism, but the leadership has been taken away from the groups trying to cause trouble. In addition, we have noted a number of serious problems in Chicago and Detroit. We have had to correct corruption among some of our trade-union comrades. We know there are operating in our midst enemy forces, such as the FBI, Government intelligence agents, foreign government agents, who are attempting to turn the people against our interests.

Regarding the case of Sam Darcy, this was turned over to the review commission. They called upon Comrade Darcy to appear before them for a hearing sending him two letters. To the first letter we got no response; to the second letter, we received a polite response saying that at this time he was not interested in returning to the party. I believe we should table this matter at present.

One of the things which must be corrected is the keeping in many offices of party lists, names, and address records. This is not a good procedure, because we do not know too much about some of the comrades who are being brought into our movement. Many have been accepted as party members and elected to office solely on the basis of having been a veteran of the Spanish Civil War and of this war, and no further background investigation has been made.

Another thing, there is too much gossiping and rumoring going on, with comrades talking too freely. There must be a general tightening up all around. The struggle to preserve the unity of the party cannot be stressed too strongly.

In the main, the old leadership was connected with the Browder line, but it no longer holds today. New leadership must be scrutinized and weighed. There must be greater sensitivity of members of the party on the question of leadership. We still find too much dissatisfaction in the ranks of the party. We must establish and maintain prestige with the working class. Budenz and people of his type must be removed.

There must be refreshing of the leadership and the execution of a policy of very careful fusing of the old and new. This question of comrades being without assignments of party work must be taken care of immediately. It has been over 3 months since the convention—too long for it to have dragged on, especially when there is urgent need for every shoulder being put to the wheel, when every comrade should be at work.

A considerable number of the membership was not reached with the decisions of the convention. Some are still not aware of the question of [Earl] Browder and why we rejected revisionism; also, what is disturbing, in a number of districts we do not know who the people are who voted against our resolution. There is not a full appreciation of the fact that enemies are working within our ranks. There are serious leaks in our organization. Stories have appeared in the capitalistic press which show there are leaks. The work of the Trotskyites has been most energetic in the last few years, but we feel that whatever inroads they have made we will be able to smash. However, in the last 2 years there have been no exposures of known Trotskyites, although there are definite indications that there are some working within our party. They are trying to associate themselves with mass questions on which they were delinquent in the past. They have made great progress among the Negroes in Detroit and Chicago. It appears that Detroit is becoming the national point of Trotskyites. There is a greater flood of their printed material than at any other period. Their first concentration is New York; second, Los Angeles; third, Detroit; fourth, Chicago; and fifth, Philadelphia. They have organizations in most of the important industrial cities in the United States and their activities are increasing in the concentration points. At no time in the past has there ever existed such a liberal attitude toward Trotskyites as at this time. Some of our comrades cannot recognize the antiworking, anti-Soviet sentiments of the Trotskyites and great danger lies here—we must expose this danger before more damage is inflicted to our party.

Our next problem is the police, the FBI, and the intelligence agents active in the party. Here, too, are sufficiently concrete indications in New York, Chicago, and Detroit that should make us vigilant of this problem and increase our efforts to drive them out. The most effective method for making it extremely difficult and impossible to work within the ranks of the party is to create basic vigilance in the party, to fight to know as much as possible about all the comrades, down to the newest rank and file members.

Gossip and rumor must be stopped. Such matters as require discipline and action should be brought before responsible party committees. Police agents and the FBI have representatives all over—maybe these walls have ears, even here, too. The luncheonette at Twelfth Street and University Place is a spot where anyone can pick up information which should be kept to ourselves. Immediately after the business of Budenz,¹ there was a hell of a lot of talk going on there—this must be stopped.

What is necessary is that our leadership and the membership must become sensitive to these problems. Our party has always been an example for organization and work. We must fight now to really make it such—to meet the struggle ahead.

When Wellman concluded I left the room in order not to draw any suspicion on me. The meeting went on for 2 days altogether.

Mr. DEKOM. I notice in Wellman's speech that he expresses concern over the presence of FBI and intelligence agents in the party. Weren't you at that time an undercover agent of the FBI?

Mr. HUBER. I certainly was. Wellman would have been very unhappy to know that. I hope he reads this.

Mr. DEKOM. Approximately, how many members were in the Connolly branch of the Communist Party?

¹ For the testimony of Louis Budenz, see p. 217.

Mr. HUBER. There were 330 members in the James Connolly Branch.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you give us the names of any of these persons who were in your branch of the Communist Party, the Connolly Branch?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I have a partial list of the names and addresses of members of the Connolly Branch which I would like to read. I will be glad to submit additional names for the record.

Mr. DEKOM. Go ahead please.

Mr. HUBER. Following is the list of names and addresses of members of the Eleventh assembly district, Communist Party, known as the James Connolly Branch, located at 2744 Broadway, New York City:

Gladys Alstadt, 150 West Ninety-fifth Street
 Edbert Anderson, 417 West One Hundred and Eighteenth Street
 Aza Bard, 150 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Phil Bard, 150 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Eva Belloch, 514 West One Hundred and Tenth Street
 Augusta Berler, 411 West One Hundred and Fourteenth Street
 Oscar Berler, 411 West One Hundred and Fourteenth Street
 Harriet Black, 210 West One Hundred and Seventh Street
 Anna Bloom, 4500 Broadway
 Harry Bloom, 4500 Broadway
 Sarah Bloom, 107 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Betty Betowin, 65 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Hertz Bourgin-Gordon, 248 West One Hundred and Fifth Street
 Lillian Brandon, 420 Riverside Drive
 Christine Brown, 61 West One Hundred and Fifth Street
 James Brown, 61 West One Hundred and Fifth Street
 Amy Castle, 301 West One Hundred and Eighth Street
 Aurora Carter, 485 Central Park West
 Gus Collins, 536 West One Hundred and Eleventh Street
 Fanny Cooper, 201 West One Hundred and Eighth Street
 Minnie Cooper, 562 West One Hundred and Thirteenth Street
 Robert De Saulmier, 318 West One Hundred and Fifth Street
 Rebecca Discant, 533 West One Hundred and Twelfth Street
 Frances Drake, in care of Dora Kurtz, 62 West Ninety-third Street
 Ethel Ellis, 13 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Fred Ellis, 13 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Miriam Etkins, 310 West Ninety-third Street
 Allan Folk, 629 West One Hundred and Fifteenth Street
 Helen Fox, 600 West One Hundred and Eleventh Street
 Harry P. Friedman, 508 West One Hundred and Fourteenth Street
 Manny Gale, 77 West One Hundred and Fourth Street
 Mary Gale, 77 West One Hundred and Fourth Street
 Pearl Glauberman, 433 Central Park West
 Anna Glembot, 14 West One Hundred and Seventh Street
 Stella Glembot, 14 West One Hundred and Seventh Street
 Esther Goldman, in care of F. Kopf, 1800 Seventh Avenue
 Bella Goldway, 467 Central Park West
 Julius Goldway, 467 Central Park West
 Tillie Goldway, 467 Central Park West
 Eda Goodwin, 120 West One Hundred and Fifth Street
 Sonia Gordon, 532 West One Hundred and Thirteenth Street
 Luba Green, in care of Bertha Müller, 467 Central Park West
 Renee Gross, 448 Central Park West
 Joel Gutman, 110 West Ninety-fourth Street
 Grace Hanover, 415 Central Park West
 Ruth Hickerson, 506 West One Hundred and Thirteenth Street
 Joe Highkin, 58 West One Hundred and Fifth Street
 Louise Hoyt, in care of Devine, 161 Manhattan Avenue
 Sonny Jobe, 138 West One Hundred and Fourth Street
 Cora Jordan, in care of Zara Shakow, 910 West End Avenue
 Ethel Jurist, 375 Riverside Drive
 Dorothy Kagan, 53 West Fifty-sixth Street

Sanders Kastenbaum, 350 West One Hundred and Tenth Street
 Sylvia Katz, 420 Central Park West
 Sara Kaye, care of Reynolds, 418 West One Hundred and Sixteenth Street
 Jean Kling, 2115 Davidson Avenue
 Paul Klot, care of Wolf, 532 West One Hundred and Eleventh Street
 Fanny Kopf, 1800 Seventh Avenue
 Irene Kraft, 102 West One Hundred and Third Street
 Lillian Kramer, 51 Manhattan Avenue
 Kay Lascelle, 50 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Basha Lessin, 65 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Harry Lessin, 65 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Sophie Levine, 885 West End Avenue
 Bertha Levowe, 66 West One Hundred and Seventh Street
 Margaret Lipkin, 587 Riverside Drive
 Elsie Machauer, 840 West End Avenue
 Blanche Margolies, 51 Manhattan Avenue
 Hortense Marks, 315 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Alice Martin, 300 Riverside Drive
 Allan Max, 14 West One Hundred and Seventh Street
 Ellen Max, 14 West One Hundred and Seventh Street
 Marge Clark Messner, 629 West One Hundred and Fifteenth Street
 Anna Miller, 865 West End Avenue
 Charlotte Muller, 150 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Anita Newman, 312 West One Hundred and Ninth Street
 Marion Oberstein, 485 Central Park West
 Bessie Oches, 45 Tieman Place
 Maria Olinsky, 210 West Twenty-first Street
 Ruth Orme, 404 West One Hundred and Sixteenth Street
 Janice Paneth, 501 West One Hundred and Thirteenth Street
 Danny Persell, 51 Manhattan Avenue
 Pauline Persell, 51 Manhattan Avenue
 Mary Peterson, 545 West One Hundred and Eleventh Street
 Victoria Peterson, 545 West One Hundred and Eleventh Street
 Sarah Pais, 120 West One Hundred and Fifth Street
 Natalie Pressman, 403 West 57th Street
 Beatrice Ratowsky, 33 Manhattan Avenue
 Harry Raymond, care of Perlman, 488 Central Park West
 Elizabeth Rigrod, 314 West One Hundredth Street
 Paula Robinson, 299 Riverside Drive
 Ray Rosen, 255 West 95th Street
 Sydney Rowen, 299 Riverside Drive
 Agnes Sailor, 50 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Mary Schaier, 385 Central Park West
 Helen Schneider, 381 Central Park West
 Sonia Schneider, 321 West One Hundred and Third Street
 Sylvia Schwartz, 467 Central Park West
 Frances Sheiner, 526 West One Hundred and Thirteenth Street
 Max Sheiner, 526 West One Hundred and Thirteenth Street
 Gertrude Smith, 449 East Eightieth Street
 Norma Smith, 600 West One Hundred and Eleventh Street
 Ruth Smith, 316 West One Hundred and Twelfth Street
 Virginia Stern, 50 Manhattan Avenue
 Dan Sullivan, 146 West One Hundred Street
 Mary Brown Urgenia, 125 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Emanuel Vomcas, 519 West One Hundred and Thirty-eighth Street
 Sara Walsky, 515 West One Hundred and Eleventh Street
 Ann Weisman, 548 West One Hundred and Sixty-fourth Street
 Herman Weinblat, 78 Manhattan Avenue
 Dorothy West, 533 West One Hundred and Twelfth Street
 Ann Wharton, 536 West One Hundred and Thirteenth Street
 Regina Wilson, 320 West Eighty-Third Street
 Frances Witlin, 6 West One Hundred and Seventh Street
 Raymond Witlin, 6 West One Hundred and Seventh Street
 Adolf Wolf, 532 West One Hundred and Eleventh Street
 Grace Woodruff, 307 West One Hundred and Fifth Street
 Terry Woodruff, 307 West One Hundred and Fifth Street
 Irving Zimmerman, 2115 Davidson Avenue

Mr. DEKOM. Did you become well acquainted with the members of your branch?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I did. It was part of my job to study the people, their way of thinking, their characteristics, and their attitudes. I made the most detailed reports possible on every member of my party unit, including their appearances and their character.

Mr. DEKOM. Who were some of the persons who served on the executive committee of the Connolly Branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. These are the names, as of 1944:

Bernard Weller, chairman, 250 West One Hundred and Third Street
 Beatrice Weiss, executive secretary, 116 West One Hundredth Street
 Valerie Robinson, education director, 323 West One Hundred and Twelfth Street
 Amy Castle, financial secretary, 201 West One Hundred and Third Street
 Florence Sharp, legislative director, 254 West One Hundred and Third Street
 Sara Ornstein, membership director, 230 West One Hundred and Fifth Street
 Stephanie Riedel, recording secretary, 429 East Seventy-ninth Street
 Agnes Sailor, war activities director, 50 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Aaron Harris, press director, 65 West One Hundred and Sixth Street
 Sarah Stein, literature director, 1240 Park Avenue
 Archie Maskin, labor director, 925 West End Avenue

On Friday, February 15, 1946, the following were nominated and elected for the executive committee of the James Connolly Branch:

Harold Hicherson, president
 Betty Aiken, membership director
 Manny Gale, educational and literature director
 Mary Sharp, executive secretary
 Lena Cohen, treasurer
 Sarah Stein, press director

Mr. DEKOM. Were any of the members of your branch of the Communist Party Government employees?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; a Mrs. Penny M. Patt, who was a member of the executive committee at Unity Center Branch, 2744 Broadway. My notes of March 30, 1945, reflect that she was recruited into the party by Goldie Young and that she immediately devoted all of her spare time to party work. As a reward for her work, she was elected to the position of literature director. She was employed at that time in the finance department of the Army regional accounting office, located at 63 Vesey Street, New York City. She was about 24 years of age at that time.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you give us examples of the activities and work of some of the officers or members of your branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. Manny Gale and his wife, Mary Gale, are both members of the Unity Center Branch of the Communist Party. He resides at 84 Manhattan Avenue. Gale is called upon by the county committee, Communist Party, to go to clubs where a member is being ousted, in order to take photographs of the comrade being expelled.

Elizabeth (Betty) Aiken was the membership director of the Unity Center Branch, and resided at 30 West One Hundred and Fifth Street, New York City. She formerly worked in the office of her brother-in-law, John J. Anthony, the radio counsellor, 347 Madison Avenue. She left this employment on January 15, 1945, and worked for the Jefferson School of Social Science for 2 months. After that, she was employed by Consolidated Management Consultants, 521 Fifth Avenue, on March 20, as a stenographer and typist. She obtained this

position through the United Office and Professional Workers Union, of which she is a member. Speaking to me about her job, she said the majority of employees of Consolidated Management Consultants are Communist Party members.

Mr. DEKOM. Before you go on, would you identify the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. HUBER. It is the leading Communist school, teaching Communist doctrine.

Mr. DEKOM. To what extent do aliens and foreign-born persons control the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. In my contact with members of the Communist Party, I have learned that a majority of the executives, on a national, State, city, and community level, are aliens or foreign-born people who have become citizens of the United States. They have not become citizens in order to work for the general welfare of all our people or to provide for our common defense; they have not contributed to the growth or preservation of our democratic form of government; instead, they have used every weapon, fair and unfair means, to undermine our Government and our way of life, particularly exercising their constitutional rights as American citizens. I believe these people should be deprived of their citizenship and deported from this country.

The Communist Party concentrates on organizing persons of foreign origin, and they constitute a large number in the party, particularly in large cities. One point of concentration is among the people of the Slavic nationalities engaged in heavy and basic industries. At one time, all other organizational activity virtually ceased to concentrate on heavy and basic industries. We received special orders from party headquarters to do so, late in 1944 and early in 1945.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Huber, are there a large number of aliens in the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir, a very large proportion are aliens. In my party branch, there were at least 70 percent aliens or foreign-born persons.

Mr. SCHROEDER. That is the American Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Has any effort been made by the party to cover that fact up?

Mr. HUBER. Yes. The alien Communist Party members were directed not to come to meetings, but to keep paying their dues and to take instructions in order to obtain their citizenship. The instructions were given by Communist public school teachers in New York.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you mean instructions to alien Communists on how to obtain citizenship in the United States?

Mr. HUBER. That is right. Most of them did receive their citizenship.

Mr. DEKOM. Does the Communist Party maintain any educational facilities for the indoctrination of new immigrants?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, this is a very important part of their work, recruiting of party members from among immigrants. I know, for example, that the Jefferson School of Social Science gave special classes for immigrants. A good deal of work in this field was done by the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, a very well-known Communist-front organization. This committee even provided teach-

ers for groups of willing immigrants who could be gotten together at any Communist Party branch. They would send teachers to do the indoctrination without any cost to the party.

Mr. DEKOM. What Communist Party activities have come to your knowledge in relation to getting aliens and others who are unqualified to vote?

Mr. HUBER. The Communist teachers within the teachers' union volunteered at election time to appear at all schools in New York City to give literacy tests to the alien element. Whether those people actually passed the tests or not, they were passed on through.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do you mean that these teachers appeared as examiners for the election authorities, and then passed people through regardless of whether or not they were literate?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; regardless of whether or not they were literate. Those teachers were members of the Communist Party. They volunteered for that activity. Teachers are used by the election authorities and these Communists volunteered for the work.

Mr. DEKOM. Were they successful in qualifying many aliens as voters?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; everyone who appeared before them was passed.

Mr. DEKOM. Of whom did these groups consist?

Mr. HUBER. Largely Puerto Ricans and Spanish people. The majority of them were Puerto Ricans.

Mr. DEKOM. They could not read or write English, and the way they circumvented the election law was by fraudulently passing literacy tests with the collusion of Communist teachers from New York schools.

Mr. HUBER. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you name any teacher who participated in this fraudulent activity?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; Rhetta Friedman of Hunter College.

Mr. DEKOM. To your knowledge, is she a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. Positively.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you discuss the tactics that the Communist Party used in propagandizing minority groups and nationality groups?

Mr. HUBER. Well, the Communist Party technique is the same one that they always use in working among any groups of people, including minorities and nationalities. They seize any pretext to propagandize minority groups and to undermine or discredit the Government or existing institutions. Their most common tactic is to pose as the friend and champion of the aliens or foreign-born, just as they try to pose as champions of any group in order to make their propaganda reach an audience.

By way of illustration, let me cite to you the weekly meeting of the teamster branch, waterfront section of the Communist Party, Tuesday, March 18, 1941, at 48 East Twenty-ninth Street, New York. After the meeting was called to order, all comrades wrote letters to their Senators and Congressmen, demanding that they defeat the Hobbs "concentration camp bill." Sam (Kappy) Kaplan, organizer of the waterfront section of the Communist Party, said we should stress in the letters that such a law would be a deliberate attack on the civil rights of all foreign-born Americans. We were also in-

structed to ask our representatives in Congress to ignore the proposal of Attorney General Robert Jackson that there should be a law providing for a concentration camp.

I can give you a number of these illustrations from the record of the party.

Mr. DEKOM. I wish you would, Mr. Huber. This phase of the investigation is one of the most important questions before the subcommittee. Please discuss the question in full.

Mr. HUBER. Another illustration I can give you is a Communist Party mass meeting held for the Irish people of the third and fifth assembly districts of the waterfront section on Thursday, February 29, 1940. According to Charles Keith, who was chairman, the meeting was called to denounce the murders of Barnes and Richards, two IRA men executed in Birmingham, England. As you will see from the tone of the meeting, this was just another one of the pretexts that the Communists used to get an audience for their party line. Keith was followed by Pauline Rogers, organizer of the Communist Party in the third and fifth assembly districts. (I might say that she had a very good record as an organizer after conducting a house-to-house canvass over a 2-month period, to recruit new members.) She spoke about National Women's Day which was to be celebrated on March 8.

Mrs. Mary Noonan, accompanied by her daughter Mary at the piano, sang Irish songs in which the audience joined.

Henry Winston (colored), national leader of the Young Communist League, compared the difficulties of the Irish people with those of the African Negroes, saying that both were being suppressed and mistreated by the British Empire. He spoke so logically that the audience appeared willing to accept his opinions. He denounced President Roosevelt for condoning most anything Chamberlain¹ did against the Irish people. He discussed the Soviet Union, saying that when the Germans invaded Poland and committed their atrocities, it had been the Soviet Union who stopped them by taking over part of Poland; that the Polish people had welcomed the Soviet troops, which was not the case when Germany had invaded Poland. In conclusion, Winston said that the only people who sympathized with and fought for the Irish were Communists, who would continue their fight as never before. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn of the national committee spoke, referring to her Irish ancestry, saying that she was a direct descendant of two martyred Irish revolutionists who died in an uprising in the eighteenth century. She said that Britain had always hanged Irishmen when entering a war, because the Irish always refused to participate in imperialist wars. She urged that Irish Americans fight against British imperialism and for the freedom of Ireland by keeping the United States out of the war. She also said that Wall Street propaganda was trying to draw America into the war on the side of Chamberlain and the Finnish butcher, Baron Mannerheim.² She said that people were being misled by the capitalist press, which lied about the facts concerning religion in Russia. She spoke about a Catholic priest who had gone to Russia and who then had a big congregation, as proof that there was religion in Russia today.

¹ Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister of Great Britain.

² Baron Karl G. Mannerheim, commander of the Finnish armies fighting the Soviet invasion of 1940.

Another instance in which the Communist Party used a minority group for its propaganda was a meeting on March 15, 1940, held at Public School 43, One Hundred and Thirty-Sixth Street and Brown Place in the Bronx.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that a public school of the city of New York?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; it is.

The meeting was held by the Elizabeth Gurley Flynn branch of the Communist Party and the chairman was Kate Fredericks. Pat Touhey, a member of national committee, spoke of Britain's bitter oppression of Ireland during the last eight centuries. He assailed the de Valera¹ government as a stooge of British imperialism. He related a story of an old Irishman, living in his home town in Pennsylvania, who stopped him one day and said that he was confused about the situation between the Reds and Finland at first, but "when I read in the papers about Hoover wanting to help Mannerheim, I figured I better get on the side that Hoover was against." Touhey concluded by saying that the best way to help Ireland was to keep the United States out of war, which could best be done by writing the President and their Congressmen, asking them to keep this country out of war.

Mrs. Mary Noonan and her daughter again sang Irish songs, in which the audience was asked to join. This was the same Mrs. Noonan, introduced at this meeting as a "neighbor," who was introduced as a "neighbor" in the Chelsea district at another Communist rally in that area.

Fredericks announced that members of the committee would circulate in the audience with slips of paper and anyone interested in knowing about the Communist Party should sign the slips, which the committee immediately collected and returned to the chairman. She said that the people who did not sign these slips were invited to attend regular Communist Party meetings at 631 East One Hundred and Forty-first Street, every Monday night.

The principal speaker was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who opened with the announcement that she was not a stranger in that section but was well acquainted; that she had come here from Massachusetts and was raised at One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Street and St. Anne Avenue. Flynn had said the same thing at a Chelsea meeting, where she told of being raised at Twenty-third Street and Ninth Avenue. She spoke of her association with Connolly and of their joint work in organizing the Irish in this section. She told of the danger to civil rights and the attacks on the Communist Party, comparing them with her own experiences during World War I when the Government had arrested her. She assailed the drive of American warmongers and their attempt to silence the voice of Earl Browder, because it was the loudest raised against United States participation in the war. She said that if there were any party to which the Irish people should belong it was the Communist Party. When speaking about religion in Russia, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn said it was a false rumor that the Catholic Church was not allowed in Russia. She said that in Moscow there was a Catholic Church with a very large congregation, and various Catholic churches were to be found throughout the rest of that country. She denounced the de Valera government, which contrasted

¹ Eamon de Valera, Prime Minister of Ireland.

sharply with her former speech in the Chelsea district where she had praised the de Valera government. Concluding, Flynn asked if there were any questions from the audience. One man asked why she had not mentioned Eamon de Valera, who he believed had done much for Ireland. She apologized, saying she was sorry but that she had skipped over it because she was working against time. She said she knew personally how much he had done for Ireland in the way of education, housing, etc. A woman asked for the floor, saying she was of Irish extraction, born in Scotland, and that "the Irish people don't want the Communist Party, have no need for the hammer and sickle, and what they really want is the cross." Flynn answered, "It is not for the purpose of trying to form a Communist Party in Ireland, for they already have one there, but to show we are giving them our moral support." During Flynn's and Touhey's speeches, they were loudly booed, but the police evicted the hecklers and the meeting continued.

These meetings were part of the drive at that time to bring Irish people into the Communist Party. They needed Irish people for show purposes. In August 1941, all sections of the Communist Party were instructed by the State commission to get their membership to contact as many Irish Catholics as possible, in an effort to recruit them into the party. The reason for this was because a vast number of prominent members of the Catholic Church were expressing their approval of all-out aid to the Soviet Union. The Communist Party felt that such utterances by well-known Catholic laymen would cause people to listen more readily to the comrades.

Irish Catholics are the only people the party had had difficulty in recruiting in numbers into the ranks. This was the opportunity the Communist Party had been waiting for, to make inroads into the Irish masses, as every other plan to recruit Irish Catholics had failed due to the incessant attacks made by the Catholic Church on the Communist Party. As soon as anyone joined the party, it was the duty of the recruiting comrade to break the hold of the church on him. This was done with caution and often required a long period of time in order not to arouse any suspicion.

My association and teachings received from the Communist Party lead me to believe it is the desire of every Communist Party member to see the Catholic Church destroyed. They made good use of the strained relations between England, which was at war with Germany at the time, and Ireland, which insisted on remaining neutral, so that Irish sympathy in this country was used and Irish antagonism to the British was stirred up.

The concentration on the Irish element was also evident from a party at the home of Margaret McLean, Saturday, July 19, 1941, at 418 West Twentieth Street. About 60 people were present. The purpose of the party was to interest guests in becoming active in a campaign to increase subscriptions to a newspaper called Shamrock. Most of the guests were not members of the party, but had been brought together by Irish members of the water-front section through a house-to-house canvass with this paper.

McLean told me that it was hoped by the party that a large circulation for the Shamrock could be obtained to help break the grip of the Catholic Church on their Irish-American members. I believe

the majority of these people were unaware of the true plans behind this campaign. Each person was to be handled individually until he or she became familiar with and accepted the principles of communism. Mrs. McLean was a recent arrival from the west coast, where she had taught philosophy at a girls' college. Since coming to New York, she had become very active at the water-front section.

An appeal to the German minority in New York occurred on Wednesday, April 16, 1941. It was a "Free Ernst Thaelmann Rally," held at the Mecca Temple, Fifty-fifth Street between Sixth and Seventh Avenues, with Al Lannon as chairman. George Lohr, organizer of the German section, Communist Party in Yorkville,¹ speaking with a thick German accent, stated that the Social Democrats of this country had formed an organization whose purpose was to bring into its ranks all workers of German descent. The initiation fee to join this Social Democratic organization was \$1, for which members received a large white button which, it was said, eliminated the holder from persecution by agents of the FBI. This caused much hilarity in the audience. Lohr concluded by noting that the German working class was joining the Communist Party in large numbers.

William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party and principal speaker, discussed the German Communist Party, and how the capitalists were working to suppress the workers as though they had previously rehearsed their plans:

But war or the jailing of Communist leaders will not save their decaying capitalistic system. Hitler thought he could destroy the Communist Party by jailing Thaelmann, and now Roosevelt thinks he can do the same by jailing Earl Browder. Both have yet to learn, and what a sad lesson it will be to discover how mistaken they are.

On Tuesday, September 7, 1943, an executive meeting was called by the upper West Side section of the Communist Party. All executive committee of the seventh, ninth, and eleventh assembly district clubs were present; Goldie Young presided; Abe Chapman was the principal speaker. The meeting was called to make plans for a campaign to get the Jewish membership of the Communist Party to join mass Jewish organizations for the purpose of changing and formulating the policies of the American Jewish Congress. Chapman said that the Communist Party presently had no voice in that organization, but that if our comrades joined mass Jewish organizations, it should not be long before the policy of the Communist Party could make itself felt.

Mr. DEKOM. We will now suspend, Mr. Huber, until tomorrow.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1949

Mr. DEKOM. You made the statement, Mr. Huber, that in your many years of work with the Communist Party you took an active part in the Communist Party's network of front organizations.

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir; that is true. I have attended dozens of front meetings. I knew from the inside that they were Communist Party fronts. It was discussed in party meetings and we were given assignments to work with the fronts through the party. In other cases, I was able to know about the nature of fronts from the people who took

¹ Yorkville is the German section of New York City.

the leadership. I knew them as party members. I had worked with them and had seen them at party meetings.

Mr. DEKOM. On the basis of your knowledge, would you identify the Communist Party's fronts which are most actively and most extensively working among aliens, nationality, and foreign-language groups in the United States?

Mr. HUBER. There are two that have been most active: The International Workers Order and the American Slav Congress. There were a few others, like the United Committee of South Slavic Americans, the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, the Hungarian-American Council for Democracy, and others. These are not as important on an over-all basis, but, of course, if you put them all together, they make up a sizable network.

There are two others that I would like to mention: the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. These two Communist Party fronts are not directly in the business of organizing, but are working to support and defend alien and foreign-born Communists.

Mr. DEKOM. How would you class the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in this connection?

Mr. HUBER. Well, I think that they might be classed as being part of, or at least, having a close connection with, the alien and foreign-born Communist movement. This front had many aliens and foreign-born in it and it also worked among Spanish Communists. It is not exclusively a nationality front like the American Slav Congress, but it worked closely in connection with alien Communists, particularly those who were involved in the Spanish revolution.

Mr. DEKOM. We would like to get more details on this subject. First of all, would you, please, discuss the American Slav Congress?

Mr. HUBER. All right. As I have already explained, the Communist Party's high command ordered us to concentrate on foreign-language groups late in 1944 and early in 1945. We were ordered to concentrate in this field. As a matter of fact, we almost came to a standstill in other fields. As we were told, the purpose of this concentration was to get Communist Party units and Communist Party fronts set up in the industrial sections of the country. This was to be, and is considered to be, one of the strongholds of the Communist movement.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Why was this concentration in industrial areas?

Mr. HUBER. The purpose was, of course, to have a powerful party hold where they could do the most damage to the United States. In industrial areas, they could organize and lead very damaging strikes, strikes that could ruin us. Then, in case of war with Russia, they could break down our war production, our ability to make armaments, both by strikes or slow-downs and by sabotage. It is a very dangerous situation, which has to be controlled or there will be serious trouble for us.

That, you see, is why the Communist Party ordered us to work among foreign-born people, particularly the Slavs. They make up a large percentage of the workers in industrial areas. The job of organizing them was made easier by the fact that so many could not speak or read English properly and the Communists sent in organizers who spoke their language and knew their ways. The organizers were experts in rousing the foreign-language people against this country

and against our Government. Then, they had very active foreign-language papers which were controlled by the Communist Party. In Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, New York, and many other industrial cities, the party controlled foreign-language newspapers, which were very effective in indoctrinating foreign-born elements.

The American Slav Congress was the central organization of the Communist Party among Slavs, especially those in industrial sections. Although it didn't originally start out as a party organization, it was infiltrated from the very beginning. Some of the top party organizers took part in the setting up of the American Slav Congress and, in short order, following their well-developed tactics, they took over completely. They just infiltrated until the whole organization was theirs, a Communist Party front, completely controlled and dominated by the party.

Mr. DEKOM. In September 1946 the American Slav Congress held its third national convention in New York. Did you attend any of its sessions?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I did. I attended the so-called Rally to Win the Peace on September 22, 1946.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you describe the meeting to us? Can you give a report on what transpired?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I can; not only from memory, but from my notes that I took at the meeting.

Mr. DEKOM. Let us establish one fact here. You yourself took notes on the meeting which you are using to refresh your memory here?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. That is fine. Please go ahead now.

Mr. HUBER. A rally to win the peace, sponsored by the Third American Slav Congress, was held at Madison Square Garden, with about 12,000 people attending. The cochairmen were Louis Adamic, author of *Dinner at the White House*, and Leo Krzycki, president of the American Slav Congress. Speakers included Father Frantisek Fiala, of Czechoslovakia; Tsola Dragoicheva, secretary of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front; Prof. Timofei Gorbunov, Soviet deputy and executive minister of the Moscow All-Slav Committee; Gen. Karol Swierczewski, Polish Vice Minister of National Defense; Yugoslav Ambassador Sava Kosanovic; Polish Ambassador Oscar Lange; Soviet Consul General Jacob Lomakin; Paul Robeson, chairman of the Win the Peace Committee; William Gailmor, radio commentator; Lawrence Winters; and Betty Garrett, of the Broadway hit, *Call Me Mister*.

The majority of the speakers spoke in their native tongues, which were not translated into English for the audience. During the rally the chairman read a message to the rally received from Joseph Stalin, following which everyone present arose and demonstrated for about 5 minutes with the clenched-fist salute. This was one of the noisiest demonstrations I ever witnessed at the Garden.

Mr. DEKOM. The clenched-fist salute is, of course, the salute of the Communist Party.

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

The chairman of the Win-the-Peace Rally referred to Henry Wallace as a true follower of the principles laid down by President Roosevelt, which set off another demonstration. Adamic mentioned the anti-Slav policy of Secretary of State Byrnes, who, he said, "ap-

pears to be hell-bent on making Joseph Goebbels' dream come true." Byrnes' name resulted in loud booing from the audience. Paul Robeson sang Song of the Fatherland and Hymn of the United Nations.

Mr. DEKOM. Is the Song of the Fatherland a Soviet hymn?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Robeson stated that America must get along with the Slavic people, who are led by Communists in many parts of the world, and invited all who could to participate in the American crusade against lynching.

William Gailmor made the collection speech, stating that every time the Russians lose a diplomatic skirmish at Lake Success or Paris, they win victories among the peoples of the world. This statement was well received. During the collection, Betty Garrett turned in \$300 collected from the cast of Call Me Mister; a pledge of \$10,000 was received from the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, with \$1,000 paid immediately and the remainder promised shortly. Approximately \$20,000 was collected. The Jefferson School of Social Science chorus sang songs, and folk dances were presented by the Radishev and Volga dancers.

There were telegrams received from Senator Joseph B. Guffey, of Pennsylvania, who begged off from attending because of illness. Congratulatory messages were also received from Marshal Tito and George Dimitrov of Bulgaria. There were several Russian generals among the Soviet delegation. After Paul Robeson sang, he was warmly embraced and kissed on both cheeks by one of the Russian generals. In conclusion, there were songs by Ivan Patorzhinsky and Zoya Haidai, both of whom sing in the opera in the Soviet Union.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you now proceed to discuss the International Workers Order?

Mr. HUBER. The International Workers Order is a Communist-controlled organization which masquerades as an insurance society. It offers cheap insurance to get people into the organization. I was a member in the IWO, the so-called Irish Lodge. I know that the organization follows the Communist Party line 100 percent and that its leadership is exclusively recruited from the Communist Party.

The IWO is the greatest transmission belt that the Communist Party has. Its work is concentrated among persons of foreign birth, being divided into 14 nationality groups, including Russian, Jewish, Polish, Hungarian, Rumanian, Yugoslav, and so forth. Although many of the people who joined the IWO were not Communists, they have been worked on by the leaders and have been sold the Communist Party line. It is a process of slow indoctrination; they present a one-sided picture, they swamp their members with propaganda, and, in many cases, they are successful.

Mr. DEKOM. To what extent does the Communist Party control the IWO.

Mr. HUBER. Completely. You cannot be an officer of the IWO without being a Communist. Every officer of the IWO is a member of the Communist Party. I have been in the IWO headquarters hundreds of times, and every official that I met was a party member.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know them to be party members from your own experience?

Mr. HUBER. Yes. Take Dave Green, the executive secretary of New York State. He is one of the most powerful men in the IWO. He

once brought up one of the lodge members on charges and I was to be his witness. He said to me, "Are you a member of the party?"

I said, "Yes."

I then asked him, "Are you a member of the party?"

He said, "Sure."

Mr. DEKOM. How about some of the other IWO officials that you know to be Communist Party members?

Mr. HUBER. There are Herbert Benjamin, Max Bedacht, William Weiner, and others.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born?

Mr. HUBER. The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born is a Communist-front organization, used to contact foreign-born people, and invariably leads these people into the ranks of the Communist Party. This organization gives help in obtaining citizenship, and assists in obtaining visas for relatives of its membership who are still in foreign countries. It also gives legal assistance in any matter which may arise, through the Civil Rights Congress, a Communist front established to give legal aid to Communists who get in trouble with the law. Formerly this legal service was given by the International Labor Defense, and the Civil Rights Congress is the successor.

The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born is one of the most important Communist fronts, particularly today, when the United States Government is trying to deport alien Communists from the country. The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born was organized to defend alien Communists who might be deported or who might otherwise violate the law.

Second, the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born is used by the Communist Party to indoctrinate immigrants in this country. As I have told you, the committee provided teachers for immigrants at Communist Party units.

Mr. DEKOM. We have received from Mr. Huber two press releases issued by the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. The first announces special citizenship classes for aliens. The second announces the granting of an award to Louis Adamic. These will be marked "Huber Exhibits 4A, and 4B," respectively.

(The documents were received in evidence and are as follows:)

INITIATE SPECIAL CLASSES FOR NON-CITIZENS

A series of special classes for non-citizens on English and citizenship will be started next month by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, it was announced today. The classes are being conducted in order to prepare applicants for American citizenship to meet the educational and literacy requirements of the naturalization laws.

The committee stated that each class will be limited to 10 members, in order to enable the instructor to give proper personal guidance and assistance to each member of the class. Additional information concerning the classes on citizenship can be obtained by writing to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York 10, N. Y., or calling MURRAY Hill 4-3457.

The citizenship classes, which will begin on October 3, will be held at the Institute for International Democracy, 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York City, on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. There will be three different classes: Morning class (10 a. m. to 12 noon); afternoon class (2 p. m. to 4 p. m.); evening class (8 p. m. to 10 p. m.). The term for each class will be 8 weeks.

The first classes are scheduled to begin on Tuesday, October 2. The registration fee for the 8-week course is \$10.

Those desiring to attend the special class for non-citizens on English and citizenship can register now by mail, or in person any day on or before October 2, between 10 a. m. and 6 p. m., at the offices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York City (between Broadway and Sixth Avenue).

LOUIS ADAMIC SELECTED FOR ANNUAL AWARD

Louis Adamic, well-known writer, has been selected by the national board of directors of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to receive the committee's annual award, it was announced today.

The citation for the award this year is: "To that American who has contributed most during the last year to the mobilization of foreign-born Americans for the victory program." Recipients of the award in previous years have been former Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Earl G. Harrison (1943); former Congressman Thomas H. Eliot (1942); and Congressman Vito Marcantonio (1941).

In making public the result of the board of directors' selection, Hon. Stanley Nowak, national chairman of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, stated for the committee:

"Louis Adamic has been selected to receive the annual award in recognition of the unselfish and patriotic contribution he has made to our victory in this war by taking leadership in the campaign between 1942 and 1944 to unite Americans of South-Slavic extraction in support of the war effort, thus setting an example to other immigrant groups.

"Mr. Adamic's was the first voice raised in this country to expose the Mikhailovitch hoax. His untiring efforts to acquaint the American people with the facts served to defeat one of the Fascist conspiracies against our national unity and total victory over the Axis.

"In his work, from August 1943 to April 1944, as president of the United Committee of South-Slav Americans, Mr. Adamic gave democratic leadership and inspiration to all Americans. We feel that Mr. Adamic earned the gratitude and appreciation of the entire American people as a result of his outstanding contributions to our victory program in the mobilization of Americans of foreign birth."

Louis Adamic was born in Yugoslavia in 1899 and came to the United States in 1913. He served in the United States Army during the First World War and became an American citizen in 1918. In 1940 and 1941, he served as a consultant on immigrant problems in the President's Defense Commission. He is the author of *The Native's Return*, *My America*, *My Native Land*, and many other well-known books. He is general editor of *The Peoples of America Series*, twenty-odd volumes on the various elements of the American population, which will begin to appear in 1945.

Mr. DEKOM. Now, I will ask you to take up the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

Mr. HUBER. The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was one of the most important and influential of the Communist-front network during the early 1940's. The cry of "antifascism" was one of the most useful masks for Communist Party activity and movements. It provided the party with one of its most useful disguises for operation.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was formed in 1942 as a result of the coalition of other Communist-front organizations active, to a large extent, on behalf of the Spanish Communists. The three organizations which came together as the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee were the United American Spanish Aid Committee (which was previously infiltrated by the Communists and taken over by them), the Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers, and the American Committee to Save Refugees, the latter two also being Communist fronts.

To show you the close ties of this front with the Communist Party, I will tell you about the organizational drive in 1946. In February 1946, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (offices at 192 Lexington Avenue) inaugurated an intensive campaign among Communist Party branches to get active support. Speakers from the committee were to attend branch meetings of all Communist Party clubs in the Greater New York area, to appeal for membership support, and to set up action committees. These action committees would regularly receive bulletins from the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and, in turn, would transmit the information contained therein to their clubs. This procedure was begun and most branches were covered during that month.

Mr. DEKOM. Are there many of the officials, sponsors, and supporters of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee who are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you name some of them who are members of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I will.

Felix Kusman, Moe Fishman, Freddie "Blackie" Meyers, Beth McHenry (wife of Blackie Meyers), Sara Gropper (wife of William Gropper, cartoonist of the Daily Worker), Mr. and Mrs. Robert Engel, of 1240 Park Avenue, Linda Ross, Paul Robeson, Charlotte Honig, and Regina Wilson. I have been told by other Communists that Edward K. Barsky, national chairman, was also a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you attended meetings of this organization?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I will give you several instances. I might repeat here, if I may, Mr. Chairman, that I kept careful notes of all party activities in which I took part, including meetings of fronts such as the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. For example, on May 19, 1942, Margaret Osborn, 237 East Sixty-first Street, New York City, gave a benefit party for this Communist-front organization. About 300 people were present, with an admission of \$1 per person. Games of chance, such as roulette wheel, bird cage, craps, poker, and so forth, were all covered by members of the committee, to see that a percentage was donated toward the "cause." During the evening, I counted 11 United States Army officers present, 1 captain and 10 lieutenants. Many other service personnel were present in their United States Army uniforms. Entertainment was furnished by Leon Josephson's Cafe Society Uptown. Among the prominent guests were: Muriel Draper, Annette Rubinstein, Bella Dodd, Mrs. Regina Wilson, Moe Fishman, Mrs. Burkee, Charlotte Honig, Rev. Ver Lynn Sprague, Mrs. Vincent Sheean, Mrs. Robert Emmett, Martha Dodd, Mrs. Robert Flaum, Dave Green, Dr. and Mrs. I. Engel Kaufman, Dr. Edward Kallman, Doris Green, and Alex Guttman.

On February 14, 1943, Regina Wilson gave another party for the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. About 100 guests were present. The party was to raise funds for the release of 30,000 members of the International Brigade held in concentration camps in Africa. William S. Gailmor, radio commentator on Station WHN, appealed for funds. He said that if the committee could raise enough funds, it had the promise of a person high up in the State Department

that thousands of these people, then in concentration camps in Africa, would be able to enter the United States, and that the Mexican Government would accept as many as we could bring over. Gailmor presented some watches to the vice consul of the Soviet Union, who was present at that party. Those watches were donated to the boys in the Red Army by mothers of boys who died fighting with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain.

On March 22, 1945, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee sponsored a dinner opening its drive for \$750,000. The opening remarks were made by Dorothy Parker, who turned the meeting over to Herman Shumlin, the producer, who acted as chairman for the evening.

The principal speaker was Lillian Hellman, who had recently returned from the Soviet Union where she had been the guest of Voks, Soviet Cultural Department. She stated that she knew everyone present was anxious to hear about her 4 months' travel through the Soviet Union. She denounced William L. White's book on the Soviet Union, warning guests that this was the first of many books which would follow, written by other reactionary people like him. She stated that she had traveled along the same route as that traveled by William L. White and had seen an entirely different picture. She boasted that she was the first American ever to be permitted in the front line and combat area with the Red Army.

A collection speech was made by Dr. Edward K. Barsky, chairman of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. In less than half an hour, guests numbering approximately 800, contributed \$63,000. Large contributors included Joseph Weinstein, \$5,000; Charles Goldman, \$5,000; International Fur and Leather Workers Union, \$8,500; Leverett Gleason, \$3,000; Sam Novick, \$2,000; Charles Krumbein, \$500; Mrs. Englander, \$500; Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, \$2,400; Herman Shumlin, \$1,000; Lillian Hellman, \$1,000; and eight anonymous contributions of \$1,000 each.

Seated on the speakers' platform were Richard Watts, Carl Van Doren, Dr. Charles R. Joy, Soviet Consul General Eugene Kisselev, Dorothy Parker, Helen Bryan, Felix Kusman, Mr. and Mrs. Ostrow, and Mr. and Mrs. Leverett Gleason.

Mr. DEKOM. In your testimony and in other material obtained by this subcommittee, the name of William S. Gailmor has been repeatedly associated with Communist organizations, including a large number of those which operate in the foreign-language fields. Do you know whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. I know that he is, because I have personally seen him at many closed party meetings, meetings to which only party people would be allowed to come. Some of these meetings were for top party people and Gailmor was among them. As a matter of fact, I remember Gailmor very well, because I used to have charge of the liquor and Gailmor was quite a drinker; he loved his alcohol. Many times he used to ask me for "another drink," particularly when the meetings were held at the home of Yetta Engel, 1240 Park Avenue. She was pretty "tight" with liquor and told me I had to get so many drinks out of each bottle. So, the drinks were sometimes pretty weak and Gailmor would come around asking for more.

Mr. DEKOM. Is Gailmor his real name or is it an acquired name?

Mr. HUBER. It is acquired. His real name is Margolis, I believe. He also was involved in car theft and was convicted for it.

Mr. DEKOM. Did he not participate in the Wallace campaign last year?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, he was one of the money-raisers. He is quite a rabble rouser; he can make a good talk and can whip up people into giving money.

Mr. DEKOM. Are there other important meetings of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee at which you were present and which you can report?

Mr. HUBER. I think that I can give you a fairly good picture of the organization by reporting to you the meeting of September 24, 1945. This meeting was called the Spanish Refugee Appeal, and was put on to raise funds for Spanish Communists. Another point of interest is the fact that Norman Corwin, about whom the chairman of this committee spoke in the Senate a short time ago, was one of the leading speakers. I understand that Corwin is now working for the UN, writing radio scripts for American radio stations. That is very surprising to me, because Corwin was known in the Communist Party circles as a person who would always follow the party line. He appeared and spoke at many meetings and he never deviated from the party line. His name was connected with the party's biggest, most useful fronts. That is why I am surprised that the UN should pick him to write its radio scripts.

Mr. DEKOM. You were about to report on the meeting of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; will you proceed?

Mr. HUBER. On Monday, September 24, 1945, at 7:45 p. m. the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (offices at 192 Lexington Avenue) held a Rally for Spanish Democracy and for the breaking of relations with the Franco government, at Madison Square Garden. This rally was attended by an estimated 15,000 persons. Admission was by tickets priced from 60 cents to \$3.60. The rally was opened by the playing of the National Anthem by the Goldman Band, directed by Edwin Franko Goldman. The narrator, Jose Ferrer, stated that this rally was to remember the heroic struggle of the Spanish people for freedom and democracy. He stated that actors, singers, and dancers of Broadway would salute the fighters for freedom.

Sono Osato, from the show *On the Town*, was the first speaker of the Broadway contingent. She said:

Dorothy Parker asked me some time back if I would speak for this wonderful occasion and I said "yes" immediately, for I felt very strongly about it. Then I said "no" and then "yes" again. I was sent a little speech and now I have forgotten it, so the only thing I would like to say is that 10 years have gone by, with the Spanish Republicans starving, murdered, being sick and hungry, and we are 10 years behind our promise to help them. But it is not too late, and tonight is a wonderful occasion to prove that by giving money, all the money that you can spare, to the Spanish Refugee Committee so that they may send medicine, clothing, food, and all the essentials to these people who have been so weakened in this tremendous struggle for so many years that it is unbelievable to think that they can still hold out. Let us remember that we are united for a purpose. Tears do not help; you have to do something about it. I hope that we will all do as much as we can for these people.

Betty Comden was next. She stated:

Miss Osato has expressed everything very well. I just want to say that we must all remember that for six long years the Spanish refugees have been living

in concentration camps in France. All of them are fighters; all of them are unbroken. They have been starved, tortured, and shot. We cannot, we must not, and we will never forget them.

Jean Darling, from the show *Carousel*, was next. She stated:

I am proud and happy to have been selected to tell you that we in *Carousel* deem it an honor and a privilege to add our voices to the admiration of the number of Spanish Republicans who, for 6 years, have carried forward, with such great sacrifice, their unending fight against facism and for a free world. We of the theater are accustomed to dreams and make-believe, but we know the real thing when we see it, and so we say to remember the Spanish anti-Facist fighters. We will never forget you. Salute.

David Brooks, from the show *Bloomer Girl*, appeared next. He said:

I came down here tonight for two reasons. One of them was to salute the Anti-Facist Refugee Committee and the other is to prove that actors are people although a lot of them don't realize it. It's a damned shame. I'd just like to leave you with one thought—the actors who are here know it, those who are not here don't know it. Actors and music do not thrive under Fascism, so on behalf of the *Bloomer Girl* company and on behalf of the artists, I, too, say salute.

Luba Malina, from the show *Marinka* was next. She said:

Despite the prison camps, the forced labor camps and all the hunger and disease, the morale of the Spanish refugees is high. They have been denied the right to live peacefully for six long years, yet they still maintain their faith in the Spain that fought for democracy. What else can we say to these beautiful people? What else, than to say how can we free you? As a Russian and American actress, I would like to pay tribute to a great Spanish actress who is here with us tonight—Miss Rosita Dios Negrin. (Spotlight on latter, and applause from the audience.) Salute.

Margo, from the show *A Bell for Adano* was next. She stated:

It is with the deepest emotion that I bring to you the greetings of every single person in the cast of *A Bell for Adano*. I simply have not the words to say in English, or in Spanish, the depth of emotion that I feel tonight, so I won't try. I would like to say that the Spaniards who fought so gloriously in exile must have felt themselves deserted by the people; they must have felt their cause forgotten. I wish they could be here today to see this garden filled with people gathered here to honor their cause. I would like to read these words to you, and I wish that the people of Spain could hear them, so that they would know that we know that they fought for us:

"After the battle, when the chains are smashed, when all men are brothers, when all men are free and killing will end and war will cease, then freemen will have a freeman's peace."

This is what I would like the people of Spain to know; that for all of us here, there will be no peace until they return to their own land. Salute.

The Goldman Band followed this with a medley of Spanish Republican songs. The narrator then declared:

Opening this meeting tonight is a man who has come to symbolize the fight of the people. More than any other individual, he has been responsible for the organization and activities of the Spanish Refugee Committee, Dr. Edward K. Barsky.

Barsky stated:

May I welcome you here tonight on behalf of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. It is great to see this garden filled up. A Madison Square Garden for Spain is always in order. There is no doubt in my mind that if we work together, we shall soon have another garden meeting to celebrate the rebirth of democracy in Spain. We have had our VE-day, our VJ-day, but the war against fascism will never be over until we have a VS-day—Victory over Fascist Spain. For a world of security, justice, and peace, Franco must go. The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee is a major committee in the United States that has consistently done everything possible to help the Spanish in exile.

Who are the Spanish Republicans? Spain fought the first battle of World War II. The Spanish people waged a courageous struggle against German and Italian invading forces. It is to the everlasting shame of Great Britain, France, and the United States that they permitted their sister republic to go down in defeat.

For that reason we have paid with the blood of our soldiers.

The Spaniards fought a battle that will be long remembered. The insidious dangers of the fifth column, cruel tactics and the mobilization of the entire people was learned at Spain. Every single resistance movement in Europe had in its top leadership men who fought in Spain. Guerrillas wrecked railroads, destroyed bridges, sabotaged mines, and when the moment of liberation came, they fought with the French Maquis. They are the valiant, undefeated, forgotten, and neglected Spaniards, but they have never accepted their fate.

Through the long years of their exile, separated from their homeland, from their loved ones, they have gone on hoping and planning for the future. There still burns fiercely the hatred of fascism and the determination to do everything possible in the fight for democracy. Today in France, there are 200,000 exiles, suffering from hunger, malnutrition, sickness, and disease; thousands of Spaniards are now returning from German labor camps where they slaved, but their morale is remarkable. Their only wish is to keep strong enough to go back to Spain and help rebuild a land of freedom. Their children, born in concentration camps, are the future leaders of a great nation that will help cement the forces of democracy for peace and security.

These are the Spanish Republicans in exile. The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee is determined to do everything possible to help these people. Tonight's meeting marks the opening of the fall drive for \$750,000. Relief is being administered by the Unitarian Service Committee. In Mexico, supplementing full assistance to the Spanish refugees, we support a school and a hospital. Our funds go to Portugal, Cuba, and Switzerland. We have been through a great war and we have all played our part. We are now confronted with the many problems and complexities of peace, but despite all this, we Americans must, and I am sure will, fulfill our obligations to these most heroic Spanish people who at all times preferred to fight and die on their feet than live on their knees.

In thinking about a chairman for this evening, we said he must combine pleasantness with authority, levity with seriousness, and have a genuine love of democracy on an international scale. We have such a man here tonight. He headed the Republicans for Roosevelt during the last election; he is vice president of the National Lawyers Guild; he gave his services in the defense of Harry Bridges. Ladies and gentleman, I am very happy to present to you Mr. Bartley Crum.

Bartley Crum opened his talk with the statement:

I am glad to hear somebody say a good word about an American Republican.

The chairman then introduced the following speaker as New York City's soon-to-be-elected city councilman, Michael J. Quill. Quill stated:

I am wondering if we tonight are not making a public apology to those who have given their lives in an attempt to crush fascism? When I say that, I mean the people and organized workers of the United States, because we are responsible for what our Government will do and has been doing. It was we who elected the present Government, and it is about time that the citizens of this country, one of the United Nations, should stop making streamlined speeches, should cease to be soft on this question. It is about time that we demand of our State Department to break relations with Franco. We made mistakes in 1936, 1937, and 1938. When the lights were going out in Europe, the people of Spain kept that last torch of freedom going with their blood and with their very lives.

That was the time when Hitler and Mussolini were using Spain and the Spanish people as a proving ground for their Nazi streamroller that rolled over more than 30,000,000 people in Europe. Had we spoken out then, had we been united then, we could have stopped this last terrible war.

And now we come down to the piers with bands welcoming home the soldiers, we pin medals on the Gold-Star Mothers, and we say there is nothing too good for the boys; but while we are saying all this, we are not telling them that fascism is not yet defeated—as long as Franco and his puppet government remains so long will that cancer of fascism remain in the world.

I speak for the Congress of Industrial Organizations. I speak in the name of the New York City CIO. I know that when I speak in the name of labor and call for the breaking of relations with Franco, that I speak for the auto worker, the steel worker, the office worker, and the transport worker—they want no part of Franco fascism.

There is a conference, an important world conference, being held in London tonight. The voice of this meeting should be heard at that world conference. Our Secretary of State should speak up now and declare that his Government and the American people want an end to the Franco government and liberation for the Spanish people. On top of all the sacrifice, there is more than a hope, because tonight, in the city of Paris, for the first time in the history of organized labor, we have delegations and delegates from the free labor movements of the world about to form a world federation of free labor.¹

I am glad to be able to state that high on the agenda of their program will be a demand by the American CIO that now is the time for action; that we are at the end of our road of pleading; that now is the time for the world federation of free labor in Paris to say once and for all, "Hang Franco with the same rope as will hang Goering."

The next speaker was introduced as a member of the "glorious" Abraham Lincoln Battalion, Edward Robinson. Robinson declared:

I am here tonight, talking in the place of one who has certainly given much to the cause of Spain and whose death has brought to a close his continued efforts in the cause of Spain, David McKeivey White. He has been, and facts are well known, that in 1936 and 1938, men from all over the world went to fight on the side of the Spanish Republic.

We knew the aims of the Axis long before most other people. We went to Spain because we knew that in Spain act 1 of the world tragedy was taking place, and we hoped that the people of the democracies would realize it in time. More than half of our members laid down their lives in Spain.

Of the 1,200 who returned, almost all who were capable were engaged in the world-wide struggle against fascism. Many of those who lived, lost their lives at Guadalcanal, Okinawa, and on the beaches of Normandy. Capt. Irving Goff, Sgt. Milton Joe Felson, Sgt. Bob Thompson, Capt. Herman Boettcher, Sgt. Sid Peritz, Joe Gordon, these and many like them were the stuff of the International Brigade.

We will never be convinced that Franco was neutral. We knew that 50,000 trained troops from Spain were sent to fight against our allies from the Soviet. We knew about the network of espionage that was set up in Latin America; we always knew that Franco was not neutral.

We of the International Brigade know that Franco was, and still remains, a most dangerous enemy of world peace. This being true, there is just one thing we must do. The American people must break all diplomatic and business relations with Franco Spain. We must show the world that we know Franco for what he is, another Hitler whose ambition is to split the world and then enslave it. Let's set ourselves the task of breaking relations with the last dictator still in control of his country. A world which tolerates a Fascist Franco government is a world that can never be completely democratic or at peace. Let freedom reign again in Spain.

Kenneth Spencer, singer, with Jonathan Price at the piano, entertained with songs.

The next speaker was introduced with the following statement:

The International Brigade remains today a powerful symbol of the true international democratic spirit. One in whom this spirit burns brightly and fiercely came to this country as a political exile. He has since become an American citizen. His voice is heard constantly in the fight against fascism and for freedom, Johannes Steel.

Steel opened his speech with—

Fellow anti-Fascists: * * * Mr. Truman, Mr. Bevin, we want action now.

¹ This is a reference to the World Trade Union Congress to establish the World Federation of Trade Unions. Labor unions from democratic countries withdrew from the WFTU on the ground that the organization was under complete Soviet domination.

The chair was then yielded to Jose Ferrer. He stated:

I would like to say a few words before going on with the introductions, by saying that I cannot tell you how proud I am to see you all here tonight, to see Madison Square Garden full, and being here with and among you. It is quite easy, as you probably know, for one in my position as maker of introductions, to go off the deep end, but I have no such fears in introducing the next speaker. He is an author of radio programs and author of the best seller *On a Note of Triumph*, Norman Corwin.

Norman Corwin declared:

This is where we came in. There was fascism in Spain before the big war began and there is fascism in Spain now that that war is over. The difference is that in the meantime 40,000,000 have been killed or maimed in the interest of ridding the world of fascism. We rejoice that the democratic flags are flying over Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo, but the flag of the Falange still goes up every morning in Madrid.

It is easy to forget, but nothing that has happened in our lifetime seems, to me at least, to have the particular bitter poignance of the original anti-Fascist war of the Spanish Republic.

I say now, some 5 weeks after VJ-day, that all things considered, there rises out of the tribulations and the agony and exultation, one weak distinction that the so-called premature anti-Fascist was and is the first citizen of our time. The original premature anti-Fascists were the people of the Spanish Republic; they were the International Brigade; they were the people of this and other countries who entered the fight of their own volition, people like Jim Lardner and Hank Boettcher, and in violation of the shameful rules of nonintervention, fought the enemy, gun sight to gun sight. They were the people whose conscience were ahead of their time, and were accordingly subject to investigations by congressional committees. They knew that as long as there is any fascism in the world, including the tower of the Chicago Tribune, that there is still a war.

In a war whose newspaper correspondents have numbered Ernie Pyle, Robinson, and Kuhn it is easy to forget one who gave information to the enemy, but there are people who have not forgotten. Those people sit tonight in dingy basement restaurants in Toulouse, Marseilles, and they talk of their republic. They know, and we know, there will be a republic again across the mountains. Whether or not this number of people will live to return to their new republic depends in very large measure upon this assembly here tonight. They need everything except patience and courage, food, clothes, shoes, medical supplies, arms, and legs, they need to eat; they need morale and physical support to achieve their battle cry of the Loyalists: "Make Madrid the doom of fascism."

The next speaker was introduced as representing the country which has never recognized the Franco government, Nikolai Novikov, Soviet Chargé d'Affaires at Washington and acting head of the Embassy in the absence of Andrei Gromyko.

Bartley Crum then read a message sent to the rally by Dr. Juan Negrin, Prime Minister of the last pre-Franco government in Spain.

A special broadcast from England was then switched into the garden, transmitted from London over WJZ and the Blue Network. The speaker was introduced as one of the staunchest friends of the Spanish people and chairman of the national executive council of the British Labor Party, Prof. Harold J. Laski.

The CIO Radio Chorus, directed by Simon Rady, with Isabelle Josephs at the piano, then entertained with songs. Narrators were Uta Hagen and Jose Ferrer.

A message was read from Richard Frankenstein, vice president of the United Auto Workers of America, by Bartley Crum, in which Frankenstein said he regretted being unable to attend the rally because of the strike conditions in Detroit.

The chairman then paid tribute to Dorothy Parker, who worked as chairman of the arrangements committee for this rally.

Lisa Sergio was the next speaker. She said:

Almost everything has been said about Franco tonight that one could say about him, it seems. But one of the many things that he has done has been forgotten tonight. It was under Franco that one of the most revolting, dirty weapons used in this war was invented. The fifth column was his invention, let us not forget that.

We talk a lot about getting rid of Franco, he is still there and so is the fifth column. Remember that no organization of people which carries out espionage and sabotage disorganizations can function without some leadership, and that leadership of the surviving fifth column today includes all of the people who don't want the victory of democracy as in Spain. That is one more reason for which Franco must go out. Who is going to throw Franco out, I ask you? Is it the businessmen who are doing business with him in all of the United Nations?

During the war, when there was need of oranges, Spanish oranges were bought because Franco was given the money. Are these same people today going to throw Franco out? No, let's not kid ourselves. We can back the people who are going in there to throw him out, but they have to be Spaniards who throw him out. And where are the Spaniards? Well, they are tireless fighters and so they fought in the underground, in the French Maquis, with Tito's guerrillas, everywhere it was possible to fight, and many finally ended in Hitler's concentration camps. Those who did not fled to some of the French towns, and when they handed them over to the victorious Allies, we disarmed these Spaniards, and now they have gone back to the camps that Vichy had set up for them.

Those whom we liberated from the death camps in Germany had no place to go. Do you know any American boy who came out of a prison camp in Germany? Has he told you what it meant to see the Allies arrive, to see the camp thrown open, to know there was a place for him to go to, that there was home?

These Spaniards have no place to go to; there is no home for at least 200,000 Spanish republicans because we, the victorious democracies, do not want to recognize that Spain is their home and not the home of Franco.

I know we have appealed to President Truman. In England they have appealed to Mr. Bevin and Mr. Attlee, and at San Francisco we made a nice sounding declaration which was repeated at Potsdam, but Franco is still there. If they really meant to throw Franco and his men out, these people who think they have won the war for democracy, would not let 200,000 fighters die and starve of disease. I say it's fine to talk and the eyes of the world are on this rally tonight. There are about 20,000 people here. I hope that you recognize one another in this garden because the world is looking at us and if we go away from here, moved by the speeches we have heard and will hear, and stirred by the songs, it won't be enough.

Tomorrow morning the women of these Spanish fighters will turn around full of aches and pains from the cold floor where they sleep somewhere in France, but you and I who have talked a lot tonight will have had a place to sleep and enough to eat. This is what pleases Franco; that we talk a lot, but that we must prove what we say by injecting into the heart and muscles of these people something that will set them to fight again.

It is very well to win a war on the battle front but when you begin to count up the physically and mentally destroyed women and children, then it is that you add up the score of victory and defeat. Do you realize that today as our men come sailing home, and we greet them with signs of welcome, still grumbling even though the war is over, do you realize that in Europe there is still the greatest number of Germans left? They have killed the children of the countries they invaded. In 15 years they will rise again. Do you realize that every one of the Spanish republican children that we snatch from the hands of death will be the equivalent to 10 resurgent Fascists and Germans that we will have to put down in 15 years?

Wars may be won with weapons and blood and money, but who gives the money, blood, and spirit? It is the people. Why did the United Nations win the war? Because there were more people on our side who never lost faith even in the darkest years. It is a question of people, and it has been part of the Fascist plan in the camps to kill women who could have borne children to fight for peace.

While a great generation was being brought up under Hitler's regime, millions born every year and trained to believe that Fascism would again rise, they have tried to kill the children of Spain. There are 200,000 men, women, and children. There used to be 500,000 who left Spain when Franco won because our stupidity

enabled him to win. Today we cannot locate that half million and we know that there are about 200,000 left today in France that we can still save. Let's get President Truman to break relations with Franco. Let's take these 200,000 people and let's make them the living evidence that our words are not just words. Let's do something about them, for mercy's sake, and not just talk about it.

There is only one place in the world, and only one group of people in the world, who have the right to demand that the surrender document be drawn up and signed in their presence—I mean the total capitulation of the fifth column that is still in Europe—that group of people that must receive the surrender instrument of fascism are the Spanish republicans, and the place can only be Madrid. I would say that it is time that we be practical. How about proving to these 200,000 that we want them to live? Is there anybody here with \$1,000?

The collection followed. Among some of the large contributors were:

- National Maritime Union, CIO, \$1,500.
- Secretary of the Spanish Tobacco Workers Union of Tampa, Fla., \$2,000.
- Social workers, \$1,000.
- Editor of Readers Scope, Leverett Gleason, \$1,000.
- International Workers Order, \$1,000.
- Russian War Relief, Chapter of Local 19 of United Office Workers Association, \$535.
- Irwin Burke, \$600.
- Arthur Bernhart, \$600.
- Morris Latson, \$600.
- Sam Novick of Electronic Corp. of America, \$500.
- Charles Korwin, \$100.
- Chefs, Cooks, Pastry Cooks, and Assistants Union, New York Local 89, AFL, \$230.
- Edward K. Barsky, \$250.
- Albert Mitchell, \$300.
- Sam Jaffe, \$300.
- I. Greengold, \$200.
- Herman Cherry, \$350.
- Joseph Hirschorn, \$100.
- Moe Asch, \$100.
- Louis Goldberg, \$100.
- Neighborhood Committee for Allied War Relief, \$200.
- Herbert Ahren Corp., \$250.
- F. G. Miles (from London), \$100.
- Francis L. Scheff, \$500.
- Emily Pearson, \$100.
- Phil Shapiro, \$100.
- Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, \$50.
- Staff of the Spanish Refugee Appeal, \$60.
- New York State Committee of the Communist Party, pledged \$500.
- American Youth Club, \$26.
- Sportswear Specialty, Inc., \$25.
- Workers of Cafe Society Downtown, \$50.
- Women for Allied Aid of Manhattan Beach and Brighton, \$50.
- Students from Brooklyn College, \$75.

The Goldman Band again entertained with musical compositions, followed by Paula Lawrence and Josh White singing the Free and Equal Blues. Vincent Sheean, author and war correspondent, was the next speaker.

A spotlight was thrown on a Mr. Tung,¹ member of the Communist Party in China. The next and final speaker for the evening was Mme. Isabel de Palencia, former Minister to Sweden and Finland of the Spanish Republic Government. The meeting closed at 11:30 p. m.

¹ Tung Pi-wu.

Mr. DEKOM. Next, Mr. Huber, I ask you to take up the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Mr. HUBER. The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is an organization that is made up of men who joined in the Spanish Revolution. The American unit on the side of the so-called Loyalist forces was called the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Mr. DEKOM. Was the Abraham Lincoln Brigade under Communist control?

Mr. HUBER. Oh, certainly. The whole outfit was recruited through the Communist Party here in the United States. The party arranged for passports and transportation. Forged, false papers were made up or obtained by the party for travel to Spain. In Spain the Communists took away American passports and papers and, I found out, these papers were sent to Moscow to be used later by Soviet agents to get into the United States. All the ranking officers of the Lincoln Brigade were Communist Party members and the brigade was run strictly on the Soviet system, with a commissar who had absolute power over everything. They say they were fighting for liberty, but their system was as dictatorial as in the Soviet Union.

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is engaged in making Communist propaganda, raising funds, and in supporting Spanish Communists. In that sense, as I explained, it is connected with aliens and foreign-born Communists. Also, foreign officials in this country have attended meetings of the Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you, please, give us specific cases of this, of the connection of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade with officials of foreign governments accredited to the United States?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir. I have one particularly good example of this, the national convention in New York, September 21, 1946.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you attend that meeting?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I did, and I can give you a complete report of it, not just the presence of foreign officials.

Mr. DEKOM. Please do so.

Mr. HUBER. The first national convention since World War II of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was held at Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 West Forty-eighth Street, New York City. The veterans had originally planned on holding memorial services at Madison Square Park, Twenty-third Street, but a heavy rainfall prevented same. The invocation was delivered by Rev. David Nathaniel Lico-ric; this was followed by taps. The convention opened with the band playing songs, featuring the Red army song. The chairman was Bert Jackson, who stated:

Comrades, the weather seems to be very much against us today. The only thing that seems to be lacking are the blankets around our shoulders and the constant scratching we used to do in Spain, to make it seem like the old days. However, without further ado, I think we should get on. We have some very distinguished guests who likewise have continued the fight against fascism and who likewise are mobilizing as many people as possible to bring a quick end to the Fascist regime in Spain. We have with us Mr. Joseph Fauling, and, of course, always with us is Dr. Ed Barsky; we have with us the Yugoslav consul, Consul Hinko J. Samec; and I see another consul, the Polish consul, Jan Galewicz; we have the Czechoslovak consul, Josef Forman; New York City councilman, Ben Davis. And no meeting would ever be complete without our own Paul Robeson. We also have a delegate from the Win-the-Peace organization, and a large group of people who, although they cannot be with us, send us greetings.

Jackson read telegrams from Congressman Hugh DeLacy, Upton Sinclair, Herbert Lehman, Edward G. Robinson, Carey McWilliams, and Bartley C. Crum, praising the members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in their fight against fascism. He continued stating, "We have another legal representative to our convention, Vice Consul Anatole Yakovlev, of the Soviet Union."

Milton Wolff, national commander of the brigade, delivered the keynote address as follows:

Guests, friends, and delegates, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was born first fighting against fascism. The members have been characterized as fighting anti-Fascists and we have been called other less complimentary names. Certain very blunt commentators have dubbed us premature anti-Fascists. I cannot remember a convention where we have not worked out plans to intensify our fight against fascism. We have always been guided by the motive which sent us to Spain, by the remembrance of the people who gave their lives—the people of Spain. Down the years we have dedicated ourselves to the struggles of peace, and of the conception of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Men of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade have fought and distinguished themselves in every battlefield.

When we went to Spain in 1936, proclaiming to the world that we would fight fascism, we rejected with our lives all the evils of appeasement and compromise. We have stuck to our guns in the face of the enemy. We feel that it is important for the American people today to review the message of the last 10 years in the light of our own experience. Ten years ago the Spanish people were holding the curtains of democracy against fascism. The Soviet Union was the only country which defended these principles, and did so with matériel and supplied armies. We, the American volunteers of the International Brigade, rejected a policy of appeasement with guns in our hands and with our lives on the battlefronts of Argonne. We maintain that the hope of the world rests with us, the American people. We must reestablish on a firmer basis than ever before, the friendship between the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain, which defeated the Axis and which can maintain the peace and build a better world for us. We must stay in the forefront in the fight for the destruction of facism, and particularly in Spain. Spain is one of the most important keys to all international development. Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade cannot and will not stop short of a world of peace—a democratic world.

The chairman read greetings from Frank Kingdon, Serge Koussevitsky, and Pablo Picasso. Betty Simms sang several Spanish songs, followed by Paul Bates, who also sang Spanish songs. The chairman then stated:

At this time we bring before the convention a person who needs no introduction to members of the Fifteenth Brigade—our own commander of the Thirty-fifth Division whom we know so well as General Walter (General Walter is the name under which Gen. Karol Swierczewski, Polish Vice Minister of Defense, led the Dombrowski brigade in Spain).

His address was delivered in Polish and translated at intervals, but indistinguishable. The essence of it was high praise for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and to the effect that Polish fighters had fought in Spain in 1936 to prevent the dropping of bombs on Poland in 1939. Jackson continued:

General Walter, who was in Paris only hours ago, has brought with him some awards to be made to some members of our brigade, who have consistently carried on the fight against fascism and have kept alive the fight against Franco. The first name that comes to mind is the name of our own Herman Boettcher; obviously the award will have to be received by someone else—and who better than Comrade Irving Goff.

Irving Goff was a captain in the United States Army, serving with OSS.

Following Goff's acceptance of the award, the chairman stated:

I will call up all the remaining: Alvah Bessie, who is on the west coast carrying on the fight against fascism; Jack Bjoze, executive secretary; our National Commander Milton Wolff; Dr. Edward Barsky; and that fighter against fascism, Paul Robeson.

Awards were distributed. The chairman again continued:

Comrades, the keynote of our convention is the continuation of the fight against Franco and against fascism, and probably the epitome of fascism today is represented by none other than Byrnes,¹ of South Carolina. It is logical, if we are to fight against fascism, we might fight fascism here at home and in the South. It is fitting that the chairman who is leading the crusade against lynching, which is going to Washington on September 23, should speak to us—it is our own representative who will now speak to you—Paul Robeson.

After a tremendous ovation, Paul Robeson said that he was "going to say a few things, but first I want to sing a couple of songs."

After singing, he said:

One of the things I want to talk about is what lynching can mean in America. I am going down to Washington on Monday and bring to the conscience of America what this means. You who have been in Spain know what it means; you know it means to break the spirit of the Negro people. This is a very important anti-Fascist truth today. The reactionaries are going to break the Negro spirit, and I know you of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade will do all you can to see that this reaction is wiped out. We know the unity of the struggle for the Negro people; they look to the progressives and to those like you who fought in Spain to help them. You were in Spain, you know what the Spanish people were fighting for. We have here representatives from Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, and the Soviet Union; they know what the struggle was all about—a war against the forces of fascism. And so in Poland today, in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and China they are fighting for a world where people can live in peace. We cannot be confused; we know what is going on, and we must take it to the American people, with no apologies for anything; we must never apologize. It is important not to be afraid of saying we are Communists; we cannot live in the world without them, and we must stop worrying about them. We have always been put on the spot. We have a Communist in the city council today—Ben Davis. We have a very special struggle in the fight for the Negroes, in the fight for the people. We are in the vanguard, and we must stay there, working every day and night. We must keep moving, to force the reactionaries back. It takes tremendous courage, but we will continue to fight for a decent world. We know that in the historic period today, we in America are bearers of the standards. America has a great responsibility—the veterans of the brigade must live up to their responsibility.

Chairman Jackson again took over, stating:

Comrades, the old fighting songs have been sung and the fighting words have been spoken. Many of us no longer give the youthful appearance we had a few years ago, but we have more experience and can go on and carry on the fight more successfully than in the past. Before we conclude this session of the convention, I think it would be correct to receive greetings from a representative body of our government which is an indication that times have changed—Eugene Connolly.

Eugene Connolly addressed the audience, stating:

Yes; I would like to bring you greetings. I am very privileged as an individual, and as a member of my party, to come here and be permitted to say a few words to the men who know what the struggle against fascism is. I would like to say something which I think Paul Robeson touched upon. It seems to me that we are at a new point in American history—we have had great struggles in our history—we have had the struggles of Jefferson and Jackson—we have had the debates of Lincoln and Douglas. Today it seems to me that the American people are about to engage in a struggle which transcends these, and I think it is a fight

¹ James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State.

we are going to win. Franklin D. Roosevelt is not dead, and the people of America believe in the things he fought and died for; carrying forward his policies today is another great leader, Henry Wallace. Mr. Truman has silenced a Cabinet member, but this has aroused the voices of the American people. Henry Wallace, I am utterly convinced, has spoken in the voice of the American people, and I think we are going to win the fight against the reactionaries and against the poll-taxers. We are going to win the fight for the South. The American people understand that there is only one course for our Nation to follow, and that is the fight for the peace. Peace means cooperating with the Soviet Union, the outlawing of Franco. For the American Labor Party I am happy to say that it is our firm conviction that we are going to win this fight. A vote for the American Labor Party is a vote for peace. We are not going to compromise on the issue we are fighting for—and that is the fight for the American people. We are going into the fight together, and will work together.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any information on the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief?

Mr. HUBER. That was, of course, a well-known Communist front, with much of its activity run by the party organizations.

Mr. DEKOM. Upon what do you base your statement?

Mr. HUBER. Communist Party units were active in promoting the organization, and I knew that some of the top officials were Communist Party members or connected with Communist Party fronts. I can give you a couple of examples.

In June 1945 the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, with offices at 58 Park Avenue, conducted a vigorous campaign to raise \$1,000,000, which was to be used to purchase medical supplies for shipment to Yugoslavia. One of their promotion schemes was to solicit funds through the signing of scrolls, which were distributed through the clubs of the Communist Party of America.

On Thursday, October 24, 1946, I was at a dinner sponsored by the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, at the Hotel Pennsylvania. Admission was \$6.50 per person. About 500 people attended. The chairman was Stanley Isaacs, New York City councilman, who stated that the people of Yugoslavia were grateful for help the United States was giving them through the UNRRA; that they did not believe such help would be terminated by the American people. The names of other speakers, excepting that of Ambassador Sava N. Kosanovic, were unintelligible when introduced. They spoke in broken English and were difficult to understand. Entertainment was furnished by Yugoslav singers and dancers. Pete Seegar made a hit with the audience when he had them join in the chorus of a song entitled, "I'm Gonna Stick by the Union." Most of the audience was familiar with verses of that song, which was commonly sung at Communist Party affairs. A collection speech, started by a priest of the Serbian Orthodox Church,¹ who presented the committee with a \$15,000 donation from his congregation, was later taken over by William S. Gailmor, because of the poor English spoken by the priest. They collected about \$25,000. Ferdinand Smith gave \$500 in the name of NMU; \$1,000 was donated by a man named Caspar,² owner of the Stockholm Restaurant in midtown Manhattan. The concluding speaker, Ambassador Sava N. Kosanovic, denied that religion was not allowed to be practiced in Yugoslavia and said that religion was free to exist as

¹ Probably Strahinja Maletich, executive secretary of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans and later an employee of the Yugoslav Consulate in New York. He has been forced to leave the United States.

² For the testimony of Frank J. Caspar, see p. 77.

always in that country. He stated that it was true that the church was separated from the state in his country, but that it was no different than here in America, where one of the basic principles is the separation of the church from the state. He stated that the attacks on Yugoslavia over the prison sentence meted out to Archbishop Stepinac were unjustified, because, if the true facts were known, Yugoslavia would be found blameless in that affair and that Archbishop Stepinac was given his sentence for misusing his church to aid the Nazi occupation. He denounced the American press for working up a war fever against Yugoslavia, while at the same time adopting a soft and forgiving note toward those who followed Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito. He said that his country was grateful for the assistance of the people of the United States, and stated that threats to halt such aid were not taken seriously by the people of Yugoslavia. Guests included Saul Mills, Regina Wilson, Ferdinand Smith, and Sam Kanin.

Mr. DEKOM. I notice in a number of instances which you have cited, as well as others which have come to the attention of this subcommittee, that Communist officials and representatives from abroad have participated in meetings over here. Is this a common Soviet propaganda technique.

Mr. HUBER. Yes; it is.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you cite any recent instances of that?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir. The Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, held in New York last March. I was present at that meeting and, if you like, I can give you a full report on it.

Mr. DEKOM. Please go ahead and do so.

Mr. HUBER. The National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, with headquarters at Suit 76, 49 West 44 Street, New York City, sponsored a Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace on March 25, 26 and 27, 1949, to which international guests were invited. A welcome dinner was held in the grand ballroom, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Forty-ninth Street and Park Avenue, on Friday, March 25, 1949, with 1,900 guests attending, reservations \$10 per plate. The dinner began at 7:30 and terminated at 11:40. Harlow Shapley, of Harvard, acted as chairman. Seated on the dais were the following guests:

Myrta Aguirre, Cuba
 Dr. R. E. C. Armattoe, North Ireland
 Krisimir Baronovich, Yugoslavia
 Ernst Boas
 Peter Bogdonov, Yugoslavia
 Jan Boor, Czechoslovakia
 Dr. Allen Butler
 F. Manrique Cabrera
 Serge Chermayoff
 M. E. Chiaurely, U. S. S. R.
 Erling Christophersen, Norway
 Aaron Copland, composer
 Norman Cousins
 Olin Downes, New York Times
 W. E. B. DuBois
 A. A. Fadeev, U. S. S. R.
 Prof. Joseph Frank, Sweden
 S. A. Gerasimov, U. S. S. R.
 John Goss, Canada
 Nicholas Guillen, Cuba
 Lillian Hellman, playwright
 Ferdinand Hercik, Czechoslovakia

Pawell Hoffman, Poland
 Jiri Hronek, Czechoslovakia
 Hayward Keniston
 Leon Kruczkowski
 Brenda Lewis
 Dr. Juan Marinello, Cuba
 F. O. Matthiessen
 Bishop Arthur W. Moulton
 Michael Nisselson, Amalgamated Bank
 A. I. Oparin, U. S. S. R.
 Stanislaw Ossowski, Poland
 P. A. Pavlenko, U. S. S. R.
 Jovan Popovich, Yugoslavia
 Carlos Ramos, Philippines
 O. John Rogge
 I. D. Rujansky, U. S. S. R.
 Dr. Harlow Shapley
 Mrs. Harlow Shapley
 Rev. Guy Emery Shipler
 D. S. Shostakovich, U. S. S. R.
 William Olaf Stapledon, England
 Ladislav Stoll, Czechoslovakia

Charles Stuart
 T. O. Thackery
 Louis Untermeyer, poet
 Olive Van Horn
 Joseph Vidmar, Yugoslavia

Dr. Domingo F. Villamil, Cuba
 Alexander Vucho, Yugoslavia
 Edward L. Young
 Colston Warne

The dinner opened with Brenda Lewis, City Center Opera, singing the National Anthem, followed by the invocation by Rev. Arthur W. Moulton. Dr. Shapley introduced the guests on the dais. The first speaker was Stanislaw Ossowski, from Poland.

Myrta Aguirre from Cuba, speaking in Spanish which was translated into English, stated:

I take great pleasure in expressing Cuban adherence to this great assembly which will work to prevent the outburst of a preventable and avoidable new world war. The future of the world can be resolved by specific and rational means. As we greet this congress, we lament that the representation of Latin America is reduced to one single group and one Puerto Rican. Only insurmountable obstacles, well known to all of us, deprive them from coming. In view of these realities, I dare to salute one and all in the name of all Latin Americans who are not able to be present; I also dare to salute this congress in the name of the illustrious women who should have been here today but were unable to come into the country.

Jovan Popovich, from Yugoslavia, speaking in his native tongue, which was translated into English, stated:

I am indeed glad to greet this conference. The smoke of the last war has not yet disappeared, yet we are today witnessing new attempts to create a war psychosis. However, this time war is not being heard everywhere. We in Yugoslavia believe that the peoples of all countries want peace and friendship with each other. Peaceful cooperation is possible among countries with different ways of life. This is possible if the rights of all peoples are considered. No one of us in Yugoslavia wants or is anticipating war. From day to day millions of Yugoslavians are building up their country; the bright future is around the bend. The artists, scientists, and other professionals of my country have a great interest and the people of my country are responding. Among the peoples of every country, every piece of art, every scientific achievement which serves to strengthen the faith of man, finds immediate and deep response. On the other hand, works of art which sow discrimination and hatred work against the common good of peoples of all countries. Such so-called culture negates the aim of culture.

F. Manrique Cabrera, speaking in Spanish, which was translated by Louis Untermeyer, stated:

As a Puerto Rican writer, I feel deeply honored to greet the people here assembled for the noble purpose of lending themselves to the supreme effort of attaining peace. On arriving in this city, many of us were faced with nervousness and alarm with respect to this conference. This situation for a time deprived us of the necessary calmness to understand the lending of our presence in this place. Let us oppose this irrational aspect with our full power. Only in an atmosphere of peace is it possible that the creative forces of all men and peoples may serve the best interests of humanity and prosperity. It is just as important to say who we are and from whence we come as it is to say what we desire: Peace, peace be to all men.

Chairman Shapley read messages received from the following: Thomas Mann, George Bernard Shaw, J. B. Priestley, Frederick Ashton, Frederick Joliot-Curie, of the Institute of Radiology in Paris, Federation of Spanish Workers and Educators; teachers in Finland, Puerto Rico, Israel, Yugoslavia; director of the Hebrew Academy, the bishop of Birmingham, the bishop of New South Wales, Johannes Becker, of the Cultural League for the Renaissance of Germany; Michael Redgrave, Martin Anderson, of Denmark; Diego Rivera, of Mexico City; Professor Blackett, scientist and author; and Sean O'Casey.

William Olaf Stapledon, English philosopher and psychologist, was the next speaker.

Further greetings were read from Prof. J. D. Bernal, Paul Eluard, of France, and Abbe Boulier.

Charles Stuart, educator and publicist who is associated with the Churchman, followed. He recited the aims of the common man for peace, quoting that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself. He said:

This is a real fight for peace. Let's review the things which have happened here in America to silence those who speak for peace in the realm of academic freedom: Dr. Hyman Bradnick, New York University; Dr. Clyde R. Miller, Prof. Roger Morgan, Professor and Mrs. Ackley; Dr. George Parker, Dr. Luther A. McNair; Prof. Clarence Ahearn; and other outstanding professors from the University of Washington—all dismissed. These attacks have been made upon the Methodist Federation and upon that fearless editor, Guy Emery Shipler, of the Churchman, and upon my own rector and his son, Melish. This meeting is not a climax, this is a beginning. This is where we come in, we go on from here. I am going to ask you now in the presence of those foreign guests, to whom America is a new country, to show them a different American procedure, to take up a collection. Let's make it another win, and for the sake of this committee which has done such a magnificent job tonight and will do in the future, let's show them what we Americans can do.

The following contributions were made:

Harry Ratigan-----	\$1,000	John Stanton-----	\$100
Bobby and Joe Weinstein-----	1,000	Mollie Novick-----	100
Art Division of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions-----	1,000	Building Industry, of Arts, Sciences and Professions-----	100
Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Gilmore-----	500	Louis Berman-----	100
Michael Nisselson-----	500	Naomi Ames-----	100
Eli Harvard-----	250	Samuel Goodman-----	50
Barney Josephson-----	250	Abe Gilman-----	50
Harry Prager-----	250	Mary Galvis-----	50
Marcus Goldman-----	200	Sam Neuberger-----	50
Allen H. Ford-----	200	S. J. Rodman-----	50
Henry Wilcox-----	200	Morris Epstein-----	50
A. H. Goldsten-----	250	Horace Titus-----	50
Theodore Shapiro-----	155	Jerome Chodorov-----	50
Dinah Feldman-----	100	Jules Epstein-----	50
Benjamin Gilmore-----	100	Herman Rabin-----	50
Ira Hirshman-----	100	Micky Lesser-----	40
Sam Rosentman-----	100	Beatrice Turner-----	25
Charles Peck-----	100	Sol Golfein-----	25
Max and Louis Shapiro-----	100	Jesse Shapiro-----	25
Dr. Benjamin Siegel-----	100	M. Steinfeld-----	25
Nathan Fisher-----	100	Rose Gaulden-----	25
Abe Pomerantz-----	100	George Ives-----	25
David Bellow-----	100	Harry Mandel-----	25
Helen Tamiris-----	100	Jacob Allenoff-----	25
Lawrence Herman-----	100	Beatrice Buchman-----	25
Ralph Brandon-----	100	Jimmy Wise-----	25
William Morris-----	100	William H. Melish-----	25
Philip Jaffe-----	100	Sam Basso-----	25
Corliss and Margaret Lamont-----	100	Ruth Rubin-----	25
Samuel Jaffe-----	100	Reva Esser-----	25
Charles Goldman-----	100	Hester Gale Sondergaard-----	25
B. L. Spitzer-----	100	Mrs. Ruth Smith-----	50
Daniel Rock-----	100	Samuel Litman-----	25
Dr. Raphael Soyler-----	100	Sonia Ruth Goss-----	25
The Methodist Federation for Social Service-----	(?)	Allen Harvey-----	25
Mr. and Mrs. Fagan (?)-----	100	Dr. Emily Pearson-----	25
Dr. Auriello (?)-----	100	Dr. Lipshitz-----	25
Elinor Gimbel-----	100	Dr. Neubauer-----	25
		Dr. Leo Mayo-----	25

The estimated total contributions were over \$15,000.

Aaron Copland introduced Dimitri Shostakovich, who spoke in Russian, which was translated as follows:

On behalf of the members of the Soviet delegation, allow me to give my greetings to the progressive representatives of America. We are united with them in accomplishing the noble task of working for peace. I am sure that this meeting will be useful and beneficial to our mutual cause. As a musician and representative of the arts which need not be translated from one language to another, I realize how much can be done for the cause of peace—let our efforts prove not fruitless.

Norman Cousins, chairman of the State Education Commission of Connecticut and editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, gave a speech, which was so unexpectedly pro-American that the audience first gasped and then booed at intervals. He said:

I am grateful for this opportunity to speak, especially since I am about to present a minority report. I regret that everyone is not present tonight. The announced purpose of this conference is peace, but before I talk about peace, I would like to talk about your visit to the United States. I am certain that there are many things which have happened since your arrival that are disturbing. From the moment you landed on our shores you have been in an atmosphere of tension, hostility, and strong violence. It is not because Americans are unfriendly. I regret that this hostility is the reaction of the auspices under which this conference is held. American people in demonstrating against this conference are not speaking out against peace but against a small political group in this country which has failed to live up to its words of democracy. * * * Radicalism is not the issue. * * * Under those circumstances, your visit here proves that men of all creeds and nations can find and welcome a congenial association. No man can claim the right to speak for his countrymen. I am sure that distinguished representatives will want to report back to your governments and people. Americans want peace, but they do not want peace at any price. If the price of peace is injustice, they don't want peace. If it is the price of spiritual denial, they don't want peace. If the price is detachment from the rights of man, they will reject peace. Americans know what the next war means; they know that there can be no victory in the next war except over life itself. There will be no fabric left at all if peace is not won. This has bolstered Americans' desire for peace—support the United Nations—the time has come for all peoples everywhere to give the United Nations power to enact force. We must recognize a higher law. This means that those methods affecting the security of all peoples must be supported—the United Nations must be backed by force. The veto must be abolished, backed by the machinery of justice and due process of law. Mankind's conscience must be built into the structure of the United Nations. Tell them of the growing support in the United States for peace; tell them about the citizens of Connecticut who voted in favor of giving the UN power for security, for peace. Tell them the American people want to build the United Nations; tell them it is not true that the American Government wants war, but until a strong UN is established it will stand firm against aggression; tell them that Americans are anti-Communist but not antihumanitarian; that, while Americans respect the rights of other people for their own forms of government they are apprehensive of government by coercion, especially when coercion comes from without. Say that democracy is an enduring principle; say that it means there is enough room in America to believe in Herbert Hoover and Harry Truman and Franklin D. Roosevelt; say that democracy to Americans means making mistakes and correcting them. Democracy in America comes under the heading of unfinished business and it does exist strongly. Say that Americans believe in intellectual freedom; say finally that Americans recognize that there are ideological differences separating the peoples of the world today but they are not free; that peoples are more important than nations and what is at stake is the coming destiny of man. Say that America would like to hold out its hand to the peoples of the world and it is doing this because of the differences which must be kept from catching on fire.

Lillian Hellman followed, severely criticizing Cousins' speech, stating it should have been made in panel [loudly applauded]. "It has been a strange week, with people calling the sponsors and asking

them to withdraw." She stated she had joined the anti-Communist picket line in order to get the reaction of the pickets. She added:

I dislike the vulgarism of the word "philosophy." There is a new kind of philosophy this week being practiced by hook or crookism which allows many versions—if you want to call names of honest men, you do it. I think it is possible that, if we told you of the many phone calls made by Professor Hook,¹ it would not sound possible. Governor Dewey embraced Professor Hook early this week. We intellectuals were meant to act like statesmen. Many of us disagree on many issues with many others of us here. Four years ago, I was living on the Polish front with the Russian Army. Now it is fashionable to feel that only Russia is at fault. I think we have come together to say we are tired of speaking about whose fault it is. I think it isn't right for men to have scales; it no longer matters whose fault it is but just that this must be stopped. Wars will not kill capitalism nor communism. History will take care of what will come. You can't kill ideologies. It is sad that we have not learned this lesson. This dinner was not planned for solutions; in all humility we can do no worse than statesmen. We want only to declare here that there are still men and women in the world who don't think it dangerous for peace. Long live life; that's why we are here.

On Saturday, March 26, 1949, the keynote session of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace was held at Carnegie Hall, Fifty-seventh Street and Seventh Avenue, from 10:40 a. m. to 1:15 p. m. Hilda Morse sang the national anthem, Dr. Harlow Shapley acted as chairman. He announced that, due to the large demand for admission to the panels, each delegate would be permitted to attend only one panel. He denounced the one-sidedness of the representation of this conference as Communist as being the fault of the Department of State. The international guests who had appeared at the dinner were again introduced to the people present at this session. Shapley announced that the national members of the NCASP would hold a dinner meeting in suite 744 Saturday night; that members of the resolutions committee would meet in suite 2545 on Sunday at 9:30 a. m., as follows:

Dr. Allan M. Butler	Mary Van Cleve	Clifford Durr
Bishop Moulton	Michael Nisselson	Colston Warne
Olin Downes	Ira Wolfert	James Waterman Wise
W. E. DuBois	O. John Rogge	Arthur Gaeth
Lillian Hellman	Philip Morrison	John Howard Lawson
Arthur Miller	Guy Emery Shipler	Martin Popper
Professor Fairchild	Louis Untermeyer	Shirley Graham
Herman Herrey	Olive Van Horn	Dr. Edward Young

Shapley then discussed the world in the atomic age.

Arthur W. Moulton discussed the foundations for peace, stating:

The foundations of peace lie in the collective good will of the peoples; that this collective good will becomes highest through the arts, cultures, sciences, and professions. The preamble of the United Nations Charter begins that the peoples of the United Nations determine to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The word is that word "peoples" and the other word is that word "determined"; it is "peoples" and not "people." Peoples of the nations are determined to see to it that war is out of fashion. It is outdated and outmoded; it is obsolescent and we are determined to make it obsolete. What about this determination—how are you going to put body, soul, spirit, mind, and will into it to make it stand out under the assaults of fearmongers? That is the task of this conference. The forces which build the world into a pleasant place to

¹ Prof. Sidney Hook, chairman of the philosophy department at New York University, organized a counter rally and denounced the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace.

live in and make that life worth while are emerging from the foxholes of timidity and demand your attention as they take over the world. This is a resurrection and resurgence of the forces.. I want you to see something of the glory of the High Command. I would like to tell the peoples of the world that war shall be no more; that we possess magic to prevent destruction; draw the minds of the people from the ugly to the bad. I want the peoples to be seized by a moral infatuation for world peace; it is a collective matter. Nobody wants war; get the world's mind off war. Collective contributions of the people of the world in their arts, cultures, professions, religions, form an Olympian structure which will bring world peace. I urge that everyone join religion to be geared into the daily life of the individual to enrich personality and sire enthusiasm for the job of saving the world. Religion and progress are twins. Quit living like atheists and move into the army where God dwells.

Moulton's address was not to the liking of the audience in his constant reiteration that religion and God were the basic factors for achieving permanent peace.

Nicholas Guillen of Cuba spoke in Spanish, which was translated by Millard Lampell, as follows:

This conference meets during dark moments for the world. However, limited and restricted, it still plays a giant part in this hour of anguish; frightened people are thinking of the armed drive. This war could not start by itself alone. It is not an invited war, and there is on this earth no just meaning for its being unleashed. The trust to sell war and obtain the fabulous dividends of war is comprised of those who will not go to it; to ambitious government men who will follow the course from their green tables, the marching men they have sent to death, merchants of death, powerful rich, smooth smug politicians, those who never saw action during the war but read it in the headlines. Because this war would be fomented by stupidity, hatred, ignorance, lies against them, intelligence must prevail, must remain awake. The artist who considers himself outside the struggle of our time must realize that his destiny is to stand among people with the aim of peace.

T. O. Thackrey, editor and publisher of the New York Post, discussed United States foreign policy and its effect on world peace. O. John Rogge discussed the relation of domestic to foreign policy.

On Saturday, March 26, 1949, from 2 p. m. to 5 p. m., the following panel sessions were held in the name rooms of the Waldorf-Astoria:

Economic and social sciences—Jade Room:

The Marshall Plan in Relation to Peace and War, by Paul M. Sweezy, economist.

The Economic Consequences of the Cold War in the United States, by Prof. Colston E. Warne.

The Effect of a Disrupted World on Food Problems and Prospects, by David M. Lubbock.

Racism, Colonialism, and World Peace, by Gene Weltfish.

The Social Consequences of the Cold War in the United States, by Grace F. Marcus.

Mass Communications—Wedgewood Room:

Remarks of Alexander Vucho.

Discussion on behalf of the workers of Soviet art and Soviet cinema, by Sergei A. Gerasimov.

Mass Communications in Latin America, by Myrta Aguirre.

The Front Desk and the Foreign Correspondent, by Victor Bernstein.

The War Crises in the Headlines, by I. F. Stone.

The Role of American Radio in World Peace, by Arthur Gaeth.

The Cold War and the American Film, by John Howard Lawson.

Education—Astor Gallery:

Education in Czechoslovakia, by Jan Boor.

Education in Poland, by Stanislaw Ossowski.

Taboos on Knowledge, a Menace to World Peace, by John J. de Boer.

Implementing Academic Freedom, by Dr. Hayward Keniston.

Religion and Ethics—Basildon Room:

The Responsibility of the Church and Synagogue Today, by Rev. Shelton Hale, Bishop.

Same subject discussed by Rev. S. Harrington Littell.

Same subject discussed by Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton.

Same subject discussed by Rabbi Louis I. Newman.

The Cold War or a Living Peace, by Rev. Guy Emery Shipler.

The Ideological Conflict, by William Olaf Stapledon.

Writing and publishing—Starlight Roof:

The Writer and Today's Challenge for Peace, by Richard O. Boyer.

The Independence Movement in Asia, by Agnes Smedley.

The Written Word in the Struggle for Peace, by P. A. Pavelenko.

W. E. B. DuBois discussed freedom of thought.

Planning and building—Palm Room:

Development of United States Resources for Peace, by Henry T. Shotwell

Opening remarks by Serge Chermayeff.

Scientific—Astor Gallery, 8 to 11 p. m.:

W. A. Higinbotham discussed atomic energy.

Viewpoint of the Progressive Czech Scientist on War and Peace, by Prof. Ferdinand Hereik.

Science and the Struggle for Peace, by A. I. Oparin.

Science as a Bridge to Peace, by Walter Orr Roberts.

The Science of Life and Death, by Prof. Theodore Rosebury.

Prerequisites for Maximum American Scientific Contribution to World Abundance, by Henry A. Wallace.

Fine arts—Starlight Roof, 8 to 11 p. m.: The Artist as Interpreter of His Age, by Phillip Evergood.

Physical and mental health—Palm Room, Sunday, March 27, 10 a. m. to 12:30 p. m.:

The Importance of Peace to the Health of the People and to Medicine, by Dr. Ernst Boas.

International Relationships for Mutual Benefits, by Dr. R. E. G. Armattoe.

Wealth and Health in the U. S. A., by Dr. Allan M. Butler.

Social Environment and Mental Health, by Dr. Julius Schreiber.

On Sunday, March 27, 1949, the plenary session of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace was held in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel from 2:15 p. m. to 5:25 p. m. Prof. Harlow Shapley acted as chairman. Prof. Frederick L. Schuman spoke on American-Soviet relations. A. A. Fadeev, secretary-general of the Secretariat of the Union of Soviet Writers, spoke in Russian, translated by Martin Blaine, in part, as follows:

Professor Schuman is mistaken. There are no elements in our country which desire war in the United States or in any other country.

He praised the book, *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*, written by Albert Kahn and Michael Sayre:

I think the important thing is to understand that those elements in the United States who would like to see another war are not only the enemies of the Soviet but also the enemies of the American people, who, like ourselves, do not want war. All these facts indicate that the threat of a new war does not come from the Soviet. Peoples of the world will severely punish the instigators of a new war.

Dr. Juan Marinello, delegate from Cuba, spoke in Spanish, which was translated by Roger deKoven, actor. Agnes Smedley spoke on the independence movement in Asia (same speech delivered at the Writing and Publishing Panel). Dr. R. E. G. Armattoe discussed the independence movements in Africa.

Dr. Frederick L. Schuman again spoke, in answer to the points raised by A. A. Fadeev, as follows:

It is important to me that I owe it to you to explain. I did not make myself clear due to difficulties of language. I was told in Mr. Fadeev's very informative

and moving address that he said that there are no elements in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics desiring war with the United States. I agree completely with that statement. I also agree with the implication of the statement that there are some elements in the United States desiring war with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Those elements are not yet in Washington but elsewhere—not yet very influential or very important. Some of you disagree, but I want you to know my view of this. It seems to me that this is not the central problem that we are faced with as we try to think and act in terms of avoiding catastrophe in the future. Our drift toward war is not primarily the product of the words or the acts of anyone anywhere who wants war in either country; it is a product of international anarchy—of the lack of any effective world government. There can be no progress toward the goal of some structure of world government except on the basis of an American-Soviet settlement and cooperation. Our drift toward war is also the product of irrational fears and hopes on both sides. Almost no one in the United States really wants war with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, but they fear Soviet socialism and hope it will collapse or be destroyed. American capitalism has nothing whatever to fear from Soviet socialism, which will not collapse or be destroyed, or vice versa. The problem of peace is the problem of whether our two different societies can coexist and compete with one another creatively in peace. The ultimate alternative toward that is the destruction of each city in its efforts to destroy the other. Our answer is that they can coexist in peace and must do so if our civilization, east and west, is to survive. Since the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, America has not been making its contribution toward peace. We ask if Russia will make her contribution for peace. I believe it will, but it remains to be seen.

A man introduced as Joe of the organization made a statistical report as follows:

Number of people registered, 2,823, including representatives of all the arts, sciences, and professions; 491 from art, music, theater, and dance; 244 from education; 246 from economic and social sciences; 202 from mass communications; 84 universities, colleges, and technical institutes represented; 575 delegates from outside of the State of New York, representing 21 States, including California, Utah, and the State of Washington; number attending panels, 8,525.

An announcement was made that the action committee would meet at 10 a. m. on Monday, March 28, composed of representatives from each of the groups in the organization. A group of messages on record, recorded by Levy's Sound Studios, Inc., 73 New Bond Street, London, England, were run off, as follows: Miss Patricia Burke, Louis Golding, J. G. Crowther, and J. D. Bernal.

The text of resolutions as drawn up by the resolutions committee was read, followed by discussion from the floor. Lillian Hellman, Mary Van Cleve, and Martin Popper presented the resolutions. Joseph Winan, chairman of the National Jewish Writers and Artists; Albert Kahn, approving the resolutions, called for "peace at this time." Herman Herrey and Howard Fast spoke from the floor. Resolutions were unanimously approved. On the resolution on cultural freedom, Louis Harkis stated the United Public Workers of America (CIO) demand revocation of the President's loyalty order. Mrs. Rose Russell of the Teachers Union and Philip Morrison also spoke. In conclusion, Roger deKoven read a message received from Thomas Mann.

A mass meeting was held on Sunday night, March 27, at Madison Square Garden, from 8 p. m. to midnight; admission was from 60 cents to \$3.60. Harlow Shapley acted as chairman; Arline Carmen opened with the singing of the Star-Spangled Banner, followed by the invocation by the Rt. Reverend Arthur W. Moulton. A dramatic skit was narrated by Sam Wanamaker, based on messages from people throughout the world calling for peace.

The international guests seated on the platform were introduced, which was followed by a speech by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Dr. Shapley repeated the address given at the keynote session. Dr. R. E. G. Armattoe repeated the speech made at the plenary session. Leon Kruczkowski, speaking in Polish, translated by Sam Wanamaker, defended the Soviet Union's efforts for peace. Domingo F. Villamil spoke in English. Messages were read from people to whom visas had been denied. Millard Lampell read a message sent by Paul Eluard. William Olaf Stapledon repeated the speech he made at the welcoming dinner. John Howard Lawson, followed. Jiri Hronek delivered a message from the people of Czechoslovakia. Charles Stuart announced messages from various people, including one received from Charles Chaplin. He appealed for a general contribution toward maintaining peace throughout the world; total collection approximated \$15,000. Among the contributors were:

Writers, Actors, and Artists of Chicago-----	\$1,000	Isabel Ruary-----	\$100
Hollywood Artists-----	1,200	William Vulcan-----	50
Joseph Kaminoff-----	100	Leo Golden-----	25
Harry Kriegel-----	100	Lillian Miller-----	25
A. H. Bilstein-----	100	Joseph Miller-----	25
Lottie Davidoff-----	100	Marjorie Sloan-----	25
Sophie Zuckerbrod-----	100	Gussie McMahon-----	25
Chester Dichter-----	100	Mrs. Wishinsky-----	25
Paul Kronby-----	100	Mr. Wishinsky-----	25
Elizabeth Halprin-----	100	Gertrude Butnik-----	10
Margaret Parry-----	100	Hazel Welch-----	10
		William Gailmor-----	10

Richard Lauterbach spoke on the shame and embarrassment he felt at the exclusion of foreign representatives to the conference. A. A. Fadeev spoke in Russian, translated by Martin Blaine. Dimitri Shostakovich was introduced and played a selection, for which he received an outstanding ovation, but he refused to play an encore and did not speak. The two major resolutions approved at the plenary session of the conference were unanimously approved by the audience.

Mr. DEKOM. With the conclusion of your testimony concerning the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, we shall recess subject to call of the chairman.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
THE IMMIGRATION LAWS, OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m., in Room 424-C, Senate Office Building, Senator Forrest C. Donnell, presiding.
Present: Senator Donnell.

Also present: Otto J. Dekom, professional staff member.

Senator DONNELL. Let the record show that this is further hearing on S. 1832. Our witness this morning is Mr. John J. Huber, who, I understand, is to continue with his testimony.

Mr. DEKOM. Yes, sir.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF JOHN J. HUBER

Senator DONNELL. Mr. Huber, for purposes of identification, will you again state your full name and address in the record at this point?

Mr. HUBER. John J. Huber, Cortlandt Street, Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Senator DONNELL. You previously gave testimony at a hearing during part of which I was in attendance, did you not?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Senator DONNELL. Are you prepared at this time to proceed with your testimony?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir; I am.

Senator DONNELL. Mr. Huber, I shall not remain for the taking of the testimony, but Mr. Dekom will doubtless interrogate you, and you will, therefore, feel at liberty to proceed to answer such questions as he may propound to you and that you may deem proper to answer. Also, he will refer to various exhibits, I believe, to be introduced into the record in the course of the hearing.

Mr. DEKOM. Yes, sir.

Senator DONNELL. I shall not remain further, but the hearing will now proceed along those lines.

Mr. DEKOM. I would like to state for the record that Mr. Huber previously appeared before this subcommittee on September 8 and 9. At that time he was instructed to prepare certain additional material and to present additional exhibits. Mr. Huber is now prepared to go on with the testimony as per his instructions from the committee at the previous hearings.

I will now proceed with the questions, Mr. Huber.

Are you familiar with the work of the Communist Party among children and young people; their efforts to indoctrinate them with the Communist ideology?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I am. The Communist Party maintains a special summer camp for children in the Schooleys Mountains, at Pleasant Grove, N. J. The camp is called Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, which is a contraction of Workers' Children's Camp. It consists of 320 acres and is used exclusively for the children of party members.

The camp office was at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York, and 2 years ago it moved to the IWO headquarters building at 80 Fifth Avenue. The manager of the office and camp is a Communist Party member by the name of Matt Hall. The counselors are all members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. That is now known as the American Youth for Democracy.

Mr. DEKOM. Is American Youth for Democracy the successor of the Young Communist League?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know that of your own knowledge?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

They take the children from the age of 8 and provide them with a thorough Communist education, until they are ready to be accepted by the American Youth for Democracy. Children at the camp range from 8 to 15 years of age. Matt Hall told me that these children get what the party calls a good "progressive" education in addition to recreation at the camp.

Starting August 1, 1941, the Communist Party conducted a drive to raise funds to enlarge the camp to accommodate 1,000 children. Prominent people aiding in this drive were William Dodd, Jr., son of the former Ambassador to Germany; Mrs. Louis Gimbel, wife of the department store owner.

On Sunday, September 21, 1941, I attended a party for Camp Wo-Chi-Ca at the home of Canada Lee, 102 West One Hundred and Thirty-sixth Street, an actor in *Native Son* (written by Richard Wright and staged by Orson Welles). About 150 people were present, half Negroes and half whites. Prominent people present were Dr. Max Weissman; Arthur Brunlich (recently dismissed from City College for Communist activities); Herbert Newton, vice president of the WPA and Teachers Unions (he was under indictment for attacking a police officer), and Rev. Owen Knox. Canada Lee flew in from Boston for the occasion. This benefit was the first of many staged for Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, the proceeds of which were to be used to erect new buildings. The admission fee of \$1 per person entitled each to one drink. There was entertainment and dancing. Matt Hall, director of the camp, thanked the guests and told them that the proceeds of this party would be put to good use.

On Friday, September 26, 1941, I attended a party at the home of William Dodd, Jr., 231 East Seventy-sixth Street, to raise funds for Camp Wo-Chi-Ca. About 150 people attended. It was a swanky affair, with most women wearing formal attire, and admittance by invitation only. Entertaining was by professional artists who volunteered their services. During the evening, the coming Madison Square Garden rally was freely discussed by the guests, as were conditions in the Soviet Union. Bill Dodd appealed for funds on behalf of Camp

Wo-Chi-Ca and a large sum was contributed by the guests. Guests included Dr. and Mrs. E. Kallman, Dr. and Mrs. I. Engel Kaufman, Annette Rubenstein, Matt Hall, Mrs. Vincent Sheean, Dave Green, and Dr. Max Yergan.

On Monday, October 6, 1941, there was a meeting of the committee of Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, at its offices at 112 East Nineteenth Street. It was decided that a committee should be appointed to contact Dorothy Thompson, regarding a personal appearance. The strategy used was for Charlotte Honig to contact Dorothy Thompson through Mrs. Vincent Sheean, a personal acquaintance of Charlotte's. By so doing, they figured on not only being able to get Miss Thompson to speak for less money, but concluded that she would not investigate the true character of the organization for which she was to appear. She was to be told that it was an organization to raise money for a children's summer camp. I also learned that Paul Robeson was donating to Camp Wo-Chi-Ca the entire proceeds from the preview showing of a play in which he was to star.

On October 16, 1941, while lunching at the Twelfth Street and University Place restaurant, frequented by Daily Worker employees and employees of the national office of the Communist Party, in company of Al Lannon, Hyman Wolf, Matt Hall, Charlotte Honig, and Alex Guttman, we talked about Camp Wo-Chi-Ca. Lannon told Hall he would see that the National Maritime Union would give full support to any undertaking of the camp.

Mr. DEKOM. You mentioned the name of William E. Dodd, Jr., in connection with Camp Wo-Chi-Ca. Have you any additional information on this man?

Mr. HUBER. Yes.

On October 23, 1941, I was at the offices of Camp Wo-Chi-Ca when the Reverend Sprague, of the United American-Spanish Aid Committee, phoned to ask for the telephone number of William E. Dodd, Jr. As the girl in the office did not know whether to give it or not, she told him she did not have the number, but expected Charlotte Honig shortly and would have her call him back. When Honig was advised of the call, she phoned Sprague inquiring if he was going to speak to Bill Dodd about party matters. When informed it was other business, she gave the number, telling Sprague that Dodd had given instructions that no matters pertaining to the Communist Party were to be discussed over the telephone.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you have to report anything further on Camp Wo-Chi-Ca?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; I do. On Saturday, December 6, 1941, there was a party at the home of Dr. and Mrs. I. Engel Kaufman, at 170 West Seventy-third Street, to raise funds for Camp Wo-Chi-Ca. Invitations were issued only to people of means who were in a financial position to contribute liberally and who could also use their influence in interesting others in their particular circles. No admission was charged and a buffet dinner was served. Only 20 people attended. Reverend Sprague, of the United American-Spanish Aid Committee, spoke of the splendid work the camp was doing for underprivileged children and of the urgent need for improvement. Donations amounted to \$860, with several hundred dollars more pledged. Guests included Mr. and Mrs. Kahn, Dr. E. Kallman, Doris Green, Bella

Dodd, Dr. Annette Rubenstein, Max Yergan, Mrs. Burton Emmett, Morris Watson, and Lillian Turner.

On Sunday, July 26, 1942, I visited Camp Wo-Chi-Ca with Charlotte Honig, Dr. and Mrs. Kaufman, and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Engel. There were 260 children of Communist Party members vacationing at the camp; many people were visiting their children that day. The Daily Worker was displayed and openly read by visitors and the personnel of the camp. One visitor was Del, cartoonist for the Daily Worker, who was visiting his son at the camp. The bulletin board on the campus displayed an honor roll of boosters of Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, which included Max Yergan, Canada Lee, Annette Rubenstein, Paul Robeson, Vito Marcantonio, Dr. Rappaport, and Dave Green. There were 60 Negro children among the 260 children at the camp. The camp consisted of 10 buildings and 15 tents, the latter being large enough to accommodate 8 children comfortably. Matt Hall, director, made sure that Negro children were mixed in each tent and building with the white children. A theater on the grounds was for campers' shows and plays. A show was given for the visitors, which plainly showed to everyone's satisfaction that the education those children were receiving would undoubtedly lead them into the ranks of the party. Matt Hall told me later that the editorial staff of the newspaper PM would be his guests the following week.

The camp then comprised 125 acres of land, and was able to accommodate more children. That year a new swimming pool was being built and room had been added to accommodate 100 more children than had been possible the previous year.

On August 25, 1942, Camp Wo-Chi-Ca gave a party honoring Paul Robeson. Prominently displayed around the camps' buildings were signs which read, "Welcome, Paul Robeson," and "Paul Robeson, Freedom's Fighter." On Robeson's arrival, the campers gathered around him, singing a song of welcome specially written for this occasion. He was escorted to the administration building where more cheers greeted him, and a scroll from the children of the camp was presented by a young girl. Guests included Mr. and Mrs. Dave Green; Max Bedacht, national secretary of IWO; Mrs. Ann Willard, director of School for Democracy; Sol Vail, youth director of IWO; Helen Vrabel, national secretary of Youth Division of IWO; Dr. and Mrs. I. Engel Kaufman; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Engel; Harold Wilson, of the Harlem branch of the YMCA; Mr. and Mrs. Matt Hall; and Charlotte Honig.

On Monday, September 7, 1942, there was a party at Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, sponsored by the children of the camp to honor the guests from the labor unions which were contributing to the support of the camp. Delegations from the following were present: Local 65, Wholesale and Retail Warehouse Workers; the National Maritime Union; Furriers Union; International Workers Order; United Office and Professional Workers Union; and the Transport Workers Union. The children presented playlets depicting the strength of labor and the gains it had made during the past 10 years. One playlet which was presented portrayed Attorney General Francis Biddle and Harry Bridges. It showed Biddle demanding the deportation of Bridges, while other children, playing the part of organized labor, refused to permit it. Moe Fishman and Joe Crowley represented the NMU;

Harry Gordon represented local 65; Sam Burt, the Furriers Union; Dave Green, the IWO; Helen Shapiro, the UOPWA; and John Stanley, the TWU. All delegates promised the children in their speeches that they would report back to their respective unions on the ideal conditions which existed at the camp. The delegates were entertained with songs and playlets from 3 to 10:30 p. m., with an intermission of an hour for supper. These children's vacations are spent singing songs and producing playlets which portray the party line to the letter. Moe Fishman told the campers that his ship had been torpedoed off Murmansk and that 24 of his shipmates had been killed. (Fishman fought in the Spanish civil war and is a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.)

On Sunday, February 6, 1944, there was a dinner at the home of Dr. I. Engel Kaufman, 170 West Seventy-third Street, given by the Women's Committee of Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, to raise funds to enable the camp to complete a new swimming pool on the grounds. About 50 people were present. Entertainment was furnished by artists from Toscanini's orchestra through Harry Green, who plays 'cello with that organization and who is also an active Communist Party member. Conversation during the dinner centered around the Soviet Union. No one present doubted that the Soviet Union would emerge from the war as the most powerful nation in the world, and when the United Nations would sit at the peace table, the Soviet Union would dictate the terms. Some guests delighted in saying that the Soviet Government was the only nation with enough courage to denounce the Catholic church and its leaders as being Fascists. Guests included Mr. and Mrs. Harry Green, Dr. Kallman, Mr. and Mrs. Sam Krause, Charlotte Honig, Martha and Bill Dobkin, Nettie Turner, Muriel Draper, Muriel Samuels, Munya Gutride, Regina Wilson, and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Flaum.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you tell us anything about this man Sam Krause?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; I spoke to him and he told me he had served in the Red Army, being discharged in 1923 to come to the United States. He did not say whether he had been sent by anyone or on any particular mission, but his tone implied that he had been sent to this country for a purpose. He severely denounced the State Department and several Members of both Houses of Congress, accusing them of being the most vicious Fascists in America. When he left, a guest, who had overheard some of his conversation, asked Charlotte Honig who this man was who had left such a beautiful country as the Soviet Union to come here. She was promptly told by Charlotte not to ask such foolish questions. On making further inquiry regarding Krause, I learned that he had recently married a public school teacher; that she was still teaching and was a very active Communist.

Mr. DEKOM. What did he look like?

Mr. HUBER. Krause was 6 feet 2 inches in height, about 225 pounds in weight, 35 years of age. He had light brown hair, blue eyes, large features, ruddy complexion, hair parted on the left side; he was clean shaven and spoke with a Russian accent.

Mr. DEKOM. Who are some of the graduates of Wo-Chi-Ca?

Mr. HUBER. People like Pearl Primus were there. She became a world famous dancer through Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, after which the Communist Party used her dancing talent at their large mass entertainments.

Mr. DEKOM. Was she a member of the party?

Mr. HUBER. Yes. She used to perform for us quite regularly at my branch, the James Connolly Branch.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the view of the Communist Party on the teaching of youngsters?

Mr. HUBER. The party frequently emphasizes that it is to the youth that the party looks in the future, for leadership, action, and success.

Mr. DEKOM. Is the New York Teachers Union (CIO) under Communist control?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any estimate of the approximate number of members of the New York Teachers Union?

Mr. HUBER. Six thousand.

Mr. DEKOM. To your own personal knowledge, have you had any acquaintance with persons who have been engaged in teaching in New York City who are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir; Agnes Sailor and Munya Gutride.

Mr. DEKOM. Is Munya Gutride still living?

Mr. HUBER. No; she committed suicide.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know the circumstances surrounding her suicide?

Mr. HUBER. Yes. It grew out of charges by the board of education. When she was called before the board, they asked her of her Communist activities. She refused to answer on the grounds of constitutional rights against self-incrimination. Following that, she went home, turned on the gas, and committed suicide.

There is also David Friedman, Public School 62, New York City. His wife, Rhetta, is at Hunter College. She is a Ph. D., and teaches classical languages.

Mr. DEKOM. Now, is it your testimony that these people are members of the Communist Party, to your own knowledge?

Mr. HUBER. That is right, sir. I have met all of them at Communist Party meetings.

Mr. DEKOM. Were those closed meetings to which only party members were admitted?

Mr. HUBER. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you familiar with the efforts of the Communist Party to indoctrinate members of the armed forces of the United States during the recent war?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I am. One of the most ambitious plans of the Communist Party to carry on its subversive work among members of the armed services was the establishment of an organization called SOS, Sweethearts of Servicemen. This group consisted of young women who were instructed to pick up servicemen off the streets and bring them to the SOS club rooms, where they were given liquor, entertainment, and dancing.

These women would go to any extremes to "entertain" servicemen and thereby make them more disposed to join in the Communist movement. They had no morals or moral standards whatsoever.

Mr. DEKOM. What evidence have you to indicate the participation of persons in the armed services in Communist Party affairs and activities?

Mr. HUBER. I can give you several illustrations, if you want me to.

Mr. DEKOM. Go right ahead.

Mr. HUBER. In the summer of 1941, comrades of the Communist Party who were drafted into the armed forces were beginning to return to New York on leave. They invariably visited their sections, giving complete reports on their respective divisions. Some reports which I have heard were from veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. These men claimed the morale of the soldier was very poor and camp conditions did nothing to alleviate or raise their morale. The food was bad, sleeping quarters were overrun with vermin, and, in one instance, a sentry was bitten by a rat and amputation of the leg was necessary when blood poisoning set in. They also reported that the floors of the barracks were so thick with grease and dirt that a piece of the floor had been cut by the men and sent to Washington with a protest. These and many other stories were told and repeated until they were finally used as material for discussions at open meetings to which the public was invited in an effort to create a false impression on the general public about the armed forces.

On Sunday, December 26, 1943, I attended a theater party sponsored by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee at the Imperial Theater, West Forty-fifth Street, between Broadway and Eighth Avenue; about 3,000 people were present. The manager sold standing room only, the demand for admittance became so great, but this was soon discontinued. The audience was very colorful, every branch of the United States armed forces being represented: SPARS, WAC's, WAVES, and quite a number of the USMCWR. Male members of the armed forces ranged from major to private in the Army, and lieutenant commander to seaman in the Navy. At least 24 members of the Canadian Air Force were among the audience. Leading Communists present included James W. Ford, Charles Keith, Sadie Van Venn, Goldie Young, and Regina Wilson.

On Sunday, July 4, 1943, a fiesta was held at the home of William (Daily Worker cartoonist) and Sophie Gropper, Mount Arey Road, Croton-on-the-Hudson. Admission was \$1 and about 300 people attended. This affair was sponsored by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. The master of ceremonies was Stanley M. Isaacs, former borough president of Manhattan. Guests included members of the armed forces, majors, captains, three first lieutenants. Moe Fishman told me that a committee led by Helen Bryan was down in Mexico, making last-minute preparations for the welcome of a group of refugees who were being transported from Spain by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Gropper's home is situated on a hill surrounded by about 4 acres of landscaped grounds; tables were set on the lawns where guests ate and watched games and entertainment. Several French and Soviet sailors were present. Isaacs made the appeal for funds and stressed the importance of that committee; 2,000 Spanish Republicans having been freed from concentration camps in North Africa and were en route to a United States port to be transported to Mexico. He said that it would cost \$200 to transport one person to Mexico after his arrival in the United States. He asked his guests to be liberal in their contributions so as to permit the committee to carry on its work. Several donations of \$200 were made, followed by contributions from \$100 to \$25. Guests were urged to attend a bazaar where pottery and other trinkets, made by Spanish refugees who are in Mexico, would be sold.

Mr. DEKOM. Did members of the armed services participate in public Communist rallies?

Mr. HUBER. One of the most flagrant examples of this was when Communist members of the armed forces used Army trucks and jeeps in a demonstration on April 21, 1945. It was an open-air rally, at 2 p. m., at Columbus Circle, sponsored by the Upper West Side Legislative Assembly—a Communist front organization.

On my arrival at Columbus Circle, Nat Shulman, a member of the county committee, CPA—Communist Political Association—in charge of arrangements for the rally, was setting up the speakers' platform. He later set up a banner in back of the speakers' stand reading, "Close Ranks Behind President Truman, to Carry Out the Roosevelt Program."

About 15 minutes after I arrived, a jeep and two Army trucks from the United States Signal Corps came on the scene, immediately setting up two motion picture cameras and a microphone on the speakers' platform. In each Army truck were two first lieutenants and about 15 enlisted men. Eight mounted policemen were about, with a score of uniformed patrolmen to take care of expected crowds.

While waiting the start of the rally, I observed a score of comrades I knew from every club on the upper West Side. It began to rain before the rally started, causing it to be called off by Nat Shulman, who announced it would be held the following Saturday, April 28, at 2 p. m., "when stars of the stage, screen, and radio would appear."

The executive committee of the Upper West Side Legislative Assembly—the organization which sponsored the rally—was under complete control of the Communist Party. In fact, the membership was made up almost entirely of members of the unity branch of the party—my own branch—and its executive officers include: Burne Hogarth, chairman, Charles A. Collins, Murray Meyerson, Harry Abrams, Aaron Harris, Sydney Rowen, Goldie Young, and Bernard Weller.

Mr. DEKOM. Is Burne Hogarth the man who draws the comic strip?

Mr. HUBER. Yes.

On the subject of the armed services, I have here an invitation which might be of interest to you. It was to a surprise party given by Bill Dobkin, a member of the waterfront section of the Communist Party, at the home of Mrs. Burton Emmett in honor of Joe Sutton, another member of the waterfront section of the Communist Party. The important thing about this surprise party was that it was to celebrate his appointment as captain in the United States Army. The money which was collected from the bar, the admissions, and the buffet dinner at this party was turned over to the waterfront section of the Communist Party. There was a Communist Party fund drive on at this time and this affair was held to make up part of the quota of the waterfront section. The overwhelming majority of the people present were also members of the Communist Party, most of whom I knew personally. They were all my "friends."

I have the invitation which was sent to me here, with a handwritten notation on the back by Bill Dobkin, which I will be glad to submit to you.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive that in evidence of exhibit 5A.

Mr. HUBER. On the subject of Joe Sutton, I have here another party invitation. This one was to celebrate his marriage on June 15, 1946.

HUBER EXHIBIT 5A

You Are Invited To Join The Many Friends of

JOE SUTTON

AT AN INFORMAL SURPRISE PARTY

CELEBRATING HIS APPOINTMENT

AS CAPTAIN IN THE U. S. ARMY,

to be held at

24 WASHINGTON NEWS, NEW YORK CITY,

Saturday, March 17th, 1945, 8.30 P. M.

Refreshments .. Entertainment

Handwritten:
 Hello Joe
 See you
 from you
 with love

Face.

Reverse.

HUBER EXHIBIT 5B

Come to a Party

to

Celebrate

the

recent marriage of

Sara and Joe Suttan

Saturday Evening,
 June fifteenth, nineteen hundred forty-six
 Eight thirty P. M.

190 Riverside Drive
 at 91st Street

Ap. 6C

~~Wife for Joe Suttan.~~

Entertainment
 Dancing
 Drinks

Admission \$1.00
 Advance for
 favorite causes

Face.

Reverse.

This affair, too, was held to raise money for the Communist Party, and I have with me the actual invitation.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive that in evidence as exhibit 5B. On this invitation which you have submitted there is a hand-written notation, "Ask for Sylvia." What is the significance of that?

Mr. HUBER. The affair was held at the home of Sylvia Stone, 190 Riverside Drive, apartment 6-C. There were about 75 people present, including Dr. and Mrs. I. Engel Kaufman, Bill Dobkin, Max Parker, Mary Mallory, Ray Christianson, organizer of the water-front section of the Communist Party; Sam (Kappy) Kaplan, and Goldie Young, organizer of the James Connolly branch of the Communist Party.

(The documents referred to were marked "Huber Exhibits 5A and 5B" and appear opposite this page.)

Mr. HUBER. On Friday, January 11, 1946, I attended a cocktail party given by the Jefferson School of Social Science at the school's administrative offices on the seventh floor at 575 Sixth Avenue. This party was given for two reasons: The first to stimulate activity for the second anniversary dinner which was to be held at the Hotel Pennsylvania on Monday evening, February 4. From among the 100 guests who were present, 50 tables seating 500 people were pledged. The second reason was to raise funds for the extension school which is planned for Brooklyn. The speakers for the evening included Staff Sgt. Howard Bern, who was on the staff of Stars and Stripes, the Army publication. He related an experience which occurred while he was in England. He said that he had received several progressive books published by the International Publishers, which were sent to him by Howard Selsam, director of Jefferson School. Bern said he circulated these books amongst the GI's and their interest and demand for more of the same type of reading material was so great that he had to request Selsam to send additional books in order to satisfy the demand. He added that these books were so well read and circulated amongst the men that they became worn out and had to be discarded. He then introduced a Major Quigley, whose acquaintance he had made because of these books. Quigley told the people at the party that after he had read most of these books he became so interested in their origin that he inquired of Bern where they came from. On being told that they had been sent by Howard Selsam, the director of Jefferson School of Social Science, Quigley said he believed such a school was a necessity, and that when he returned to the States he would not only visit the school but would support its existence and the principles which it advocates as much as he possibly could. The Jefferson Chorus, led by Director Grennell, entertained with several songs. Among the guests present were: Mr. and Mrs. Robert Engel, David Goldway, Howard Selsam, Louis Lerner, John McManus, Josephine Truslow Adams, Frances Franklin, Charlotte Honig, Regina Wilson, Alexander Trachtenberg, Sam Prago, Harold Collins, and Harry Martel.

Mr. DEKOM. Were similar efforts made to work among merchant seamen?

Mr. HUBER. The Communist Party tried to establish cells on all merchant vessels with a particular view to indoctrinating new merchant seamen who were being graduated from the merchant seamen school at Sheepshead Bay.

One of the ways they worked on the new men was to hold parties for the graduates on shore. There would always be young women

party members to take the new seamen in tow, ply them with liquor, and keep them under their wings until they became completely intoxicated. These parties were repeated until the seamen became used to dropping in and until they "paired off" with one particular girl. This girl was to a large extent responsible for the indoctrination job. As in the case of servicemen, the girls went to any extremes to land their victims.

This tactic—of using women—was worked out around 1941, because the party was having difficulty in recruiting longshoremen, teamsters, and seamen. They were using men organizers. In 1941, it was decided at a closed meeting of my branch, which I attended, to send women into the waterfront area for this work. This was a very successful move and recruiting picked up considerably.

Even in the distribution of leaflets, we found women more successful. Men distributors were often driven away from shops or threatened or even beaten up by plant guards and foremen. But, we found that women would not be subject to this kind of treatment and could stand at gates and hand out Communist Party literature without being molested.

Of course, this was only a part of their work. They were prepared to do—and they did—anything that the party assigned or demanded. As I have already pointed out, there was no such thing as morals in carrying out party work or in organization activities.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know of any attempts by the Communist Party to infiltrate defense industry?

Mr. HUBER. I know that in 1941—even after we were supposed to be allies with Soviet Russia—a large number of Communists were obtaining employment in defense industries, assisted by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union (CIO) through the following method. A comrade who was employed in nondefense work would quit his job and apply for social security. He would then receive an application for admittance to a school from the union; at the expiration of his schooling, he would be given a job in a defense industry. The school these people attended was the Brooklyn Technical High School. Graduates of this school were employed at Sperry Gyroscope.

Mr. DEKOM. Does the Communist Party maintain any special educational facilities to indoctrinate labor union leaders?

Mr. HUBER. Yes. The Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 Sixth Avenue, New York, is set up as the Communist Party's chief indoctrination school, with particular emphasis on labor unionism. I can illustrate this best, I think, by describing to you a meeting which took place at the Jefferson School on December 15, 1945.

It was in the nature of a cocktail party, and about 100 people were present. The guests who were present were the most active trade unionists throughout the CIO and the AFL and were invited for the express purpose of receiving instruction to recruit new pupils for the school out of their various trade unions.

Howard Selsam, director of the school, had leaflets and cards distributed to everyone present and urged the guests to post the leaflets on their shop bulletin boards. The leaflet read: "News from the Jefferson School of Social Science. Courses designed for labor. Trade union principles and practice. History of the American labor move-

ment. Trade union organization problems. Registration for these courses begins Wednesday, January 2, 1946."

Selsam further asked that the cards handed out be distributed to all trade union members in the various unions. The cards read, "Attention, please. Winter term registration begins Wednesday, January 2, 1946; 130 courses in trade unionism, economics, history, science, philosophy, literature, music and languages."

Selsam requested that each guest ask his office chairman for time at the next union meeting to make an announcement concerning these labor courses of the Jefferson school. He said that what he was really asking them to do was to spend time thinking about how they could tell people whom they contact every day about the Jefferson school and the need for more and more labor study of the type offered by the Jefferson school.

Saul Mills commented that, with labor threatened by the reactionary elements in our Government, it was fortunate for the people of the country that such a school as the Jefferson school exists to train and inform the masses of the threat to the labor movement. He attacked President Truman, saying that Truman was on the side of big business and stood for the destruction of trade unions. He, too, urged the guests to spread the word about the trade-union courses among their trade-union comrades, encouraging them to enroll for these courses and learn what is happening to the labor movement.

Guests present included Alexander Trachtenberg, Abe Heller, Louis Lerman, Josephine Truslow Adams, Regina Wilson, Dave Goldway, Harry Sacher, Mr. and Mrs. Doxey Wilkerson, Frederick V. Field, Max Yergen, and Lewis Merrill.

Mr. DEKOM. In your statement, you have made a number of references to the work of the Communist Party among industrial workers. Specifically, what are some of the goals and programs of the Communist Party in this field, in the field of labor?

Mr. HUBER. On the labor front, I wish to point out that 8 years ago I sat in on a Communist meeting where plans were laid to capture transportation, communications, teamsters, warehousemen, radio, and motion pictures. That the party has succeeded in realizing such ambitious plans would be an understatement, for I can now see that unions in these industries have been taken over or infiltrated by the Communist party.

Thus the party has within its power the means to call and hold extensive strikes should the occasion demand it; strikes which could well be the training ground of a revolution for the overthrow of our Government and the establishment of communism.

Communists who were considered by the party to be their top organizers were being sent to take positions in the railroad brotherhoods. Here they would use the time-worn, but successful, Communist method of spreading their propaganda advocating better working conditions, shorter hours, increases in salary, less profits for employers, etc., in order to secure the election of Communist officials in that union.

Mr. DEKOM. The Communists will use legitimate labor demands as a screen behind which to operate?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. You don't mean to imply that improving working conditions is necessarily a Communist enterprise?

Mr. HUBER. No, sir.

Once the Communist leaders gain control of the union, they will swiftly oust the present clean management of the union, being left free to carry on their Communist political propaganda. Thus another link in the chain will be added for the day when all the links will join in the revolution and socialism.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it your belief and your knowledge that the Communist Party is working for the overthrow of the Government by revolutionary means?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. How do you arrive at that conclusion?

Mr. HUBER. We have been told that.

Mr. DEKOM. You have been told that in the party?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, through the years.

Mr. DEKOM. By the party leadership?

Mr. HUBER. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the general understanding of all party members?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, of all party members.

Mr. DEKOM. Is any attempt made to hide that from party members?

Mr. HUBER. No, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. So that if a person is in the Communist Party, he would know that that is the goal of the organization; and he is expected to participate in force and violence when the day comes?

Mr. HUBER. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. As you realize, Mr. Huber, the question of force and violence is of particular importance in the consideration of legislation for the control of Communist and other subversive activity. I am going to ask you, therefore, to go into this phase of the problem more thoroughly. I ask you to cite specifically, instances in which force and violence were taught, advocated, or discussed in party meetings or party circles.

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir; I can do that.

Force and violence are considered as the means by which the Communist Party will come into power. It is known and taught in the party. Every party member understands that.

First of all, I might repeat the statement I made about the Communist Party's new members' school. On March 6, 1940, I attended class under Charles Cook. He was discussing the "struggle for peace." He made this statement, which bears on the topic of force and violence:

If this country becomes involved in an imperialist war, a civil war will ensue to stop such a war, because the capitalists will arm the masses, who will then turn their guns on them.

Mr. SCHRODER. What do the Communists mean by "imperialist war"?

Mr. HUBER. That, sir, is the Communist double-talk for any war in which any country except the Soviet Union is involved. It particularly refers to any war of defense by this country of ours against Soviet aggression.

You remember, when the European countries were fighting against Hitler, it was an imperialist war in Communist language—until the Nazis and the Soviets fell out with each other. Then it was no longer an imperialist war, but a war to save democracy—democracy, Soviet style.

So when they say "imperialist war," they mean any war—even a war of defense—in which the United States might get involved. And the point is that they hope to turn such a war into a revolution for the overthrow of the Government—while our men are fighting on the battlefield—by force and violence. That is their aim; that is what they teach party members.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you continue, please, giving us any other examples which show the advocacy of force and violence by the Communist Party.

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I will; there are many cases.

I might relate a statement made by one of the top-ranking Communist Party officials during the period when Earl Browder, national secretary, was in jail for passport fraud. As you will remember, the party organized a vast network of rallies and fronts in order to bring pressure on the White House to release Earl Browder, who was later given a pardon by President Roosevelt.

On February 24, 1941, there was a free Earl Browder rally at the Mecca Temple on Forty-fifth Street. Al Lannon, organizer of the water-front section of the Communist Party, was chairman, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of the national committee of the party, was the principal speaker. She told the assembled comrades:

We will free Earl Browder, for we will make so much trouble in the shops, in the factories, and any place there is one or more of us, that this administration will not only free him, but will be glad to do so.

There is only one thing I'm sure of, and that is that Earl Browder will not serve his term. In other words, I am not as sure of President Roosevelt serving his term as I am of Earl Browder not serving his.

She denounced judges of the United States Supreme Court, calling them stooges of Wall Street and the Roosevelt administration, puppets who jump when a string is pulled.

Continuing, she said:

If this administration thinks that by putting our leaders in prison it will silence the Communist Party, they have another guess coming. The Communist Party has planted the seed among the American people and the roots have taken hold throughout the working-class movement. It is too late now for the Wall Street bankers to do anything about it. They have had their day; our day is the future, and not the distant future either.

In connection with Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, I told you about a meeting I had with Al Lannon at a restaurant at Twelfth Street and University Place. In the discussion, something came up which is another example along this line, showing the intention of the Communist Party to use force and violence against this Nation. Lannon spoke of the fighting qualities of the Red Army of Soviet Russia and said it was too bad so many of its men had to be sacrificed for such a purpose as the war then going on. He said it was too bad that the Red Army was not held in reserve, to be used against the United States. Lannon always spoke of the revolution which will happen in the United States and is waiting for the day when the people of the United States will revolt and overthrow this form of government. He seemed sure that this would happen as soon as Stalin was victorious.

Lannon spoke of a recent meeting of the America First Committee in Queens, where 27 Catholic priests allegedly appeared on the speakers' platform. He said the Catholic hierarchy is a vicious element which will do the same to the United States as it did to Spain—that

is, sell out to the Fascists. He added that when the proper time comes we would "take care of them and their kind."

Of even more significance is another statement made to me by Al Lannon—who is now a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. One evening after a section meeting which was held at Sixteenth Street and Irving Place—the Irving Plaza meeting rooms—we were discussing party activities, and he said that he hopes that he lives until the time of the revolution so that he will be able to go to the Foley Square Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and mow down as many FBI agents as possible with a machine gun.

Mr. DEKOM. Where is Al Lannon now?

Mr. HUBER. To the best of my knowledge he went to Baltimore, Md. He was transferred from New York to Baltimore by the party around 1945.

I wish also at this time to state that, in my opinion, the Communist Party and its fellow travelers and sympathizers are today so strong that public-safety agencies in most of our large cities do not have forces sufficiently adequate to cope with disorders which might arise through the instigation of the party.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you cite such an example?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

In 1939, I saw the utter disregard which the Communist Party had for police orders and the New York City police forces during a Communist demonstration in a march on city hall. Police tried to halt the demonstrators and a hand-to-hand fight resulted. When mounted policemen appeared on the scene, the Communists disregarded their personal safety, dragging the policemen off the horses and jabbing the animals with hatpins. It was an uncontrolled demonstration with the Communists apparently holding the upper hand for more than 2 hours, until additional police reinforcements arrived and stopped the disorders.

Today, with their numbers stronger than ever before, with veterans swelling its ranks, and as a result of the constant vilification of law-enforcement agencies carried on by the Communist press, I believe that maintaining law and order would be a most difficult task.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you cite any recent example of such incidents?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, the Peekskill incident, the Paul Robeson concert that was sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress, a Communist front.

Mr. DEKOM. And you believe that that is a demonstration of the difficulty of enforcing law under conditions of Communist agitation?

Mr. HUBER. That is right.

Stricter attention should be paid to the danger which lies slumbering in Negro communities. Throughout the United States, such Negro sections are being used by the Communist Party rabble rousers and propagandists as a potent weapon of dissatisfaction. Negroes are promised social equality by Communists, and are being brought into the party fold where they are being educated to sympathize with the principles of communism and "equality."

In Harlem, Negroes are so aroused at the present time by Communist agitators, such as Ben Davis, Henry Winston, and others, that a spark might be sufficient to set off race riots in New York City.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the expectancy of success of the Communists themselves?

Mr. HUBER. They were definitely convinced—and this was always brought out in party circles—that the Communist Party would eventually and inevitably rule this country.

Let me give you a small illustration of this. On January 22, 1941, there was a mass rally of the IWO on behalf of Allen Shaw and 12 others arrested in Oklahoma for criminal syndicalism. Speakers were Muriel Draper; Rev. William Spofford, chairman of the Church League for Industrial Democracy; Frederick V. Field, executive secretary of American Peace Mobilization; Eugene P. Connolly, chairman of the ALP; John P. Davis, executive secretary of National Negro Congress; and Congressman Vito Marcantonio. Reverend Spofford, though a clergyman, told off-color stories, which put the audience in good spirits. He told how when he is accused of being a Red or Communist he admits being one, saying they should be one, too, as eventually we will all be Communists.

This is fairly representative of the attitude of the Communists. In party circles the talk is always "when the Communists take over the United States," not "if they take over." In all their talks, you can see that they expect to rule this country as well as the whole world.

Mr. DEKOM. The next question of interest which I would like to have you discuss, Mr. Huber, is the conspiratorial nature of the Communist Party. You are undoubtedly familiar with the charge that the Communist Party is a conspiracy rather than a formal political party.

Mr. HUBER. That is absolutely true. The Communist Party is a conspiracy organized for the destruction of any free government in the world. To my mind, nothing illustrates better the conspiratorial nature of the Communist Party than the manner in which meetings were held, particularly during the 1940-41 period, when the party was in great disfavor because of the tie-up of Russia with the Nazis.

The party was very much afraid that it would have to go underground, and plans were made to take care of that situation. Our meetings were held secretly in cellars, abandoned buildings, lofts, and private homes in order that the party members would not be discovered. We met in groups of five, constantly changing our meeting place.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you designate specifically some of the places where you met?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; I can. One of these was a dilapidated loft building that was unoccupied but for one tenant, a Gertrude Kaplan, at 679 Broadway. In order to bring out the description of this meeting place, it is necessary to state that at one meeting held there it was necessary to adjourn because of the noise made by the rats. There were so many rats in the building that we couldn't hold the meeting and had to adjourn.

Another meeting place was a cellar at 347 East Seventeenth Street, where we met on March 12, 1940. In order to get to this cellar, it was necessary to walk through one building, across a yard more than 50 feet long—it was pitch dark at the time—into a second building, and then down into a cellar. This was a very special meeting, a celebration on behalf of the Soviet Union, and 38 people were present. The meeting was opened by Sam (Kappy) Kaplan, organizer of the teamster concentration branch of the Communist Party to which I belonged.

Instead of being opened in the usual way by reports, Kaplan opened

the meeting by announcing that he was very happy to report that the news of the Soviet Union's victory in Finland was authentic. Because of the occasion he called for refreshments, and wine and soda were served. He offered a toast, "Long live the Communist international organization of the working class. Long live the Communist Party. Long live the world revolution." He then ordered an intermission to enable the comrades to discuss the victory and also to enable Comrade Ann Reese to phone her husband, Henry Boldt, vice president of the Daily Worker, for the latest news on the war in Finland.

Kaplan complimented our branch for the good work it was doing supplying teamsters with the Daily Worker and pamphlets. He cited an instance where a teamster union, AFL affiliate, held a meeting on Sunday, March 10, 1940, at the Hotel Diplomat to arrange for a rally on April 16 against moves to involve the United States in war. He said that the teamsters' union was important for its strength which could enable it to tie up food and other fields, as shown not long ago. By way of illustration, he said that if the teamsters strike, boats do not load or unload, warehouses are at a standstill, and shortages of supplies and other commodities become acute.

To further illustrate this business of conspiracy, I would like to discuss the plans which the Communist Party made in 1940 and after World War II for the setting up of an underground apparatus to take the place of the legal apparatus in the event the party would be outlawed or threatened with Government action.

In 1940, when the Communist Party was threatened, this underground apparatus was perfected. Each particular group bought mimeograph machines and purchased full sets of Communist Party literature to have available the theoretical works of the Communist movement for ready reference.

On March 18, 1941, following the weekly meeting of the teamster branch, Kaplan told me that many members of the Communist Party who found they were unable to continue attendance at meetings because of their civil-service positions still continued payment of their dues and contributions and would continue that course of action until the current attack on the Communist Party ceased.

On Saturday, March 22, 1941, the water front section of the Communist Party received a communication from the State committee of the Communist Party with orders for all comrades to be instructed at the next meeting to dispose of all Communist literature they then possessed at home. Comrades who were present when this order was received decided that the best plan would be to store their libraries in warehouses. During that month the number of comrades moving from one locality to another was most noticeable.

I sat in on a party discussion of the deportation proceedings which were pending against Harry Bridges. Several leading Communists of the water-front section were present. It was revealed that the Communist Party had set plans in motion for a general strike among labor unions in the State of California as a protest in the event that Harry Bridges was ordered deported. This plan was decided upon only after much deliberation by the national committee of the Communist Party, which conceded that any other kind of protest would fail to save Bridges from being deported.

On Tuesday, March 25, 1941, at the weekly meeting of the water-front section, Communist Party, held at 221 West Twenty-first Street,

Kaplan informed comrades that, with the increasing attacks being made on the party, branch meetings would be held more infrequently, and that as an alternative the branch would meet in small groups. He said that the water-front section was in receipt of a communication from Ferdinand Smith, of the NMU, that Government agents had been active along the water front, and for that reason seamen would have to discontinue *Daily Worker* and other Communist literature distributions to teamsters and longshoremen along the water front. Such distribution was then assigned to the teamster branch comrades, in addition to house-to-house distribution, which, to the date, had been highly successful in recruiting new members.

Right after the war, my club, which had a membership of 330, was broken down into 3 separate clubs of about 100 members each. These three clubs, in turn, were broken down into groups of from five to eight members, with one member designated as a captain. These small groups, in the beginning, met once a month at the homes of various members to become acquainted with this new set-up. On the other 3 times a month we met in our groups of 100. Then, as time went on, the procedure changed so that we met 3 times a month in groups of from 5 to 8, and only once a month as a group of 100.

Mr. DEKOM. We will now suspend, Mr. Huber, and will resume tomorrow morning at 10:30 a. m.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1949

Mr. DEKOM. We will now continue your testimony.

Does the Communist Party maintain any intelligence or investigating units, either for the purpose of what might be called counter-intelligence or for the purpose of obtaining incriminating information on persons?

Mr. HUBER. The Communist Party certainly does. First of all, they keep a complete record of the life of every member. I think you already have had some testimony on that subject.¹ Secondly, the party maintains a "research department" for counter-intelligence work. If I may, I will give you two specific examples from my party experience to show you exactly what this work is.

Mr. DEKOM. Yes; we want you to do that. We want in every instance, wherever possible, for you to give concrete cases, so that the information before this subcommittee will be as direct and exact as possible.

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir. Here are the two examples.

On Thursday, January 15, 1942, while speaking to Charlotte Honig at Twelfth Street and University Place, she called my attention to a passer-by who was entering the national headquarters of the Communist Party at 35 East Twelfth Street. She said that this man was an investigator for the party who watched the activities of the FBI. She intimated that the Federal Building at Foley Square was being kept under surveillance. She said that the party knew that it was being continually investigated and had, therefore, begun a counter-investigation of its own. On questioning her further as to the extent of their activities and the length of time this had been going on, she said that she did not know. However, she added that the Communist Party

¹ See the testimony of Louis F. Budenz, p. 217.

investigating staff was on its toes all the time and was doing a good job.

On Sunday, January 18, 1942, I learned from Charlotte Honig that Jimmy Keller was in charge of the investigation staff of the Communist Party and was responsible only to Roy Hudson. Keller was formerly a section organizer of the industrial section. Very little was known about the activities of that group other than that personnel changes were frequent. Questioned as to the source of her information regarding the FBI, Honig said that the matter had been revealed at a gathering of comrades at the home of her son-in-law, Bill Dobkin, where she resided.

A large part of this investigative work, too, is the unearthing of information with which they can smear persons who are known to be against the Communist Party.

Mr. DEKOM. You are familiar with the picketing of the Federal Courthouse at Foley Square during the recent trial of the 11 top Communists, and other disorders connected therewith. From your own knowledge, can you give the subcommittee any information on Communist disruptions or attempts to disrupt the administration of justice in this country?

Mr. HUBER. I can give you a specific case from my own experience. When several members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were arrested for disorderly conduct, resulting from a demonstration in front of the Spanish consulate, we were given orders by the Communist Party officials to attend the trial and disrupt the proceedings.

Mr. DEKOM. What was the nature of your instructions?

Mr. HUBER. To cause disturbances by coughing, moving, or talking so as to distract the court during statements made by the prosecution. On the other hand, we were told to keep very quiet while the defense was carrying on. The situation got so bad, we made so much noise, that Magistrate John McGee stated that he would have to clear the court unless the disturbance stopped. This forced the party people to quiet down some, but they still made as much noise as they could get away with.

Mr. DEKOM. The Communist Party has, in recent years, tried to create the impression that the Daily Worker is not a tool of, or an organ of the party itself. Would you please comment on that?

Mr. HUBER. That impression is completely false. The Daily Worker has always been, and is today, the official organ of the Communist Party. Rather than give you my opinion on this, I would like to submit in evidence a bulletin put out by the party in 1946 which makes the position of the Daily Worker perfectly clear.

Mr. DEKOM. Was this handed to you by a party functionary as a member of the party?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman we will make that a part of the record at this point as exhibit 6.

(The document was marked "Huber Exhibit 6" and is as follows:)

THE WORKER AND DAILY WORKER PLAN

At the national committee meeting of our party the main discussion centered around the problems of the home front and how to mobilize the people to defeat the disrupters within our Nation. In this task the Daily Worker plays a tremendous role.

The Daily Worker's clear-cut policy in its fight against Lewis, in exposing the fifth-column activities in Detroit, shows the way for strengthening the home front. The Daily Worker is more and more becoming an indispensable weapon not only in the hands of Communists, but in the hands of every anti-Fascist. It is in this light that our convention places the role of the press in the foreground of its deliberations and makes some organizational proposals for increasing the circulation of the Daily Worker.

1. Every Party Member a Reader of the Daily Worker :

(a) Every party member is to fill out a pledge card stating that he will read the Daily Worker every day. On this pledge card he is to indicate the newsstand at which he will buy the paper.

(b) Every new member will receive a free mail subscription for the Daily Worker for 1 month. However, the new member is to fill out a special form expressing his or her desire to receive the paper.

(c) The club executive to be responsible for checking on the above steps.

2. Build Street Sales of the Daily Worker to Strengthen Home Front :

(a) Every section, club, and branch should pick a specific corner or block in the neighborhood of its activities at which it will organize a daily sale of the paper.

(b) Sale should be so organized as to suit the comrades, either day or evening.

(c) In organizing these street sales we should involve as close to 100 per cent of the membership as possible. This can be done if every member will give one evening, or even 1 hour, a month to this work.

3. Make Your Newsstand Dealer a Booster for the Daily Worker :

(a) Pick the busiest corner in the territory and organize to build the circulation at the newsstand on that corner.

(b) When street sales are organized close to such newsstands, it is advisable that the proceeds of sales should go to the dealer.

4. The Daily Worker Is the Club's Guide to Action for Victory :

(a) Once a month the club should review its work on the press for the past month and take organizational steps that will guarantee the steady growth of the paper.

(b) In these monthly reports it is necessary that the reporter include highlights of articles and stories that appeared during the month so as to show concretely how the Daily Worker helped to guide us in our everyday activity and thus integrate the political content of the paper with the circulation drive.

5. Funds for Our Press Are Funds for Victory :

(a) In order to make sure that the subscription drive is part of the fund drive arrangements have been made to credit every Worker sub to the fund drive quota of every branch and club.

(b) Manhattan County has a subscription quota of 3,500, which can be easily reached providing every section, branch, and club accepts its quota and organizes its campaign.

Following is proposed quota for Worker subs by sections :

1-2-----	450	16-----	100
3-5-----	450	22-----	150
7-9-11-----	450	23-----	300
4-6-----	150	Lower Harlem-----	150
8-----	200	East Harlem-----	100
12-----	350	Upper Harlem-----	500
14-----	100		

Mr. DEKOM. Have you followed, and are you familiar with, the twists and turns of the Communist Party line during the past decade?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, of course. One of the basic requirements of a Communist Party member is to slavishly follow all the dictates of the party, regardless of how ridiculous, inconsistent, or unwise they might seem.

I remember the feverish activity of the party during the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact, when the old anti-Fascist activity was dropped in favor of a peace program which had the effect of aiding the Nazis and Soviets alike. The American Peace Mobilization kept

a steady stream of delegations in Washington under different committee names, calling on Senators and Congressman, protesting against this country's participation in the war and the giving of aid to Great Britain. It tried to have peace committees established in all unions. When this was accomplished, they intended holding a peoples' convention, similar to the one held in England on January 12, 1941. They recruited peace organizations from civic, church, and other groups which were unaware of the true aims of American Peace Mobilization.

Typical of the tone of the Communist Party's propaganda was a speech made by Sam (Kappy) Kaplan, organizer of the teamster concentration branch of the Communist Party, at a party meeting in the home of Jean Sayre, 347 East Seventeenth Street, New York, on Tuesday, March 5, 1940. Kaplan said that President Roosevelt had sent Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State, to Europe in order to break the agreement between Germany and Soviet Russia by getting in contact with the German ruling class. He also said that Britain and France declared war on Germany in order to break the Soviet-German pact. He said Roosevelt was trying to start trouble against the Soviet Union by different methods which would make Wall Street the most powerful factor in world politics and would result in enormous profits for munitions makers. He concluded with the statement that Roosevelt and Welles were a threat to world peace.

On Wednesday, June 19, 1940, the water front section of the Communist Party met at 230 Seventh Avenue, and there was a discussion about \$18,000 which was sent to the Communist Party in Germany by the Communist Party in the United States. Charles Keith, section organizer, told of a communication he had received from the State committee of the Communist Party congratulating the seamen's branch on its handling of antiwar work and hoping that it would continue to be No. 1 on the list in the recruiting drive just begun. Plans were laid for a letter-writing campaign to Jergens Lotion to threaten them with a boycott if Walter Winchell did not stop his unneutral attitude toward the war in his radio talks.

You will be interested, perhaps, in knowing of another incident. On Monday, July 1, 1940, Muriel Draper, a member of the Communist Party and mother of dancer Paul Draper, told of attending a meeting to raise funds for the Communist-controlled American Youth Congress in Wisconsin. She said that the women at this meeting sympathized with Mrs. Roosevelt for having a husband such as Franklin D. Roosevelt, but that since Mrs. Roosevelt was so liberal in her ways and views, they could not help but take her into their hearts. Of course, the implication there was that the President was being an anti-Soviet warmonger during the Commu-Nazi period.

Because of this policy of the party, they began to lose popularity and to stir up a good deal of opposition. I remember a meeting of the teamsters' branch, water front section of the Communist Party, at the home of Ann Boldt, 10 Monroe Street, on Tuesday, July 9, 1940. One comrade reported that the previous week's assignments to distribute the Daily Worker to teamsters along the water front had not been very encouraging. Teamsters were refusing the papers, cursing the distributors, and telling them to go back to Russia. In one instance, a teamster took the paper, spat on it and set fire to it with a match.

Kaplan made light of this report, asserting that the papers must have been distributed in the wrong locality and not where the party generally concentrated. When the comrades insisted that this was not so, Kaplan cut them short.

The American Peace Mobilization's march on Washington, of January 31, and February 1, 1941, was the largest demonstration this organization ever held in Washington. As in previous demonstrations, there was widespread picketing and scores of delegations called on Senators and Congressmen to let them know they disapproved of a possible United States entry into war and aid to Great Britain.

People employed at the New York City office of American Peace Mobilization informed me that the executive committee had been greatly satisfied with the results of previous demonstrations in Washington, which led to the organization of the 1941 demonstration. This demonstration had been originally planned for the week end of January 15, but as this would have conflicted with the Lenin memorial meeting at Madison Square Garden on January 13, it was decided to advance the date.

One of the largest delegations in this march on Washington was from IWO; the NMU also sent a large delegation, theirs usually being the most colorful and noisiest.

Mr. DEKOM. What happened after June 22, 1941, when the Nazis and Soviets went to war with each other?

Mr. HUBER. The whole picture changed, of course.

On June 24, 1941, the weekly meeting, teamsters branch, waterfront section of the Communist Party was held at 221 West Twenty-first Street, with Miriam Sayre presiding. This was the first meeting of the branch after hostilities broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union, and the entire meeting was devoted to a discussion of this subject.

Sayre plainly stated that all activities tending to antagonize help to the Soviet Union must stop. All comrades were urged to get their labor unions to appeal to the President for immediate aid to the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party was to seek the support of all organized labor, regardless of affiliations with the party, to rally support for the Soviet Union. The general feeling among the comrades was to call off all attacks on the administration, at the same time using this opportunity to recruit new members and build a stronger party throughout the United States. Plans were made for mass rallies to gain support of the general public for aid to the Soviet Union. There was no doubt among the comrades but that the Soviet Union would emerge victorious and the Communist Party would emerge from the war stronger than ever.

The July 1, 1941, meeting of the water front section accented the complete about face of the Communist Party line following the attack on Russia by Germany. All-out aid to Great Britain was then advocated. Winston Churchill was discussed in glowing terms as a defender of democracy.

Regarding the then present administration in Washington, the party said that our leaders in Washington were of the finest, and when Roosevelt was mentioned, it was in terms of praise and as a great leader.

The party then favored conscription, even to the point of extending the period of training for the duration of the emergency. The party

began working for full participation in the war by the United States armed forces to insure full aid to the Soviet Union.

Mr. DEKOM. Was the possibility of a Soviet defeat discussed in party circles?

Mr. HUBER. On November 5, 1941, I had lunch with Al Lannon, Communist Party organizer of the water front section, and presently a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. At the time Lannon advised me that the Communist Party had issued instructions to its leaders, and particularly to industrial leaders, regarding Communist Party policy in the event of either the Soviet Union's defeat, if forced to make peace or if the United States failed to get into the war and open a western front.

These orders were to immediately conduct strikes and commit sabotage wherever possible. Lannon said the only reason the party was cooperating with the then present administration was because of the help we could give to the Soviet Union.

Mr. DEKOM. Was there any pretense made in party circles that the wartime policy of cooperation was genuine and lasting?

Mr. HUBER. No; there was not. On January 18, 1944, I attended a membership meeting of the Eleventh Assembly District Club, Communist Party, at 2744 Broadway. Bernard Weller presided. The membership turned out fully for this meeting because of the announcement that Sam Barron would clarify for them the new policies of the party. The clubroom was filled to capacity. On calling the meeting to order, Weller announced that slips of paper would be distributed on which comrades were to write questions they wished answered. Barron was in charge of the workers school, which later became the Jefferson School of Social Science.

After studying the questions submitted, Barron started to analyze present conditions by quoting from Lenin, who, he said, offered to compromise with the Kerensky government 45 days before the revolution in the Soviet Union. However, the revolution broke out before Lenin could send this message. This, he said, is what the Communist Party is doing in America, compromising with capitalists, which will tend to confuse them and throw them off guard. He said that the capitalists of the United States must not be warned, but must be made to pay for their crimes against the masses.

The postwar change in the Communist Party line was first made known on a large scale at a special meeting of the New York County Committee of the Communist Party at Manhattan Center on Monday, June 4, 1945. About 3,000 people were present. The chairman was Sam Wiseman, who said that the Communist Party membership had cooperated with the capitalist class and had found out that it did not pay. He commented that the capitalists were swollen with profits and stood ready to take millions of dollars out of the hides of the people. He informed the audience that the change in policy of the national board's resolution would not be open to discussion at that meeting since it would be taken up at branch meetings to be called in the near future, and which would be open to members only. He attacked the "avaricious" groups of our own capitalist class, terming them "now our own home front." He then introduced Earl Browder.

Browder began by apologizing for not having a written speech, and, speaking extemporaneously, stated,

Let us tell the representatives of the press together, right here and now, that we promise them that out of this discussion is going to come a stronger unity and greater organization than ever before.

Applause in approval lasted for 10 minutes.

Browder stated that the crisis at the San Francisco UNO Conference must be interpreted as a rapidly crystallizing threat to organized world relations, not upon the principles of Dumbarton Oaks or Yalta, but upon the principles of antagonism and hostility between America and the Soviet Union. He accused Senator Arthur Vandenberg of trying to write into the statutes of the United Nations such provisions as would enable him to rally opposition to those statutes when they came before the United States Senate for ratification. He said:

If the principle of the Big Five veto power is defeated at San Francisco, that defeat will be used to prevent Senate ratification of the United Nations Organization. If this happens, there are only two alternatives to the policy of Soviet-American friendship laid down by Roosevelt which President Truman is pledged to continue. One is to transform the present war into a British-American War against the Soviet Union. The other is the development of an armed peace of the garrote-and-club variety in which hostilities will be postponed for a short while.

He stated further that the Roosevelt policy would be carried through only if the American people took a hand in international diplomacy and demanded a sharp correction of the policies being pursued by their delegates at San Francisco.

Robert Minor urged the audience to buy volume 23 of Lenin's Collected Works, which had just been translated into English. The entire 500 copies on hand were sold.

A question and answer period followed the meeting wherein Browder answered questions from the audience. When asked if Stettinius (Edward R. Stettinius, then Secretary of State) were acting in the best interests of the American people, Browder answered by attacking Stettinius.

He was asked whether the war in Japan would become an imperialist war if the United States delegation continued to oppose the Soviet Union. He said that this was the kind of question which Social Democrats or Trotskyists would ask, but replied, "The question is premature." He then said, "The Soviet delegation is even acting in the interests of the American bourgeoisie, unless they have gone quite as insane as Hitler." He shouted, "The Japanese war is not over yet," which could be interpreted to mean that the Soviet Union would come in as an ally of the United States and Great Britain against Japan.

Sam Wiseman then announced that the balance of questions submitted would be answered in the columns of the Daily Worker.

Mr. DEKOM. Wasn't this the time that Earl Browder was thrown out of the party for allegedly cooperating with the capitalists?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir. The attack on Browder was built up through the party in advance. A very special meeting was called at Unity Center on June 12, 1945, at 2744 Broadway, in order to begin the campaign against Browder and check the reaction of the membership. All members were required to show their membership cards upon

entering. The chairman was Goldie Young. She announced that the topic of discussion would be the very serious resolution of the National Board of the Communist Party concerning Browder's deviationism.

In opening the discussion, Goldie was very bitter toward Browder for continuing his opposition to the resolution, and attacked him for his refusal to admit his errors. She then called for lively discussion on the resolution.

Betty Haufrecht said that Browder was a traitor to the working class, and claimed that the revisionist ideas developed by Browder were based upon the groundless assumption that capitalism was now progressive. On this theory, it was said that Browder had proceeded to develop in his book, *Tehran—Our Path in War and Peace*, a capitalist Utopia which would far outdo anything produced anywhere by social democratic revisionists. She stated that he had developed theories about the progressiveness and intelligence of financial capital, and consequently the policies he formulated on the basis of these wrong conclusions tended to subordinate the working class to the influence of reactionary capitalists. She declared that the membership of the Communist Party of America deified Browder, revering him at rallies, and even composing songs in his honor, such as "Browder is our Leader." Further, she stated that the remarkable thing about Browder's policies is that they cannot be properly called social democratic, but rather liberal bourgeoisie. Concluding, she said that Browder had betrayed the membership of the Communist Party of America. (Betty Haufrecht is a member of the county committee and the County Educational School, and has appeared as guest speaker at various clubs.)

Jeanette (Faith) Raichell attacked Browder's policies, saying that we should have been informed by the national committee of Foster's letter so that the membership could discuss the change of the party name, with the understanding that the national committee did not entirely agree with Browder. She recalled that for the last 2 years Browder had never tired telling the comrades how modest a portion of the American public the Communists were, and how little the Communists affected the course of events. Therefore, "how foolish," he was to have told the capitalists, "to believe that we really can bring a change about in this country without revolution."

She claimed that Browder was the cause for the membership having become the laughing stock of the country, and compared Browder and the membership of the Communist Party of America with Father Divine and his followers in that the members blindly followed and executed without question any policies formulated by Browder.

Beatrice Weiss blamed the leaders of the party for permitting Browder to make its policies. She asked, "Where and what were the members of the national committee, the State committee, and the county committee doing when this change took place?" She stated that the resolution adopted by the national board, which states that, "While a change in form or name of our Marxist organization is not in itself a question of principle," was not entirely correct; but that, "It sure is a question of principle whether we have a political association or a party. If we are Marxists, we know that a party is part of a class and a political association is merely the joining together of

various groups for political matters." She urged that as soon as the name Communist Political Association of America is dispensed with, and the name Communist Party re-adopted, then the party would grow more powerful. She attacked the Daily Worker and declared that not half of the membership are readers, the reason being that it was clearly a propaganda paper. She accused Goldie Young, president of Unity Center, of being a bureaucrat and demanded that a stop be had to this type of leadership. Other members voiced their sentiments, joining Beatrice in her condemnation. This caused a commotion which lasted several minutes.

Other members who similarly denounced Browder and his revisionist policies were A. B. Magil, editor of *New Masses*; Harry Raymond, writer for the *Daily Worker*; and Ray Bilgore, active trade unionist.

Goldie Young stated that, due to the lateness of the hour, it was necessary to take the names of those comrades who wished to participate in the discussion, and that these individuals would be given a chance to speak at the next membership meeting. She announced that meetings would be held every week until the national convention of the Communist Party of America, which was to be held sometime in July, and urged all comrades to buy and study the *Communist Manifesto*, on sale at the club.

Mr. DEKOM. Wasn't it a fact, Mr. Huber, that all the policies which Earl Browder was following were those dictated to him by Moscow?

Mr. HUBER. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. So that all these accusations against him were just window dressing to effect a shift in the party line also dictated from Moscow?

Mr. HUBER. That is right, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you say that this is a typical case of Soviet gratitude?

Mr. HUBER. Yes. We all know of the slaughter of the old-time Communists by Stalin and his gang.

Mr. DEKOM. What did Earl Browder do?

Mr. HUBER. For a while he was completely out of party activities and then he obtained a book concession from the Soviet Government. He has since lost that. I have seen him recently and he appears to be a completely broken man. He has aged considerably since I last saw him in the party.

Mr. DEKOM. Did he make any attempt to reinstate himself in the good graces of the party?

Mr. HUBER. More than once.

Mr. DEKOM. Did he ever try to form or organize a separate Communist unit?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, he did. He sent out a leaflet, of which I have a copy. In this leaflet he did not ask for sympathy but said that he was putting his case forth as a test case which would decide the character of the Communist Party for the future. I was told that he also believed that the membership of the Communist Party could find ways and means of reinstating him as a member of the Yonkers branch; that the reasons given for his expulsion were that he had not accepted assignments or attended meetings. He countered this accusation by saying that if such a basis for expulsion of members were used, the Communist Party would be compelled to expel thousands of its members.

I believe that the names and addresses of the party members to whom these leaflets were mailed were supplied by William Browder, formerly circulation director of the Daily Worker, since members who were not subscribers to the press were not sent Browder's appeal. Up to that time this particular matter had not been discussed at membership meetings, in the apparent hope that ignoring it would prevent factions from forming.

Browder, in his appeal, stated that the decisions of the national committee confirming his expulsion from the party left him no alternative to an appeal to the members and that this appeal was not a personal matter. He stated:

If a leadership elected in a moment of hysteria and confusion, in an atmosphere which Foster himself described as the "atomic bomb effect," can then proceed by expulsion on ground so shadowy and without substance as in my case, to silence all criticism of their course even when it includes basic revision of the decisions of the convention which elected it, then the conclusion is inescapable—all effective inner-party democracy has been destroyed. It is my opinion that the membership can find the ways and means to halt this disintegrating process. Let me make it clear that I am not appealing for support to any special political platform, nor am I putting myself forth as candidate for any leading post in the party. I ask only for the right to remain a rank-and-file member, to which I have given my life's work, and for the right of every rank-and-file member to raise his voice in criticism when convention decisions are reversed by the leadership without consulting the party.

Browder answered each charge of the national committee as follows:

The indecent haste of the proceedings renders the entire proposal suspect, and, therefore, not in the best interests of the party. I was called before the national board on February 5, and there handed a copy of the decision it proposed to adopt. When I demanded that charges in writing be given me, with an opportunity to prepare my answer, I was told the draft decision constituted the written charges and a copy is now in my possession—therefore, the board would proceed to hold a trial.

Questions submitted for me to answer were: Give us the names of all party members with whom you have spoken since the convention and the nature of your conversations," and others of a similar nature. My request for a few days to prepare a political answer to the proposed decision was refused by formal vote on motion of Foster. I thereupon refused to answer the questions asked and declared I considered the issue of proper procedure of great importance. It was unreasonable and harmful to the party when the board rushed to a decision within the hour after the first written charges were submitted and those charges were already in the form of a final decision.

Browder stated that on February 1 he was called to the Yonkers club, of which he was a member, to discuss his relationship with the party, and that he did not receive from that club any written charges. He had heard that on January 29, a motion calling for his expulsion had been submitted to a Westchester County membership meeting, but was defeated by a vote of 64 to 52, and this motion was later referred to the Yonkers club. He submitted to unlimited questioning, but had never been informed as to the action of the club on these proceedings. The board decision mentioned his statements before the Yonkers club executive, but to his knowledge, its contents had never been made known.

The board decision stated that Browder had continuously resisted the program and decisions of the convention. Browder branded this as completely false and without the slightest evidence of support, stating:

I publicly accepted the party convention decisions and subordinated myself to them, because I believed they were sound. The only charge that might lie

against me was that I failed to speak up, to criticize and oppose the steps taken by Foster and his associates, to withdraw from the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition and to break up the Truman administration at a moment when it was improving its implementation of Roosevelt's foreign policy and alining itself with labor.

He charged the national board with departing from the convention decisions, without a pretense of consultation with the party, on the theory that the board could change those decisions and suppress even to the point of expulsion all criticism of such actions.

The board decision stated that Browder had violated his pledge to the national convention to place himself at the disposal of the party, and by refusing to accept any assignment from the party, he had violated party discipline and deserted Communist duties and responsibilities. Browder declared this to be completely false inasmuch as—

no assignment of any kind was ever offered to me and no decision as to my party work was ever transmitted to me. On the other hand, I was specifically told there was no work available for me in the party. As to my non-attendance in the Yonkers club, this was in specific agreement with the local and national leadership, on the ground that, since my attendance in the club might become a disturbing factor, I be excused from attendance until a decision was arrived at. If the party followed the practice of expelling those who absented themselves from club meetings for 2 months, there would be an exceptional crisis in party memberships.

The board decision stated that Browder had carried on factional activity and a campaign of unprincipled attacks against the leadership of the party. Browder called this silly,

since there was no faction and no campaign, and for more than 7 months I have been so completely cut off from contact with the membership, that, except for the continued public reiteration of my name as a synonym for all deviation from Marxism, I might have passed completely into oblivion.

The board also charged Browder with adopting an equivocal attitude at the Un-American Activities Committee hearing. Browder denounced this as—

a flagrant case of bad faith and a crude frame-up after the event; I have met twice with the secretariat and outlined how I proposed to conduct myself at the hearings, including the "private citizen" phrase. A member of the national board and the board's attorney were present, and at the conclusion of the Un-American hearings, they congratulated me on my successful handling of the committee. Later Foster overruled the opinions of those who were present, so they changed their minds without even notifying me.

The board decision ascribed to Browder views which he stated he does not hold, and actions which he claims he had not performed. The decision proclaimed him to be outside the working class movement, and that his views were enemy-class ideology and not a trend in the labor movement. Browder supported his views as being those of the great mass of trade unionists, plus that of all progressive Democrats who are not yet Communists, and stated that Foster himself had signed the article in Political Affairs, which was given as an example of Browder's deviation. He said:

Foster is so fantastically factionally against me that he has not hesitated to declare the views of the great mass of trade unionists as enemy-class ideology in order to blacken my name before the membership and the world.

The accusation that Browder had become an adviser to big business by editing a mimeographed bulletin in 200 copies, called Distributors

Guide, and which was circulated exclusively in circles long allies of the Communists, Browder termed—

a typical example of hysteria. I would be happy to have these writings examined by any intelligent group, not under factional hysterical control, to conform my characterization of them. The assumption is made in the decision that I am under obligation, as a disciplined rank-and-file party member, to submit every work I put on paper to the censorship of Foster or his appointee for that purpose. This is a newly manufactured policy for the purpose of the case against me: to make my writings the basis of expulsion is, in effect, to copy the caricatures of the Communists as drawn by our enemies; and when the party follows the actions of the enemy, then, indeed, we are in grave danger.

Browder stated that the charge that he had ceased his inactivity and had launched attempts to involve certain comrades, and to broaden his contacts with individual members and sympathizers, doubtless referred to his appearance before the Yonkers club executive and—

the statement I made there in criticism of the departure of the party leadership from the convention decisions. I appeared at the Yonkers club by its written instructions and there the demand was made that I express myself fully and frankly. In my statement to the Yonkers club I was exercising nothing more than the rights of any rank-and-file member; I was responding to the demands of party responsibility. Nothing I expressed there could be made grounds for expulsion without abolishing all inner democracy within the party.

Browder concluded his appeal by calling upon the national committee to reject the proposal for his expulsion. A coupon attached to the appeal stated:

The mailing of these documents to the party membership was made necessary by the closing of all normal channels to me. In order to do this, I have had to borrow and expend money. I ask those who agree that this was necessary and in the interest of the party and the working class, to write to me expressing their views and to make a contribution in money to defray the expenses, using the attached coupon if desired. Make all remittances payable to Earl Browder, Box 145, South Station, Yonkers, N. Y.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Huber, I have here a copy of the United Nations Telephone Directory dated "1 February 1949." On page 91 there appears the name of Victor A. Yakhontoff. Did you, in the course of your Communist Party activity, have any contact with him?

Mr. HUBER. Yes. He was an instructor at the Jefferson School of Social Science, which is the official Communist training school in New York City.

On December 3, 1944, I attended a party of leading Communist functionaries in this country given at the home of Seymour Copstein, a Communist professor, honoring Alexander Trachtenberg. Trachtenberg is the president of International Publishers, the Communist publishing house in New York City; a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, and on the board of directors of the Jefferson School of Social Science.

There were about 30 people present, and admission was by invitation only. Only old and trusted friends of Trachtenberg were invited. Entertainment was furnished by Richard Dyer-Bennett, who sang and played folk songs of Russia. Guests included Gen. Victor Yakhontoff, Harry Sacher, Abe Heller, Lewis Merrill, David Goldway, Louis Weinstock, Frederick V. Field, Corliss Lamont, Howard Selsam, Mr. and Mrs. Doxey Wilkerson, Mike Gold, Dr. Joseph Barsky, Sophie and Bill Gropper, Muriel Draper, Helen Bryan, Muriel Hart, and Regina Wilson.

The master of ceremonies was Harry Sacher, attorney, who introduced Gen. Victor Yakhontoff with the statement that Yakhontoff served in the Russo-Japanese War along with Alexander Trachtenberg. Yakhontoff gave a talk in which he stated that his friendship with Trachtenberg had been a long one, and that, even though he had been a general and Trachtenberg a corporal in the Czarist armed forces, they had found a lot in common.

Jack Stachel made a short speech in which he addressed the groups as "comrades and fellow Communists."

Trachtenberg was presented with a briefcase, and in his acceptance speech he also addressed the group as "comrades and fellow Communists."

Following the party, I accompanied Regina Wilson home, and she advised me that the guests at this party were the cream of the intellectual group of the Communist Party in the United States.

Mr. DEKOM. You mentioned the Jefferson School of Social Science. Have you any additional information on this organization?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; it is one of the most important educational centers of the Communist Party. In addition to the information I have just given you on the meeting at the school, I might give you other activities of the Jefferson School with which I am familiar:

When the Jefferson School of Social Science was conducting a campaign to raise \$35,000 in 1944 to enlarge the school, booklets were distributed through the Communist Party branches for the comrades to sell. Each page in the booklet was a facsimile of a red brick, supposedly representing the purchaser's contribution toward the school's expansion. The campaign was supervised by Regina Wilson, a member of the Eleventh Assembly District Club of the Communist Party.

On January 5, 1945, Regina Wilson prepared, on the letterhead of the Jefferson School of Social Science, thank-you notes to a list of people for their work in compiling a list for the first anniversary dinner of the school. Thank-you notes were addressed to—

Vera Lhlakman, 195 Hicks Street, Brooklyn;

Mrs. Ruth Poskoff, 811 Walton Avenue, Bronx;

Mrs. Dorothy Berger, 139-68 Pershing Crescent, Jamaica;

Mrs. David L. (Rhett) Friedman, 340 East Sixty-sixth Street, New York City;

Dr. A. Novkoff, 418 West Twentieth Street, New York City;

Dr. Sarah R. Riedman, 1066 Park Place, Brooklyn;

Dr. Francine Bradly, 10 Downing Street, New York City; and

Dr. Bernard F. Riess, Institute for Research in Child Psychology, 695 Park Avenue, New York City.

The anniversary dinner for the school was held at Hotel Roosevelt, New York City. About 750 people were present. Tickets were \$5 each. Howard Selsam, a Communist and director of the Jefferson School, gave a talk in which he stated that there were nine "people's universities" in the United States at that time. He stated that all of these schools should be oriented toward the labor movement and more or less integrally connected with it. Labor unions were represented on the governing boards of all nine schools. The California Labor School, operating centers in San Francisco and Oakland, was sponsored by some 150 AFL and CIO unions, most of whom contribute to its support. Selsam reported that this school was also supported by business leaders representing important banks and industries of that area.

Selsam declared that the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York had 4,100 students, taking 106 courses; California Labor School, 1,000 students in its 2 centers and over 700 more in extension classes; Samuel Adams School in Boston, 400 students in its opening term; Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago, 825 registrants, with 350 more in extension courses; Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art, 586 enrolled, and was planning extension courses in the industrial centers of Camden and Chester; Ohio School of Social Science in Cleveland, 250 students in 19 courses; George Washington Carver School in New York's Harlem, 300 students in the opening term of its second year; People's Educational Association of Los Angeles, 950 students in its downtown and Hollywood divisions.

He said:

It is not unlikely that the next 2 years will see the establishment of comparable schools in a score of new cities such as Detroit, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Seattle, and other large cities which could well set up this type of school with the support of union and progressive citizens of the middle class.

He stated that a movement was under way in New York and other cities, and that it needed and deserved support and encouragement.

Mr. DEKOM. Was Regina Wilson a member of your branch of the party?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; she was. She was one of the most active leaders in the Jefferson School. She supervised, as mentioned previously, for the Jefferson School of Social Science, a campaign to raise \$35,000 to enlarge the school by distributing booklets through Community Party branches for the comrades to sell.

Mr. DEKOM. Did the Communists work through any other political party?

Mr. HUBER. They worked through the American Labor Party, which is now wholly controlled by the Communist Party. Every member of the Unity Center, which numbers some 330, was also required to become a member of the American Labor Party Eleventh Assembly District Club at 2688 Broadway, New York.

The chairman and chairlady (Linda Ross) for the district were both members of the Connolly branch of the party. Archie Maskin, labor director of the Eleventh Assembly District Club, Communist Party, 2744 Broadway, was permitted the use of American Labor Party headquarters at 2688 Broadway, to meet with the CIO Community Council. They planned to get all union members of Eleventh Assembly District Club active and politically conscious, in order to help recruit new members from among their labor unions.

Our club, as well as the other Communist clubs in the district, worked tirelessly for the reelection of Vito Marcantonio to Congress.

Tuesday, March 28, 1944, while at ALP headquarters at 2688 Broadway, waiting for results of the primary elections, I observed, from my place at the desk where results of the returns were handed in, that all election district captains—more than 100—were members of the Eleventh Assembly District Club, Communist Party. The work was tabulated by Linda Ross and Goldie Young. Results showed the left wing in the lead at that time and Goldie expressed jubilation with the work comrades had accomplished.

I spent 2 hours at Marcantonio's headquarters at 1484 First Avenue, New York City, on June 23, 1944. During this time about 200 com-

rades from Communist Party clubs throughout New York City reported for assignments to districts to canvass for Marcantonio's reelection. Elizabeth Barker, member of the State committee, Communist Party, was in charge of Marcantonio's headquarters at the above address.

On April 23, 1945, the American Labor Party, at 2688 Broadway, inaugurated an intensive membership drive to start May 1. They enlisted the aid of the comrades of Communist clubs on the upper West Side in their attempts to get new members.

At the membership meetings of all Communist clubs on the upper West Side comrades were urged to participate in this campaign through a door-to-door canvass. Those who could not publicly identify themselves as Communists were asked to report to American Labor Party to give clerical assistance. This drive was in preparation for the 1945 elections, to enable the American Labor Party to have a large working force at its disposal, to insure election of American Labor Party candidates, especially Ben Davis, Jr. This membership drive was under the leadership of Harry Abrams, chairman, and Linda Ross, cochairman, in the eleventh assembly district, American Labor Party, who were both members of the Unity Center branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEKOM. Were any written instructions issued to members of your party unit concerning the American Labor Party?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir; there were. I have here with me one of these instructions. It was issued in the 1947 election, and shows how the Communist Party was behind the American Labor Party in the campaign.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, this document will be placed in the record at this point as exhibit 7.

(The document was marked "Huber Exhibit 7" and is as follows:)

JAMES CONNOLLY CLUB

COMMUNIST PARTY

2744 Broadway

AUGUST 6, 1946.

EMERGENCY NOTICES

1. Our answer to the Georgia lynchings is to elect a progressive Negro State senator in this district. The Charles Collins campaign needs canvassers and clerks every day and evening from now to primary day, August 20.

Report to American Labor Party, 2744 Broadway. Office hours 7 to 11 p. m.

In order to help during the day, if you are free then, you must report for advance instructions, once only, some evening.

2. In order to spur the election campaign, special short Tuesday evening club meetings will be held 1 hour later than the usual time; that is, at 9:15 p. m. These short meetings will concentrate on the election campaign. Drop in after canvassing. Time is short. Your absence from canvassing and meetings may cause the defeat of Charles Collins. Other mobilizations will be announced at the club meetings.

3. Our regular 7:30 Saturday evening street-corner meetings at One Hundred and Third Street and Columbus Avenue are a great help to the campaign. Come to the club this Saturday and any Saturday thereafter, at 7 p. m. sharp, for last-minute instructions. In case you can't make it at 7, come directly to the corner at 7:30. We need supporters at the meetings.

Every little bit helps. Build the democratic coalition.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Mr. DEKOM. You have made references to Norman Corwin, who is now employed by the UN. In your testimony, you reported his speech at a Communist-front meeting. You also stated that he had appeared at other meetings and had been associated with other Communist fronts. Will you give us specific instances of that?

Mr. HUBER. Norman Corwin made a collection speech at a party and dinner that was held in honor of William Gropper, cartoonist for the Daily Worker.

Mr. DEKOM. Is the Daily Worker the official organ of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Were you there; is this first-hand information which you have?

Mr. HUBER. That is right, sir, and I will give you a complete report on it, if you like.

Mr. DEKOM. Please do so.

Mr. HUBER. The birthday party and dinner in honor of William Gropper, cartoonist for Daily Worker, was held on Monday, December 4, 1944, in the grand ballroom of the Commodore Hotel. About 500 or more people were present, admission was \$4 per person. Festivities started with singing of the national anthem.

Dr. Edward K. Barsky, chairman of Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, thanked those present for their kind cooperation with the committee during the past year, saying that without their help hundreds of people in many foreign countries would now be dead. He said that that dinner would be the last affair for that year, but he hoped those present would show the same cooperation during the coming year. The chairman for the evening was Edward Chodorov, playwright, whose play that year was Decision. Chodorov praised the work of Bill Gropper, reviewing his activities during the 25 years he had known him and related an incident which occurred 25 years ago, when Gropper worked for the Herald Tribune: Gropper's boss had sent him down to get material for pictures at an IWW¹ meeting. Gropper expected to meet people who had bombs sticking out of their pockets and he was afraid; instead, he met the chairman of the meeting and was so impressed with their conversation he asked for more information about their organization. He then requested a membership card which he immediately filled out, called up the Tribune and resigned. He had been with the progressive movement ever since.

Chodorov introduced people seated at speakers' tables, as follows: Stanley Isaacs, Sophie Gropper, Helen Bryan, Muriel Draper, Morris Muste, Herman Shumlin, Saul Mills, and Geraldine Fitzgerald. He called on the following people, who lauded the efforts of Bill Gropper, made in behalf of his fellowmen: Dorothy Parker, Mrs. Lombardo Tolandro, Dean Dickson, Carl Sandburg, Norman Corwin, and Frederick (Blackie) Myers.

Myers said he had just received word of the appointment to the State Department of Archibald MacLeish, Nelson Rockefeller, and William Clayton; and that if that were true, these men would replace Howland Shaw, Adolf Berle, Jr., and Breckinridge Long, which would be the best news in many a day for him and for the forces fighting fascism.

¹ Industrial Workers of the World, an organization designated as subversive by the Attorney General.

He denounced the attitude of State Department toward Franco, and said that in the union he represents the membership think this attitude "stinks to high heaven."

Norman Corwin appealed for funds, relating that the monthly expenses of the committee are \$2,000 for Lisbon, \$3,000 for north Africa, \$7,000 or \$8,000 for Mexico, and \$3,000 for Santo Domingo and other Central and South American countries, in addition to \$1,000 monthly for Switzerland. Contributions resulted in \$12,506 collected, which Moe Fishman and I counted in order that the total sum could be announced from the platform. The largest contribution was \$2,000 from the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.

Seated at a table near mine were Harry Bridges, Saul Mills, Blackie Myers, and their wives. Other guests included Earl Browder, Israel Amter, Mike Gold, Joseph North, A. B. Magil, Dave Goldway, Regina Wilson, Abe Heller, Alexander Trachtenberg, Frederick V. Field, and Charlotte Honig. Entertainment was furnished by Richard Dyer-Bennett.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Huber, I have here a program of a testimonial dinner in honor of Ferdinand C. Smith which lists among its committee of sponsors Norman Corwin.

Can you identify Ferdinand C. Smith in whose honor the dinner was given?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir; he was a member of the Communist Party and conducted classes for seamen in communism at the National Maritime Union Hall on West Seventeenth Street.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not he is an alien?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir; he is now under deportation proceedings.

In the December 1939 issue of the magazine *Tac*, Norman Corwin wrote an article entitled "Miss Hogan, Take a Poem."

He was a member of the sponsoring committee for mass demonstrations for republican Spain at Madison Square Garden on January 2, 1945.

He was a speaker at a Spanish Refugee Appeal rally of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee at Madison Square Garden on September 24, 1945.

He appeared as an actor in a sketch, taking the part of Hank, at Madison Square Garden on May 29, 1946, at a rally sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

On June 19, 1946, he made a trip to the Soviet Union as a writer and director. The article telling about this appears in the *Daily Worker* under the same date line.

He was a speaker at a dinner of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that a Communist-front organization?

Mr. HUBER. Yes. I was there when that front was organized. It was organized by Freddy Field.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that Frederick Field?

Mr. HUBER. That is Frederick Vanderbilt Field.

Norman Corwin was a speaker at a dinner, a get-together-with-Russia rally at Madison Square Garden which was sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. That dinner was held on December 3, 1946.

He is vice chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America, which resulted from a merger with the Arts, Sciences, and Professions with

the National Citizens Political Action Committee on February 24, 1947.

Norman Corwin also was a speaker at a crisis meeting on Greece and Turkey that was sponsored by the Progressive Citizens of America at Madison Square Garden on March 31, 1947.

He wrote a skit for a rally sponsored by the Voice of Freedom at Town Hall on May 8, 1947, calling for action in reinstating left-wing news commentators who were following the Communist Party line on various radio networks.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know to which commentators they were referring?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir. Robert St. John, Frank Kingdon, William Gailmor, and Johannes Steel.

Corwin signed a resolution drawn up by the committee for the first amendment, protesting against the House Un-American Activities Committee's investigating the film industry.

Mr. DEKOM. Was that organization formed to support the so-called Hollywood 10—the 10 writers, directors, and actors—who were identified as Communists or Communist sympathizers before the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. HUBER. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. And who are now under conviction for contempt of Congress?

Mr. HUBER. That is right.

Corwin was a sponsor of the Action Committee to Free Spain, which was under the auspices of the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, March 15, 1946. Once, this Action Committee to Free Spain did not have enough workers to go around with collection cans and to pass out leaflets, so they called on members of the Communist Party branches.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any personal knowledge of the activities of the Action Committee to Free Spain?

Mr. HUBER. Yes. The Action Committee to Free Spain sent representatives throughout the Communist Party branches in the five boroughs of New York to call on the Communist Party members for their support in soliciting funds on the street, in passing out leaflets, in demonstrations, rallies, and other activities in working toward making that organization a success.

Norman Corwin was a sponsor of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom along with Johannes Steel and Mrs. William L. Shiver.

He was an entertainer for the American Friends of the Chinese people, with such well known pro-Communists as Ray Lev, Earl Robinson, Lionel Stander, and Jeshua White.

Norman Corwin was a sponsor for a dinner given at the grand ballroom of the Hotel Pennsylvania by the American-Russian Institute. Among the sponsors were Vilhjalmur Stefansson and Corliss Lamont; also John Howard Lawson, who has been cited for contempt by the Un-American Activities Committee.

Mr. DEKOM. Wasn't Victor Yakhontoff a sponsor of that front?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir; he was.

Norman Corwin wrote an article for a magazine called Slavic-American.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the official organ of the American Slav Congress?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir. That organization is a Communist front.

Norman Corwin is a sponsor of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Norman Corwin was also a member of the initiating committee for the Congress on Civil Rights.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the principal function of that organization?

Mr. HUBER. To defend Communists.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the successor of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. HUBER. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. What was the International Labor Defense?

Mr. HUBER. It was set up to defend Communists who have broken or violated our laws.

Norman Corwin appeared at a rally to spotlight demands for a "free Africa," sponsored by the Council on African Affairs.

Mr. DEKOM. Who were some of the other speakers there, or persons who appeared?

Mr. HUBER. Paul Robeson, Betty Garrett, Pearl Primus, Howard De Silva, and Canada Lee.

Mr. DEKOM. Was Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., present at that meeting?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir; he spoke at that meeting. He is on the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Huber, I notice that your list of Communist-front connections of Norman Corwin is rather extensive. We will ask you, if it is all right with the chairman, to submit that list for the information of the subcommittee in written form.¹

Mr. HUBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. According to evidence which has been presented to this subcommittee and information which has appeared in the press, Millard Lampell has also been employed by UN along with Norman Corwin to write scripts for the current broadcast series. Have you any information on this person?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I have. He has been very active in the Communist movement. There is one particular instance concerning him which I might mention: On March 3, 1949, the Voice of Freedom Committee, which is a Communist-front organization, gave a testimonial dinner as "a tribute to William S. Gailmor," at the Park Sheraton Hotel.

Mr. DEKOM. Was not Gailmor, whom you identified earlier in your testimony as a member of the Communist Party, a campaigner for Henry Wallace?

Mr. HUBER. That is right. As a matter of fact, Henry Wallace was one of the speakers at this meeting. The chairman was Millard Lampell. I have here a mimeographed song which was distributed at the dinner and which all the guests sang to Gailmor. This song was written by Millard Lampell and two others.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman we will receive the program and the copy of the song in evidence for presentation in the record as exhibit 8.

¹ The list of Communist-front connections of Norman Corwin appears in appendix V, p. A77.

(The documents referred to were marked "Huber Exhibit 8" and are as follows:)

WE GOT GAILMOR

(This is a gang song)

(By Millard Lampell, E. Y. Harburg, Judy Rosen)

We got Gailmor
 Winning Willy Gailmor
 We got Gailmor
 And he means our life
 When he does his song and dance
 Brother hold your shirt and pants
 He can make you wanna hock your kids and wife.
 The Republicans they hate him
 The Du Ponts and McCormacks they Red BAIT him
 But the people who are people celebrate him
 So let's keep Gailmor on the air!

So while they roast Bill Gailmor
 We will toast Bill Gailmor
 We will sing about his courage everywhere¹
 Happy is the day
 When the people have their say
 So let's keep Gailmor on the air.

We got Gailmor
 Fighting Willy Gailmor
 We got Gailmor
 The man the people like
 He can scare the Standard Oil
 Make the J. P. Morgans boil
 And he does it all with just a little mike!

Oh the Peglers they abuse him
 The bankers and the networks all refuse him
 But the people who are people dare not lose him
 So let's keep Gailmor on the air.

Let him shout for freedom,
 Let him spout for freedom
 There's a magic in his voice that reaches way out there.
 Happy is the day
 When the people have their say
 So let's keep Gailmor on the air.

Written especially for Gailmor testimonial dinner given by the Voice of Freedom Committee at the Hotel Park Sheraton, March 3, 1949.

Mr. DEKOM. I will ask you again for purposes of the record: Is William S. Gailmor—the man to whom Millard Lampell paid these tributes—to your knowledge, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; he is.

Mr. DEKOM. Is Millard Lampell a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. I do not know. I only know that he has been connected with numerous Communist fronts.

Mr. DEKOM. I note that there are two other authors to the song. Can you give us any information concerning these people?

Mr. HUBER. I can about E. Y. Harburg, the composer of many musical shows. I know him to have been a member of the Communist Party front organizations for many years. I do not know anything about Judy Rosen.

¹ Ever there (?)

Mr. DEKOM. Have you further information on Lampell?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; I have. On Thursday, January 24, 1946, he was chairman of a so-called anti-discrimination rally, sponsored by the Committee of Veterans Against Discrimination, which was a Communist-front organization. Approximately 1,500 people were present, a few hundred being turned away because of the lack of accommodations. This meeting, which was trumpeted as an "anti-discrimination" meeting actually turned out to be directed, to a large extent, against Catholics.

The rally was originally scheduled to be in the form of a mock trial, to try John O'Donnell and James Patterson of the Daily News as war criminals. Because of circumstances not made public by the veterans committee, this trial developed into just another rally denouncing the Daily News, its publisher, James Patterson, and its leading columnist, John O'Donnell. The trial was to have been presided over by Judge Rivers, with Fiorello H. LaGuardia as prosecutor, and 12 Purple Heart veterans as the jury; none of these individuals appeared at the rally.

The following speakers addressed the rally, confining their remarks to similar denunciations of the Daily News, Patterson, and O'Donnell: Jose Ferrer, actor; Thelma Dale, executive member of the National Negro Congress; Representative John M. Coffee; Rev. Ben Richardson, associate editor of The Protestant; Sgt. Ben Kurocki; Rabbi Louis D. Gross, editor of the Jewish Examiner; Rev. L. M. Birkhead, national director of Friends of Democracy; Assemblyman Leo Isaacson; and Henry Morgan of the radio program "Here's Morgan."

Representative Coffee also said that it was time that the people of America should make sure that they cleanse the halls of Congress of such Congressmen who have reactionary tendencies. Thelma Dale stated that if the United States would stop supporting the Peron government in Argentina the people would overthrow that government and elect a government which would be truly democratic.

Reverend Richardson brought the audience to its feet by declaring that it is easily foreseen by the present strike situation that monopolist capital is in its death struggle and socialism for the people of the United States is following close behind.

Henry Morgan made a collection speech, and, after calling for larger contributions, said that he would also "accept Catholic money." The contributions amounted to about \$2,300.

Henry Morgan's reference to "Catholic money" was made with very derogatory connotations, and I think this shows clearly his attitude and the attitude of the people at this meeting.

Entertainment was furnished by the CIO Chorus and Josh White.

Mr. DEKOM. Is this type of attack on religious groups or religion customary in Communist circles?

Mr. HUBER. It most certainly is. The Communist party is pledged to destroy all religion, just as it has destroyed it in the Soviet Union. To destroy religion is just part of their program—what Lenin has called the opiate of the people. They are particularly vicious against the Catholics and the Catholic Church because the Catholic Church is one of the most important barriers to the Communists and their best organized enemy. This is something you see at very many meetings, and, if you like, I can give you one more example.

Mr. DEKOM. Go ahead.

Mr. HUBER. On Sunday, July 23, 1944, the Fifth Annual Fiesta Republicana was held under the auspices of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, at Harmony Park, Staten Island. About 1,500 people attended. Customary games of chance were well patronized by the guests. During the entertainment, when performers had finished their dancing numbers and the spectators were applauding, shouts from groups (which I believe were prearranged) of "Down with the Pope!" "The Pope and Hitler are one man!" "When is the Pope going to work?" "I would like to see the Pope signing an application for home relief!" were heard. Looking around to get the reaction of the people to these shouts, I found that most of the people, by their expressions of laughter, were in sympathy with the shouters, who seemed to be well-organized groups scattered in separate parts of the park.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Huber, are the Communist fronts used as a medium of identifying potential party members, as a means of preparatory indoctrination?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, of course; that is one of the more important jobs for the front organizations, to work on prospects for the party.

Mr. DEKOM. You have also mentioned the name of Corliss Lamont in your testimony. What do you know of his connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. On June 16, 1944, while I was in conversation with Paul Crosbie and Charlotte Honig, the name of Corliss Lamont was mentioned. Crosbie stated that Lamont has been a member of the Communist Party for several years. Charlotte Honig related that the reason for his being disinherited by his father Thomas was because Corliss became a member of the Communist Party; that he willingly gave up everything and was living on proceeds of a small trust fund left to him by his grandmother. I have attended several parties given in honor of Corliss Lamont where all the guests were Communist Party members. His closest associates in the organization he heads are members of the Communist Party. When the Upper West Side Council on American-Soviet Friendship was established, he named Regina Wilson as its chairman, an enrolled member of Unity Center, Communist Party, 2744 Broadway.

Mr. DEKOM. On the basis of your experience, what occupation or profession would you say has been most successfully infiltrated by the Communists?

Mr. HUBER. I would say the entertainment industry—show business. I believe that the Communist Party made a special effort in this field because of the tremendous propaganda value that they can get from this source. First of all, because they can introduce their propaganda where it will be received by the masses in the easiest-to-take form and without any suspicion. I have seen that done in many instances.

Secondly, show business is important because the people in it are well known and liked and listened to by the people, so that if their names are used by the Communists and Communist fronts they make a great impression on the masses. For example, if the average person would see the name of John Garfield, Betty Garrett, Larry Parks, Hester Sondergaard, Frederic March, Edward G. Robinson, Charlie Chaplin, and others, he would be very much impressed and would likely be persuaded by the organizations which they represent.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you name specifically people in show business who you know to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBER. I will give you several.

Zero Mostel, who got his start as an entertainer at social functions of the Communist Party. I remember when his remuneration was as low as \$2 a night and never more than \$10 a night. He was paid according to the success of the affair and his pay would increase with a good take in admissions.

While I have never seen Paul Draper at a Communist Party meeting, I do know that he has been connected with the Communist fronts for many years. At a social function held on November 10, 1944, at the home of Mrs. Lionel S. Perera, Jr., which was given by the water front section of the Communist Party and to which I was invited, he appeared as one of the guest performers. Everybody who was invited to this function was a Communist. He has been a featured attraction at Communist front meetings throughout much of my connection with the Communist Party.

Tamara—I remember a very significant event in connection with her. On February 19, 1943, there was a party held in honor of the cast of the play Counter Attack attended by such leading Communists as Earl Browder, Max Yergan, Matt Hall, Helen Bryan, Paul Crosbie, Muriel Draper (mother of Paul), and others. The master of ceremonies was Tamara. After introducing all the members of the cast and the entertainers at the party, she was asked to dance, but she declined because there was no music to which she could dance. She added, however, that when the revolution comes she would have music writers compose special music to be used on such occasions. She left the platform with the clenched fist salute, shouting, "Long live the revolution!"

Pearl Primus, the Negro dancer, who does interpretative dancing. As I already told you before, she was brought up by Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, the Communist camp for children.

Harry Green, who was a violinist in the orchestra of Arturo Toscanini. I met him in the home of Dr. I. Engel Kaufman at a closed party meeting.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the principal role of show people in party work?

Mr. HUBER. The most active part played by people in show business was in promoting the Communist-front movement, which as I explained, is their most useful contribution to the Communist Party. The list of names of show people who have been connected with fronts or who have contributed their services to the Communist front is very impressive. I can name Paul Draper, Larry Adler, Myrna Loy, Hester Sondergaard, Sono Osato, Canada Lee, Kenneth Spencer, Richard Dyer-Bennett, Burl Ives (he is another who used to entertain for two or three dollars an evening at party social affairs), Josh White, Lena Horne, Hazel Scott, Jose Ferrer, Uta Hagen, Pete Seeger, Orson Welles, Lillian Hellman, Bela Lugosi, Herman Shumlin, Margo, and others.

There have been very, very many occasions in which show people—sometimes even an entire cast of a show—have entertained free at Communist affairs. I have already given you the case of the cast of Counter Attack and, if you like, I will give you some other illustrations.

Mr. DEKOM. Yes; do, please.

Mr. HUBER. On Sunday, December 26, 1943, there was a theater party sponsored by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee at the Imperial Theater. The master of ceremonies was Melville Cooper. Performers volunteering their services were Hazel Scott, Celeste Holm, Georgia Sothorn, Zero Mostel, Mary Small, Howard Da Silva, John Sebastian, and Pearl Primus. The music was furnished by Teddy Wilson's orchestra. Most of the performers came from Cafe Society Uptown. Telegrams came to the theater from Milton Berle and Jimmy Savo, regretting their inability to appear because of colds.

On May 14, 1944, there was a concert, sponsored at Carnegie Hall by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, with entertainment furnished by Jimmy Savo, Paul Draper, Rosario and Antonio, and Duke Ellington. They volunteered their services. The speaker who appealed for funds was William S. Gailmor, a Communist Party member.

On June 26, 1944, at a meeting in Madison Square Garden sponsored by the Negro Labor Victory Committee, a Communist front, there was a "Broadway Salute" performance, including members of the following casts of shows then playing on Broadway: Paul Robeson, Uta Hagen, Jose Ferrer, from *Othello*; Philip Loeb, from *Over 21*; David Leonard, from *Mexican Hayride*; P. Jay Sidney and Muriel Smith, from *Carmen Jones*; Paula Lawrence, from *One Touch of Venus*; Irina Baronova, from *Follow the Girls*; J. Edward Bromberg, from *Jacobowsky and the Colonel*; Mercedes Gilbert, from *The Searching Wind*; and members from *Pick-Up Girl* and *Wall-Flower*. All paid tribute to the colored race, pledging their support in the fight for equality of all races.

On July 1, 1944, at a fiesta held at the home of William Gropper, cartoonist for the *Daily Worker*, at Croton-on-the-Hudson, entertainment was furnished by musicians from the bands of Benny Goodman and Count Basie, and Pearl Primus.

On September 21, 1944, there was a meeting by the Independent Voters Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions for Roosevelt, which was a subsidiary of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, a well-known Communist front. Chairman of the rally was Fredric March, who represented himself as the representative of the actors of Hollywood. This meeting was attended by such well-known Communist fronters as Jo Davidson, Channing H. Tobias, Dr. Harlow Shapley, of Harvard, Orson Welles, and others.

On September 28, 1944, at Madison Square Garden, Laura Duncan sang at a meeting sponsored by the Communist Party to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Communist Party in the United States, with Earl Browder as the principal speaker.

On December 3, 1944, a birthday party was given in honor of Alexander Trachtenberg, of the National Committee of the Communist Party, at the home of Seymour Copstein, 285 Central Park West, New York City. Entertainment was furnished by Richard Dyer-Bennett. As I have already mentioned, Gen. Victor A. Yakontoff, who now works for the United Nations, was introduced at that party by Harry Sacher, one of the attorneys for the 11 convicted Communists. Seymour Copstein was, at that time, a teacher of biology at the City College of New York and is now at the Jefferson School, of which his uncle, A. A. Heller, is treasurer.

On Tuesday, May 1, 1945, all clubs and branches in New York City received a directive from the State committee of the party announcing that a celebration would be held in honor of Ben Davis, Communist Party councilman in the New York City Council and one of the 11 defendants in the recent trial. The celebration was to be held on Sunday, May 6, at the Golden Gate Ballroom. The directive stated that—

We are paying tribute to a leader that we, as Communists, can well be proud of for his fine qualities of Communist leadership. * * * We expect our New York membership to turn out en masse, not only because of its major political implication, but also because of the following impressive array of talent: Lena Horne, Josh White, Kenneth Spencer, Mary Lou Williams, Art Tatum, Ray Lev, Max Poliakoff, Will Geer, and dozens of other outstanding artists who are contributing their talent. It will be one of the cultural events of the year.

In the spring of 1946 the James Connolly branch of the Communist Party ran a theater party featuring Canada Lee.

Another instance which I might mention is a meeting of the American Slav Congress in September 1946 at Manhattan Center at which the entire cast of *Call Me Mister* entertained.

The Communist Party also controlled two entertainment places which were owned by Leon and Barney Josephson, both leading Communist Party members. They were *Cafe Society Uptown* and *Cafe Society Downtown*. I understand that *Cafe Society Uptown* has been recently sold.

Also, the Communist Party controls the Stanley Theater in New York, which makes available special rates to party members and party groups for movies produced principally by the Soviet Union.

MR. DEKOM. Have you ever heard or had any contact with Gerhart Eisler?

MR. HUBER. Yes; I have.

MR. DEKOM. Will you tell us about it?

MR. HUBER. I attended a meeting, which was in the German language, sponsored by German-American, Inc., (with headquarters at 305 Broadway, room 207, in New York City) publishers of the *German-American*, a Communist paper. The meeting was held at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 West Forty-sixth Street, with Gerhart Eisler as the principal speaker. About 1,000 people were present. The hall was filled to capacity with standees in the rear. The admission charge was 72 cents with tax included. The meeting was held on December 12, 1946. If you like I can give you a complete report on that meeting.

MR. DEKOM. Please do so.

MR. HUBER. The meeting was opened by Gus Faber, who stated that that meeting had been called by the *German-American*, which had been in existence for about 5 years. He said:

The *German-American* has done everything possible during the war and after the war, to bring unity between the German-Americans in this country. It has done an outstanding job to reeducate the German soldiers—that were taken prisoners in this country. It has done everything possible to be a real anti-Nazi, anti-Fascist newspaper. After the war, it has done everything to tell the people in the United States, especially the German population, and rally them behind the peace efforts. We have been very successful and we are going to continue doing that. This newspaper is the sponsor of this meeting and we hope that Mr. Eisler will have the chance, that he did not get in Washington, to speak and tell the other side of his story, because in America we believe there are always

two sides to a story. I have the pleasure of introducing the chairman of this meeting, Abe Isserman, counsel of the Civil Rights Congress, who has been in the forefront of the fight for civil rights for 20 years. He will do everything possible to help carry this fight to a successful conclusion.

Abe Isserman stated:

Only a short time ago I met Mr. Eisler and got from him the true story of the tangle which he had with the Wood-Rankin committee. If it were not for that committee, Mr. Eisler would now be landing in Germany. Mr. Eisler was a refugee who came to this country on his way to Mexico, fleeing from the Nazi oppressors; because of the war situation, he was obliged to remain in this country. At the first opportunity he had, he sought to leave to go back to Germany and the State Department, after considering the matter carefully with the FBI—and they conducted all the investigations they wanted—gave him an exit permit to leave the country. But the Wood-Rankin committee stopped that. A few things are very certain in this matter; that Mr. Eisler has, at all times and at the risk of his life, been anti-Fascist. He is a Communist and has never denied it.

He was one of the anti-Fascists who are Communists who made easy our victory in Europe. Sometime in October, when Mr. Eisler was to leave for Germany, the Wood-Rankin committee said, No, they didn't want him to go; they wanted him to testify and tell them about himself; they gave as the reason, that Mr. Budenz had called Mr. Eisler a boss of the Communists—a foreign agent in this country—and that he was a character who should be investigated. This committee felt that a person they charged with being un-American, although he is not American at all, should remain in this country. Why? Before the evening is over, we will know why. The functions, purpose, and activities of the Wood-Rankin committee, by high lights, is, to use the words of the great scientists, as stated by Professor Shapley: "I stand on my rights as an American citizen and will not submit to the Gestapo and chamber-of-torture methods used by the Wood-Rankin committee. This is a Nazi method, and it should be eliminated so that private citizens can be free under our Constitution." One of the most fundamental rights of an alien is the right to go back to his country and fight for his principles there. The roots of Nazi fascism penetrated into the old Dies committee and still permeate the Wood-Rankin committee. We have now a pro-Fascist committee and an anti-Fascist fighter.

Isserman quoted from the official record of the Un-American Activities Committee regarding the investigation of Gerald L. K. Smith, commenting:

If that is the way they treat men like him, why didn't they treat Mr. Eisler, Professor Shapley and the many others who appeared before them in that same courteous way? It only proves that the committee is pro-Fascist. I charge that the only reason Mr. Eisler was detained was because somebody in the Wood-Rankin committee believes that, as an anti-Fascist, he was less dangerous to the interests of America than he would be in Germany, where some Americans are trying to establish a stronghold. Russell Nixon² says the British and Americans are refusing to use the anti-Fascist, anti-Nazi refugees in the denazification of Germany. Part of the technique used by the Committee was their subpoena of him, but they didn't want him to testify or hear his story; it is only part of the smear campaign directed against anti-Fascists.

Isserman read excerpts from Hearst newspapers regarding Red spy scares involving the atom bomb, et cetera, and pointed out how such stories were never substantiated by facts. He said then:

The Civil Rights Congress will give support to Eisler on the basis that he is a human being, entitled to leave this country and go back to his own country, if there is no valid reason for his staying here. His lawyer is the foremost expert on immigration, Carol King, representative of Communists, trade-unions, and progressives.

¹ Harlow Shapley, of Harvard.

² Russ Nixon, of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (which was expelled from the CIO in 1949) and a former employee of the United States Military government in Germany.

Carol King stated:

This is the first time in my practice that I have ever tried to get anyone out of the country. I'm usually trying to keep them in this country. I can't understand why they won't let a man go back where he came from. Many times, when I've handled cases for Communists and other progressives, I've been told to go back where I came from. But I happen to have been born in Manhattan. They seem to do all right when it comes to deporting citizens of the United States. The only solution I can see for Gerhart Eisler is to have him made a citizen of the United States and then the Immigration Service would arrange to have him deported at Government expense.

She then gave a sarcastic description of the FBI trailing Eisler to her office, where they carefully copied the names of the two CPA's and an Assistant Attorney General which were on her door. She added that Eisler was also followed and escorted by FBI men when she invited him to her home for dinner. The FBI men, not having been themselves invited for dinner, waited outside and later escorted Eisler home. King wrote a letter to the FBI requesting that, as a private citizen, she be accorded her constitutional rights of privacy, but, despite a follow-up letter to them, she never received a reply or acknowledgment. A few days later, Eisler informed King that the FBI had outwardly stopped trailing him and she sarcastically boasted that she guessed she was the first one who had made the FBI go underground. She concluded by promising to do her utmost to secure Eisler's return to Germany, where he could contribute his share in shaping a democratic Germany.

Jack Bjoze, executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and veteran of World War II, recounted the fight of the International Brigade and told him the members of the brigade had been subjected to the same indignities as had Eisler—by being subpoenaed by the Dies and Wood-Rankin committees. He stated that the FBI had finally given up persecuting the brigade members after many futile raids and hours of questioning. He pledged the support of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to the honorable repatriation of Eisler, and announced that a Spanish Republican rally would be held at Madison Square Garden on December 16 and appealed for an overflow crowd.

Gus Faber, editor of the German-American, and secretary-treasurer of the Transport Workers Unions (CIO), stated:

Eisler constantly and actively contributed to the German-American. He was never paid for this work. I have only high praise for Eisler as an anti-Fascist; there is need for him in Germany.

Faber denounced the State Department for preventing Eisler's return to Germany, and stated that his organization, the German-American, would begin a drive to flood the State Department with letters, telegrams, and cards demanding that Eisler be permitted to leave the country.

Tonight we are forming a committee to do everything necessary to obtain permission for Eisler to leave. The German-American pledges full support to this end. We must unite and show the new Congress that we are fighting for the privileges of everybody in this country to speak his mind. The time will come that fascism will prevail and the fight against the liberal forces will begin, so we must do everything we can to delay its arrival.

The chairman then read messages from Charles A. Collins, Russell Nixon, Howard Fast, Councilman Peter Cacchione, and Rockwell Kent, who declared their intentions of becoming members of the Eisler defense committee.

Dorothy Langston, secretary of Justice for Freeport Committee, declared that the fight for Eisler was based on the same platform as the fight for Negroes, Germans, and all Americans who are entitled to the right to speak their own minds. She denounced the Wood-Rankin committee and made the collection speech, appealing for funds to continue Eisler's fight and to cover traveling expenses for a speaking tour. Contributions included \$200 from Mrs. Ida Guggenheimer, \$50 from Max Bedacht (IWO), \$35 from Charlotte Honig, and \$50 from the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Approximately \$1,000 was collected.

The principal speaker, Gerhart Eisler, stated:

I have nothing but contempt for certain happenings in the last few weeks. During my wanderings as a German anti-Fascist refugee, I found out that the attitude toward anti-Fascist refugees is a barometer for the political climate of the country. Whenever reactionary and Fascist-minded groups are fighting for power and for the political atomization of the working class, the anti-Fascist exiles go through a lot of trouble. I want to inform the Rankin committee that I never denied being a Communist. Do they know that two great Germans were also Communists? But Marx and Engels are dead; no use investigating them. At this time, I should be home in Germany and applying for membership in the German Socialist Party.¹ No American would have been harmed by my departure, but every German would have been helped toward a peaceful anti-Fascist democratic Germany.

Every anti-Fascist is needed in Germany against those who spread hate against Jews, Communists, English, French, Americans, Yugoslavs, and, lastly but not least, against the people of the Soviet Union. Budenz,² who has apparently found only one hero in the Bible, namely, Judas Iscariot, would then have to find other victims for his lies. In all modesty, I say you could do without me here. There are plenty of other people in the United States who could stand investigation. I don't like to play the role of the hare to the reactionary hounds. I never become intimidated by reaction; I always hit back and as united as possible; that goes for nations, classes, and for every individual, for trade unions, progressive organizations and progressive parties, for racial and religious minorities. I remind you here that the Nazi dictatorship was the most developed group against un-German democratic people. In America, the attitude is: "For every person an investigator in the garage and a subpoena in the pot." Let the Catholics watch the persecution of other political minorities—they might be called the agents of the Vatican state themselves some day. I offer to the sponsors of Budenz, "don't get laughing too soon on the joke you played on the German Communists." It was people like Budenz who used to call the German Catholics Fascists. As long as my forced stay in this country lasts, as long as I can use my pen, and as long as I am not kept from speaking, I shall hit back, using every opportunity to do so and shall be grateful for every opportunity given me. I think the liberal and progressive forces who give me more opportunity for the fight against reaction are indivisible.

If I shall land in a prison of postwar democracy, I shall forget nothing and shall continue somewhat later. You know the policy of frame-ups had a long history in your country and has developed to an art. It belongs to the American way of life, as sometimes sickness belongs to your way of life. I remind you of Sacco-Vanzetti and Scottsboro. I fight for the freedom of a political exile to return home. After all, the United States is not a displaced-persons camp. I fight against the slanders that I have used the trust given me by this country to act as a foreign agent. I want here to mention that I fight for my brother, Hanns Eisler, against whom a vicious campaign has been started. I shall not allow, without protest, that the memory of the late Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld,³ who became a citizen of your country, be smeared by reptiles in the Hearst press. I never have been an agent in my life, and as long as I live I have other worries

¹The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands) is the Communist-dominated coalition party of the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany.

²Louis Budenz identified Gerhart Eisler as the Soviet representative in the United States controlling the Communist Party, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

³Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, former Minister of Justice of Bavaria, who was very active in Communist-front organizations while in this country.

than to trouble about overthrowing the American Government. I was never in the service of any government except my 3 years in the German Army. I never received a penny from any government—oh, yes, I did get \$27 from the Wood-Rankin committee to pay my expenses to Washington. I never was an agent of the former and now dissolved Communist International. This agent stuff of the dissolved Communist International has been taken over by ignoramuses. In my lifetime, I have been in a great many countries, but wherever I went all my activities were of an alien connected with the fight against German reaction and fascism on the international network and with the idea of helping the German people. I went only to ask for help and advice in our war against the Nazis, which started long before 1939. So I did not come to this country to boss anyone; I came here on my way to Mexico and was forced to stay here by the American authorities against my will, intentions, and plans. In this country, I considered it my duty to do everything I could in the fight against German fascism and Japanese imperialism. If I mention such activities, it is not because I want to boast, but I am forced to account for my activities. I am thinking about the future of peace and not about new wars against anyone or anybody.

I gave material to Joseph Starobin of the Daily Worker for his paper, and he wrote articles using the pen name of Hans Berger. He was honest enough not to write under his own name, not wanting credit that he felt did not belong to him. There are a few journalists who could take advantage of such honesty. I also wrote, with two other friends, *The Lesson of Germany*, which deals with German reaction and nazism. I hope a similar book, *The Lesson of the United States*, need never be written. During my stay in this country I learned to like the American people very much. I have only high praise for the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. But it isn't easy to please everybody—everything a German does is "un." I wrote about the philosophy which motivates Mr. Rankin, for which I have nothing but contempt. If my writings would have been pro-Nazi, I should have been treated like a decent man by reactionaries and Rankin, and nobody would have accused me of un-American activities. If I liked Franco, Monsignor Sheen¹ would have liked me as much as Budenz. If I should be an agent for a war against the Soviets, I guess I would be back in Germany and would not have any troubles. Well, I want to tell Mr. Walter Winchell, I just want to say that all the oceans in the world cannot wash away the sins of my being a Communist.

Eisler interjected with a story that an American Communist supposedly came to him for advice, and he told this person that he didn't know what to say but that he would ask Moscow. This story was supposed to show the ridiculousness of the charge that he gets orders from Moscow:

The FBI made a big mistake during the war; they should have watched the House in Queens,² and not the House on Ninety-second Street. So much has been invented about my relations with American Communists that I must clarify this. I respect the American Communists because of their fight against reaction and for peace. I am grateful to the American Communists because whenever the German Communists ask them for material and moral help, they have helped us. I only wish the governments of the western powers would have been far-sighted enough to follow the American Communists' example of helping the forces that fought Hitler. Then we might have averted this war. I saw American Communists fight side by side with Germans in the ranks of the International Brigade against Mussolini and Franco. They are courageous in their fight for a good cause. There were no men like Rankin.

Eisler compared the grouping together of Catholics throughout the world with similar gathering together of Communists throughout the world, stating:

Naturally I sought out Communists here, for they are my kind of people. The merger of British and American reaction in Germany brings only more reactions. What happens today in Germany is the encouragement by the western

¹ Rt. Rev. Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen, professor of philosophy, Catholic University of America, Washington.

² Gerhart Eisler lived in Queens during his United States residence.

powers of all those forces, prejudices, and ideas that played Germany into the hands of nazism after 1918. History is being repeated in Germany; new power is being given German imperialist warmongers. I have never been a member of the Communist Party of the United States, but I have been for 28 years a German Communist. I can tell you that there never was a Communist Party in the world which would allow anyone to run its business. I do not boss the American Communists; they would have thought me crazy if I would have tried. Budenz is nothing but an agent provocateur. Budenz may have been a spy or an agent, but not because of me. I never talked with him or gave him orders. He may know that I gave information to Starobin for articles and wrote some literature, but that's all. To change one's opinion, as Budenz did, is one thing; but to spread lies in order to open the doors of persecution is another story. That is why Budenz has nothing to do with true politics, religion, or ideals. That belongs in textbooks of different methods of persecution.

Eisler illustrated by reciting the Pied Piper of Hammelin attracting the rats of Hammelin, stating that Budenz was the American pied piper leading the American people to drown in the river of reaction.

I have only one wish—to return home to share the misery of my people and to work in the ranks of those Germans who are working for a decent way of life. Don't you think my wishes should be granted despite my being a German Communist?

The meeting was then adjourned by the chairman.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you familiar with the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. HUBER. Yes, I am. That is a Communist front set up to promote the Communists in China and the Far East generally; that is, to propagandize the American people on behalf of communism in Asia. This organization was formed at the home of Frederick Vanderbilt Field, who is an ardent supporter of the Communist Party as well as a writer for its publications. In connection with this organization, I was able to attend a closed meeting of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy held in the library of the building at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York, which houses the offices of a number of Communist-front organizations. Paul Robeson has his offices there. The building is owned by Frederick Field. Only known persons were admitted to this meeting and about 60 were present. Ira Golubilin was the chairman.

The first speaker, Hernando Abaya, a Filipino, and author of the new book, *Betrayal in the Philippines*, stated that not only during the war, but throughout the liberation period and up to that date, vitally important facts concerning the inner social and political conflicts in the Philippines had been kept from the American public and that he had access to a great deal of inside information. He said that before the war, he had been a journalist in Manila and one of the confidential secretaries of the late President Manuel Quezon. During the war, he was planted as an intelligence operative in the puppet government by the free Philippine guerrilla unit. After the liberation of Manila, he served as a political analyst, first for United States Army Counter-Intelligence, and later for Paul V. McNutt, United States High Commissioner. He declared that it was necessary for the American people to understand the antidemocratic character of United States policy toward the "free" Philippines.

He denounced the McNutt administration in the Philippines, explaining that since he had been "released" by McNutt, he no longer felt it necessary to keep confidential such information as he had been able to obtain. He emphasized that while President Truman and

other high officials continued to support Manuel Roxas' Philippine Government, there remained in the files of the White House and Attorney General Tom Clark two copies of a report which, if made public, would be explosive. He stated that the Philippine people were easily swayed by newspapers and personalities; that 75 percent of them were illiterate; and, consequently, the collaborationists in the Philippines were high in official positions and that this was with American support and approval. He denounced President Roxas, stating that American intervention had saved Roxas from prosecution for high treason—an event which led to the exoneration of many other Filipino collaborators and eventually put the entire state, as it was then, in the hands of men who had worked closely with the Japanese and the entire economy under the control of men who had done business with Hirohito. He called for repeal of the Bell Act (the Philippine Trade Act), stating that the present policy of independence in the Philippines was merely a continuation of American imperialism, with only American capital interests and the Spanish people in the Philippines benefiting from the so-called Philippine Trade Act.

Senator Ramon Diokno, who was elected to the Philippine Senate in 1946 as one of the opposition senators but who had been prevented from taking his seat by the Roxas administration, spoke next. He stated that the Americans in the Philippines were receiving more rights and privileges than the native Filipinos; that the Filipinos had merely exchanged one slavery—Japanese—for another—American; and that, in fact, they had been better off economically under the Japanese than they were at the time. He stated that the Philippines were not genuinely independent but only a "banana republic," complete with American military bases; that the orderly and free democratic processes of government did not exist there. He condemned the Bell Act, pointing out that it had established an American monopoly over the principal interests. He further charged that this act had obstructed new Filipino enterprises. He denounced Paul V. McNutt, stating that American policy was based solely on holding the Philippines economically, even though lost politically, through the so-called granting of independence. He stated that the American Rehabilitation Act, which had granted a maximum of \$500 for war claims, was insufficient; that the Philippine people would rather not receive such assistance if the price therefor was to be economic slavery. He charged that the United States was supporting with arms and money the former collaborators who then ruled the Philippine Government, and he called for major amendments to the Bell Act. He called upon the American Government to give his country a square deal, and demanded the type of government for the Philippines which would deserve the financial and military support of the United States.

A Mr. Babcock, who participated in the discussions following the principal speakers, stated that he had spent most of his life as a merchant in the Philippines and that he thoroughly agreed with them except on one point. He felt that the Filipinos should accept the Bell Act as the lesser of two evils; then, in the near future, they should work toward amendment of the unfavorable portions of the Bell Act. He agreed that the United States was not treating the Philippines fairly as an independent nation, but said that, at the same time, the Filipinos should try to make the best of things until economic conditions

in the islands improved. He stated that when economic conditions improved, the Filipinos could demand that the United States loosen the restrictions then contained in the Bell Act.

Maude Russell announced that the committee would conduct a speakers' class on China on January 18 and 19 at the library, 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, which would train speakers to thoroughly discuss the problems of China.

Chairman Ira Golubin then reminded the audience that this was an "off-the-record" meeting, and asked that the members govern themselves accordingly in discussions outside. He announced that the next committee meeting would be on the question of Japan, and that the people on the committee's mailing list would be notified of the time and place of the meeting.

A proposed statement to Congress and the President for the repeal of the Bell Act was distributed to each one present. Then Frederick V. Field made a motion that the statement be submitted immediately for action when the new Congress convenes and this motion was passed unanimously.

The chairman announced that members of the Veterans of the Philippine Campaign who were present at the meeting would meet immediately after that meeting had adjourned.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Huber, do you know of the violation of our borders by Communists?

Mr. HUBER. Yes; I know of thousands of Spanish Communists who have crossed the Mexican border into the United States. It was told to me by various party members in the course of my connection with them through the years.

These Spanish Communists have meetings in the building at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York, which is owned by Frederick Vanderbilt Field, a member of the Communist Party. These persons are a serious potential danger to the country; they are potential spies and saboteurs, particularly in the event of war with Russia. Being aliens, they have no feelings of loyalty for this country which might sway an American-born Communist in the event of war with a foreign power.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Huber, I will read to you a summary of S. 1832, as presented by Senator McCarran, and I will ask you to comment on that:

I have today introduced a bill to revise our immigration laws in such a way as to place in the hands of the Government adequate powers to cope with the fifth-column tactics of international communism. The purpose of this bill is to plug the loopholes of the present law so that any alien—and I emphasize the word "any"—who engages in espionage or other subversive activity must be excluded or deported.

Let me emphasize in the beginning that this legislation will not in any way curb the legitimate activities of anyone, whether he be an immigrant, a visitor, a diplomat, or a delegate to an international organization.

This bill has only one purpose—to protect the people of the United States from any alien who abuses the traditional American hospitality by working for the overthrow of our Government. And, Mr. President, I mean any alien.

My bill is designed to sever the international life line which is feeding the Communist conspiracy in this country.

Mr. Huber, on the basis of your experience in the Communist movement, as well as your knowledge of Communist Party policies and tactics, will you comment on this proposed legislation?

Mr. HUBER. I feel that there is a vital need for additional security laws as well as a need for more strict enforcement of the laws that we have. It is my opinion that the agencies interested in promoting the welfare of the United States should concentrate more of their forces on the menace of communism as being directed against our form of Government.

Those Americans who ignorantly and foolishly follow the so-called liberal line of the Communists should be awakened to the dangers facing them in the achievement of the party's true purpose.

Communists in civil and public service should be thoroughly purged by declaring the Communist Party illegal and unconstitutional and refusing it a place on the American election ballot; by revoking the citizenship of any foreign-born member of the party, followed by deportation; by prison sentences for the native-born members; and, finally, by the complete liquidation and eradication of communism and its adherents from the American scene.

Mr. DEKOM. That is all, Mr. Huber. Thank you very much.

(Thereupon the subcommittee adjourned at 12:30 p. m., subject to call.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met in executive session at 3 p. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Herbert R. O'Connor presiding.

Present: Senator O'Connor.

Also present: Messrs. Frank W. Schroeder and Otto J. Dekom, professional staff members.

Senator O'CONNOR. Let us proceed, gentlemen.

Will you raise your right hand, please?

In the presence of Almighty God, do you swear that the testimony you shall give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I do.¹

TESTIMONY OF DR. SLOBODAN M. DRASKOVICH, FORMER PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you please state your full name?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. My full name is Slobodan M. Draskovich.

Senator O'CONNOR. In what city are you now residing?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. In New York.

Senator O'CONNOR. How long have you been in this country?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. A little over 2 years.

Senator O'CONNOR. And from what country did you come?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I came directly from Paris, France.

Senator O'CONNOR. What is your native land?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. My native land is Yugoslavia.

Senator O'CONNOR. What profession did you follow in Yugoslavia?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I was professor of economics at the University of Belgrade.

Senator O'CONNOR. You are familiar with the subject matter under inquiry by this subcommittee?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think so.

Senator O'CONNOR. Mr. Dekom, will you take up the matter from there, then?

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

Mr. DEKOM. Dr. Draskovich, have you ever been a member of the Yugoslav armed forces which fought against the Fascist and Nazi armies?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes; I was, in 1941, when the war broke out, when Yugoslavia was invaded by Nazi Germany. I was an infantry lieutenant of the reserve in the Yugoslav Army. I was called up and I was in the army during the 10 days of the war.

Mr. DEKOM. Then what happened to you?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I was made a prisoner by the Italians and Germans and taken to a prison camp in Italy; first to Aversa, a prison camp for Yugoslav officers in Italy, and then to Gavi, in Italy. I spent 2½ years there, that is, until the downfall of Italy, and then I was taken to Germany to the Osnabrück prison camp, where I stayed until the end of the war.

Mr. DEKOM. Then what did you do?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Then I stayed in Germany for almost a year and a half. I was in DP camps. I was fighting Communist propaganda, especially of the Tito regime. After that, I went to Paris, in August of 1946, where I stayed until June of 1947, when I came to the United States on the invitation of the American Serb organizations in this country.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you hold any position in any organizations in your native country prior to the war?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I was professor of economics at the University of Belgrade and I was a regular member of the institute of national defense of the Ministry of War.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you have any connection with the Serbian Cultural Club?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I was general secretary of the Serbian Cultural Club.

Mr. DEKOM. As a professor of economics did you have occasion to study Communist doctrine or Communist economics?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. As a professor I had not only the occasion and the duty to study communism theoretically, but, unfortunately, I had also the opportunity of studying at the University of Belgrade—which was one of the main centers of Communist activity in Yugoslavia—the Communist practices.

In 1920, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was outlawed in a most democratic manner by the overwhelming majority of the Yugoslav Parliament, which was freely elected. The Communist Party did not officially exist after that, but it was active underground, and especially after 1929, one of the main centers of their activity was the University of Belgrade. So a great part of the leaflets, demonstrations, strikes, and the intellectual direction of the Communist activities in Yugoslavia were centered at the University of Belgrade.

Mr. DEKOM. In other words, your knowledge of communism is not only theoretic and academic but comes from personal observation and experience?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely so.

Mr. DEKOM. Dr. Draskovich, did you prepare a statement on the Yugoslav Communist press in the United States at the request of the subcommittee?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes; I have.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you have that statement with you now?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes; I have it here.

Mr. DEKOM. We have studied your statement, Dr. Draskovich, and we believe you have done an exceedingly careful and scholarly research job in your analysis. In view of the length of the material which you have here—over 100 single-spaced pages, in addition to a number of exhibits which you have in your possession—may I suggest that you at this time summarize your report. The report itself will then be made a part of our record.

Dr. DRASKOVICH. If there is no objection to it, I might read the conclusion, which consists of four pages.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you then also, in addition to reading your conclusion, provide the subcommittee with illustrative examples and explanations as you go along, taken from the text of your material?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes, of course. My conclusion is the following:

All the evidence presented in this report points to a few elementary facts concerning the "progressive" American Serbs and Croats, and more particularly, the Narodni Glasnik and the Slobodna Rec.

Mr. DEKOM. Dr. Draskovich, you have named two newspapers. Would you tell us where these newspapers are published?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Both newspapers are published in Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. DEKOM. Before you go on, Dr. Draskovich, would you care to comment on the word "progressive" that you have used in your prepared statement?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I use all through this work the term "progressive" because I thought I had to prove that they were Communists. They are definitely Communist, but officially it is not known that they are affiliates of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEKOM. In other words, you used the term "progressive" to indicate that they call themselves "progressive"?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is right; and I have also put it in quotations.

Mr. DEKOM. In other words, you mean so-called progressives, self-styled progressives?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. So that you mean actually, when you use the term "progressive," that it indicates the Communist or pro-Communist organizations calling themselves progressive organization?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely. I think it is just a cover for their Communist activities, because many people who dislike communism will fall for progressiveness.

Mr. DEKOM. You do not, however, imply that every progressive is a Communist?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. No; definitely not. But the term "progressive" has long ago ceased to be used only to indicate people who believe in human progress and work for it and has become a weapon in the hands of the Communists. So I think that this weapon should be forced from their hands by disclosing the links between so-called progressivism and communism. At the moment this term is being used to the greatest profit by the Communists.

Mr. DEKOM. These particular self-styled progressive organizations are actually all Communist organizations?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is right.

For example, I mean the Narodni Glasnik and Slobodna Rec. I think all of the organizations that are connected with these two news-

papers are listed as subversive organizations by former Attorney General Clark. For instance, the Slobodna Rec, the Serbian Progressive Movement, the Vidovdan Council, are all in fact on and the same thing. Of course, I was not repeating all that, but when I say "progressive" I mean these two newspapers and the American Serbs and American Croats who are rallying around them.

Mr. DEKOM. Dr. Draskovich, I merely wanted to make the record clear on that score so that there will be no mistaking your intention and your meaning, that you are referring to these Communists and pro-Communist organizations and not to progressives in general.

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely, that is the correct meaning of the term "progressives" that I am using here.

Mr. DEKOM. Please proceed.

Dr. DRASKOVICH. All the evidence presented in this report points to a few elementary facts concerning the progressive American Serbs and Croats, and more particularly, the Narodni Glasnik and the Slobodna Rec, namely:

(1) That these two newspapers have never, on any single occasion, on any single issue, supported the stand of the United States Government.

If I may add one more comment, there have been a few occasions where these newspapers agreed with the United States Government, but only on issues of second-rate importance and only if the stand of the United States was identical with the stand of the Soviet Union.

For instance, as in the case of the Charter of Human Rights or any matter concerning the United Nations, or such things. But in any case where the stand of the United States Government was different from the stand of the Soviet Union, they sided with the Soviet Union. That is the second point.

(2) That they always, without a single exception, have given full, unconditional, and unrestricted support to the official stand of the Government of the Soviet Union.

(3) That their attitude toward Yugoslavia, the country of their origin, depended solely and entirely on the existing relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union; that is, on the policy of the Yugoslav Government in power toward the Soviet Union, or, to put it more precisely, on the policy of the Soviet Government toward the regime in Yugoslavia.

I have put in the last sentence because of the Cominform-Tito clash. Tito claims that he is faithful to Marxism and Leninism and, until recently, he claimed that he was also faithful to Moscow. But that was immaterial; the important thing was that Moscow did not approve of him. So that was decisive for the people we are considering here to decide against Tito.

Mr. DEKOM. So that regardless of what the policy of any government, including our own, might be, they accept it only if it happens to coincide with Soviet policy?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. And if it should happen, as it has on many occasions, that the Soviet policy makes drastic and radical changes on a certain question, they have changed with it, regardless of what their own previous stand was?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely. I think I have presented a rather accurate documentation regarding Yugoslavia after the Cominform-Tito clash.

Mr. DEKOM. Your contention, Dr. Draskovich, is that these so-called progressive Yugoslavs in the United States have faithfully followed

every twist and turn of the Communist Party line as dictated in Moscow?

DR. DRASKOVICH. That is right. Even in that respect I have pointed out here that there are three distinctive phases, after the First World War through today, in the position of these papers toward Yugoslavia.

The first one is prior to the rise of Tito to power. Until then Yugoslavia was a thoroughly anti-Communist country. Until 1940, it had no diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. So the stand of Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik was 100 percent inimical to Yugoslavia. They used the usual slogans that they are using against the United States, of course adapted to the circumstances of Yugoslavia.

Then came Tito: from that moment of August 1944, until the 28th of June 1948, was the second phase. All of a sudden they became ardent Yugoslav patriots. Everything in Yugoslavia was fine and all right, general progress and democracy and freedom, all problems solved, and so forth. During that period Moscow was with Yugoslavia and approved of the regime in Yugoslavia, and that was the reason for the stand I just mentioned.

Then comes the third phase, where the stand of Moscow toward Yugoslavia changed, and the Slobodna Rec and the Narodni Glasnik closely followed in its wake—as I have proven in this document—using the same arguments and very often reprinting the articles from the Daily Worker. So, after a very short while, their stand was—as I again proved by examples—100 percent against Yugoslavia.

MR. DEKOM. What change took place on June 28 in the Government of Yugoslavia; it was the same Government in existence before and after June 28, was it not?

DR. DRASKOVICH. It was exactly the same government.

MR. DEKOM. So that actually the sudden propaganda campaign of these Communist newspapers in the United States had nothing to do with the real situation?

DR. DRASKOVICH. Certainly not.

MR. DEKOM. What did it depend on?

DR. DRASKOVICH. It depended solely and exclusively on the change of the Moscow policy toward Yugoslavia.

To continue:

(4) That the criticism by the Sloboda Rec and the Narodni Glasnik leveled at the existing social and political order in the United States follows to the letter the line of Communist strategy and tactics. These two newspapers not only are doing their best to illustrate the main theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory, but follow closely and conscientiously the line of Communist tactics themselves, especially the new tactics of the Communist Party of the so-called anti-Fascist peoples' front adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and elaborated in detail in the two most recent works of William Z. Foster, *The Twilight of World Capitalism* and *In Defense of the Communist Party and the Indicted Leaders*.

Reduced to its essentials, the Communist theory consists of the following theses:

(a) Capitalism is the source of exploitation, oppression, and all evil in this world.

(b) Capitalism, owing to its inner structure and the laws of its development, is doomed to failure.

(c) On the ruins of capitalism a new order will be installed—the Socialist order.

(d) Although the downfall of capitalism is unavoidable because it is subject to laws as unchangeable as natural laws, the downfall of capitalism will not be

achieved automatically. The working class, which is the creator of socialism, in order to achieve victory must necessarily be organized into a party; not a bourgeois party which follows the rules and can function only within the parliamentary system, the party of the working class must be a "new type" party, a militant vanguard party, which will prepare and organize the workers for direct revolutionary action and a forcible overthrow of the existing capitalistic order and government.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Does that mean the overthrow of all capitalistic governments in the world?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. This centers now on the United States, because, as William Z. Foster points out in both of his mentioned works—and the argument is used in the *Narodni Glasnik* and the *Slobodna Rec*—the roots of all evil, the center of all evil in the world, is in the United States. At the same time, the strongest capitalistic country in the world is the United States. So they believe that if they destroy the United States, capitalism will come to an end everywhere else in the world because capitalism can live in other countries only as long as it lives in the United States.

Mr. SCHROEDER. In other words, the United States is No. 1 on the list?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely, yes. I think, if I may quote, that that is the term that Mr. Foster uses—"enemy No. 1."

Mr. DEKOM. Would you identify the source of your material, please?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. This is William Foster's book, *The Twilight of World Capitalism*.

Mr. DEKOM. Please read the entire quotation.

Dr. DRASKOVICH. This appears on page 43, in the chapter which bears the title "Capitalism Grows Cannibalistic." He says:

This country, precisely because it is the chief center of monopoly capitalism, is at the same time the main fortress of world reaction and warmongering. Such a democratic government as the Progressive Party aimed at in the 1948 elections—a government based on a coalition of the workers, farmers, Negroes, professionals, and small businessmen—could lay important curbs upon the big monopolists, who are the No. 1 enemies of present-day peace and democracy.

Mr. SCHROEDER. In other words, their theory is to destroy this Nation where the people have the highest standard of living in the world?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Not only that, but I think what worries them and why they are so much against the United States is that the United States is a living example that people of all nationalities and races and origins can live together and prosper, and that this country, which is composed of people from all over the world, is doing well owing to its traditions and its democracy. That fact, of course, is very harmful to their propaganda in the world.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it your opinion that they expect to obtain world domination by destroying the democratic strength of the United States?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely so.

Mr. DEKOM. So actually their goal is world domination, but the first and principal obstacle in their way is that the United States is still a powerful democracy whose people are willing to fight for its defense?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is correct. If I may cite, in that connection, the *Daily Worker*, which in its issue of February 11, 1949, carries an interesting interview with Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the Chinese Communists, by Anna Louise Strong.

In that interview, Mao Tse-tung explains that America must be destroyed, and he says that between the Soviet Union and the Government of the United States are the American people. So the United States, which wants to fight the Soviet Union, must first fight its own people. That is what the Government is doing by introducing Fascist methods into the United States. Then America, before reaching the Soviet Union, will further have to fight other countries which are not socialistic, and so will turn the whole world against themselves.

In other words, he tries to prove that the root of all evil is the United States. It is the main impediment for world domination by the Communist Party, so it must be destroyed.

MR. DEKOM. You mentioned the name of Anna Louise Strong—is she not the same woman who was editor of the Moscow Daily News?

DR. DRASKOVICH. That is the person. My impression from her articles on Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communists was that she is thoroughly Communist.

MR. DEKOM. Please continue.

DR. DRASKOVICH. To continue:

(e) The United States is no exception to the above rules. On the contrary, capitalism in the United States exemplifies most drastically all the main theses of Leninism, which is Marxism in the imperialistic phase of capitalistic development. Capitalism in America is thus bound to fall, owing to its own internal contradictions and inability to solve the growing difficulties inherent in capitalism as a system.

(f) But since, according to Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, no ruling class in history ever gave up its privileged position without struggle—never voluntarily disappeared from the world stage—American capitalism is doing its best to keep, at all costs, the unique position which it has in the present world.

(g) These efforts of American capitalism to keep its position at any price are entirely undemocratic. Since its downfall is inexorable, American capitalism—personified by Wall Street bankers and political reaction—must necessarily pursue a policy of fascism in America and the policy of imperialism which leads to war in its relations with other countries.

(h) In pursuing such a policy, Wall Street and American reaction must necessarily clash with the interests of the common people in America as well as with the interests of all people in the world. The internal and international tension which ensue must necessarily lead to an open conflict between world capitalism, headed by Wall Street, and the front of democracy and peace, headed by the Soviet Union.

(i) The growing violence of the capitalists must be met by violence on the part of the people. The entire program of the Communist Party, its press, and all affiliated organizations, is to prepare the people for the conflict which is bound to come, so that the sinister intrigues of capitalists can be met and “the people smash the power of the ruling capitalists, take control themselves, and enter into genuinely fraternal relations with other peoples, particularly with the USSR.”

This background is necessary for the correct understanding and appraisal of the policy and propoganda of any “progressive” organization in the United States, since the Marxist-Leninist theory requires a special technique of propoganda.

This special technique is well illustrated in the pages of the Slobodna Rec and the Narodni Glasnik. This technique is to follow a few simple rules:

No news or articles must be published which could possibly harm the mental and political preparation of the people for the overthrow of capitalism. All news must be carefully selected so as to support any one of the main theses of Marxism-Leninism. This applies not only to the editorials but to the most insignificant

item published in the papers, such as cartoons, photographs, announcements, and advertisements.

Moreover, every single item must be carefully selected so as to increase the belief of the readers in the inevitability of the downfall of capitalism in the righteousness of the Communist cause, and to increase their willingness to take an active part in the decisive revolutionary struggle.

In our case these simple rules are carried out by—

1. Always presenting the United States in an unfavorable light. Every single copy of the newspapers must present new evidence of the rottenness of American capitalism, of the deep rift between the interests of Wall Street and reaction on the one hand, and the workers and the people on the other.

2. Always presenting the Soviet Union in a favorable light by giving examples of its domestic policy favorable to the people, and foreign policy favorable to peace, and serving the interests of all mankind.

3. Commenting on all events and all problems so as to indict the United States and praise the Soviet Union.

4. Proving that there is no conflict of interest between the United States as a whole and the Soviet Union, but that the main conflict exists inside America itself; namely, between its ruling class and the broad masses of the people.

5. Presenting all the United States Government's policies and activities which tend to strengthen America as militaristic, Fascist, and imperialistic, and recommending a policy of weakening America militarily, politically, and spiritually as being favorable to the cause of the American people and international peace and well-being.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you cite at this point some specific example of the attacks on the United States or its Government, please?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I can do that, sir.

I have here examples of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* propaganda concerning the foreign policy of the United States, and the domestic policy or the internal situation.

For instance, in the *Slobodna Rec* of June 17, 1947, No. 67, page 3, a "poem of the workers" is published under the title, "Oh, Great Justice" by Jovan Radulovich, Detroit, Mich. The author attacks the Truman doctrine, which he calls un-American, stating that all that is the deal of a clique of wealthy people "against communism and against the Russians." But the workers "are graduated politically and will not tolerate dictatorship. Whatever happens, they will not be blind slaves."

Then in the *Slobodna Rec* of December 13, 1947, Nikola Baltich, one of the leading Communists among American Serbs in New York City, writes an article in which he says:

All reactionary cliques of this country and the rest of the world are firmly determined to annihilate progress and install reaction, to deprive the people of their civil rights, and, instead of democratic rights and liberties, to organize the persecution of all progressive persons and organizations, as well as of national minorities.

In the *Narodni Glasnik* of December 1, 1948, page 1, under the title, "Plan for the Three Months' Campaign of the *Narodni Glasnik*," is published a report by Editor Mary Sumrak at the National Conference of the *Narodni Glasnik* in Cleveland, Ohio. Before outlining the tasks of this paper, Mary Sumrak makes herself clear on the situation in America:

* * * The principal forces against the establishment of peace in the world are just in this country. These forces are threatening a new war. They are responsible for the big armaments in our country. They are creating hysteria and warmongering, and preventing a peaceful settlement of disputes between nations—in the first place in agreement with the Soviet Union and the new democracies in Europe.

In the Slobodna Rec of May 27, 1947, page 3, a report by Marko J. Murisich, of San Francisco, is published on the case of an elderly man who applied to the State Department for a passport to visit his ailing son in Yugoslavia but was refused. In the report, which bears the title, "Do They Have Any Parents' Love at All?" it is said:

Can such a thing happen in the country of Washington, in the country of Jefferson, in the country of Lincoln?

It can happen. * * *

The old man asked me "Do people in the State Department have children?" "They certainly have," said I.

How would they feel if some ill-famed government of some foreign country would deny them the right to go abroad to see their own children? * * *

The history of this war has shown that the Fascist beasts have no more feeling toward a child than they have toward the most dangerous wild beasts. I do not know then how people in the State Department can be without parental love or how it is possible that they do not think, at least in cases like this one, of parental love.

It seems to me that reaction in America is not much different from that of the Fascists.

All this is concerning the American foreign policy.

As for the internal situation, they say, for instance, in the article again of Mary Sumrak in the Narodni Glasnik of May 9, 1947, page 3, under the page-wide heading "Croatian Women at Work for a Better and Happier Future":

On Mother's Day this year not all graves of all soldiers who fell have yet been found. The tears of bereaved mothers have not yet dried and already new black clouds are casting shadows over the earth; already those who from the blood of sons and daughters are drawing personal profits are warmongering and provoking a third world war. They do not care about mothers' feelings; they do not care about anything but their greed. A handful of billionaires who are ruthlessly plundering American mothers and taking away from them the bread from their table, being afraid of the people, afraid that they will lose the unlimited right to profit and plunder, have plotted against the democratic peoples who have risen from the ruins of Fascist military power, who have acquired freedom, and who, in their ranks, are building a new world of equality and brotherhood. This small handful of ruthless and greedy people is threatening with a new war, is threatening with atomic bombs, and is bent upon taking away from millions of mothers what is most precious to them—their children.

Again, it is interesting in connection with the question of violence that there appeared in the Slobodna Rec of May 27, 1947, a poem published by Sofia Mark, of Detroit, Mich., entitled "To My Son Charlie":

To raise your fist against slavery, fascism,
And all other cynicism * * *
There will be waves of struggle for you yet,
Because the world has freedom to get.
To worry for food and other things,
In the land of plenty and everything * * *
Your name will be in line with others
Who gave their lives to break the chains and orders.

It is interesting to quote an article by Nikola Baltich, in the Slobodna Rec of September 20, 1947, No. 105, against the decision of the Department of State not to issue passports for visitors to Yugoslavia, under the title "The Voice of the People Ought To Be Heard." It is noteworthy that here, again, the writers of the Slobodna Rec make a distinction between the Government and the people of the United States, whereas they always identify people and Government when the Soviet Union is concerned.

There is an interesting comparison between Wall Street and Hitler and Mussolini in a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Obrenija Biberdzic, of Chicago, Ill., and published in the *Slobodna Rec* of November 26, 1947, page 3. It reads, in part:

On the whole, everything is all right. But it seems to me that those trusts of yours hate us. They would like us to be obedient slaves of Wall Street, but we want to lead our own lives. If anyone goes off his head and touches us we will send him along the same road as Hitler and Mussolini; that is the message of eastern Europe to all those who want to subdue and oppress other peoples. * * * With us are justice and the working people of the whole world.

Besides comparing Wall Street to Hitler and Mussolini, this piece of "progressive" prose also repeats the Communist thesis of the unity of the working people of the whole world.

There is no doubt that the simple rules of Communist propaganda have been very carefully applied by the *Slobodna Rec* and the *Narodni Glasnik*, although it might have appeared to readers not well enough acquainted with Marxist theory and tactics that they were sometimes strongly deviating from the Communist line and assuming an unbiased or even patriotic attitude.

This is best exemplified in the insistence with which the Communists of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* underline the necessity for America to remain faithful to the struggle of the American people in the Second World War—I am using the word "Communists" here because I consider that I have proved already that people around these two papers really are Communists, so that now I can use the correct term—this insistence is only apparently patriotic, since the *Slobodna Rec* and the *Narodni Glasnik*, in the same way as the *Daily Worker*, always speak of the anti-Fascist struggle and carefully avoid speaking of the struggle for America and for American democracy. It is not by accident that George Pirinsky of the American Slav Congress entitles his fiery "patriotic" article published in the *Narodni Glasnik* and the *Slobodna Rec* of December 18, 1948, "We remain True to Our Wartime Pledge to Fight Fascism." Such patriotism fits exactly into the Communist picture of the present world; namely, that the Second World War was not waged against Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and Japan, but against fascism in the world, whose main representatives are today the Government of the United States and the political, economic, social, and cultural leaders of this country.

The stand of the *Slobodna Rec* and the *Narodni Glasnik* is more clearly illustrated by their very close connections and cooperation with other organizations which, undoubtedly, follow the Communist line. The similarity of the propaganda of these two newspapers with that of the *Daily Worker*, organ of the Communist Party of the United States, or with the writings of William Z. Foster, chairman of the American Communist Party; the role which these two newspapers have admittedly played in the creation of the American Communist Party; the role which they have admittedly played in the creation of the American Slav Congress; their strong links with the All-Slav Committee in Moscow; the full and unconditional support they gave and are giving to the Progressive Party of Henry A. Wallace; and their close connections with that particular party—all of these facts point to the conclusion that these two newspapers and the people gathered around them are neither American nor Yugoslav nor Serb nor Croat

patriots, but members of the world-wide organization of the Communist Party.

As had been strikingly proved by the variations of their stand toward Yugoslavia in the course of the last 10 or 15 years, these people have no loyalty either toward America, whose citizens they are, or toward Yugoslavia, the country of their origin, but one single loyalty—the loyalty to the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. These two newspapers are not independent and well-intentioned organs of American public opinion, but only links in a world-wide organization which sees in the United States, its present order, its democratic conditions and institutions, and all that this country stands for, is the main enemy which must be crushed at any price. Instead of objectively informing their readers, who are one part of the American people, and educating them to better citizenship, they are conditioning them mentally to become tools in the hands of a foreign power against their own country. They are preparing them for the “big undertaking” of defeating capitalism (Foster), for the “ultimate emancipation from capitalism (Weinstone¹), which, in simple terms, amounts to saying that it is preparing them to take an active part in transforming any future international war against the enemies of the United States into a civil war inside the United States. They are preparing them and conditioning them mentally and politically to be traitors to their own country.

Mr. SCHIROEDER. Doctor, the two newspapers that you discuss in your statement, do you have any knowledge of the circulation of those two newspapers in the United States?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That I could not tell you. I think that the Slobodna Rec is somewhere around 4,000 or 5,000 copies.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Is that daily or weekly?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. It is published three times a week.

Mr. DEKOM. That is not, however, its total readership? More people read the paper than subscribe to it; is that right?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. They are family papers?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. You have made an exhaustive analysis of these two newspapers. Could you name other newspapers published in any of the three Yugoslav national languages which follow the Communist Party line in the United States.

Dr. DRASKOVICH. The Zajednicar, which is an organ of the Croatian Fraternal Union, is not 100 percent on the same line as Narodni Glasnik. Until 1943, that organization was not in Communist hands. Its editor was not a Communist. At the convention in 1943, a queer thing happened. The ruling board was mixed. Some people were “progressives”; some were not, but the editor, Filip Vukelich, was, to say the least, a fellow traveler.

Then the second, even stronger push toward the left, happened in 1947; at that convention the Communists took over. They won a victory. From 1947 on, the Zajednicar has been fairly closely following the Communist line. It is interesting to note that in the Cominform-Tito rift, although inclined more favorably toward Mos-

¹ William Weinstone, educational director, New York State Communist Party.

cow than to Tito, they were still hesitating and hoping for conciliation.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the approximate circulation of that newspaper?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I would not be sure, but I imagine it is about 30,000.

Mr. DEKOM. That, too, is a family newspaper and is read by many more people than subscribe to it?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. It is a family paper in the same way that the *Srbobran*, the organ of the Serb National Federation, is.

Mr. DEKOM. That is not a pro-Communist organization?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely not. The Serb National Federation, the Serbian National Defense Council of America, together with the Serbian Orthodox Diocese, are organizations around which are centered the great majority of American Serbs who definitely are good American patriots, and, at the same time, respect Serbian traditions and are cultivating their Serbian customs and Serbian national life in this country.

Mr. DEKOM. Does the fact that some of the newspapers in the Yugoslav language are Communist or pro-Communist imply in any way that a majority of the Yugoslavs in this country are either Communists or pro-Communists?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. No. The situation is the clearest with the Serbs, because with the Serbs the percentage of Communists, as I have quoted in this report, is the lowest of all Slavic national groups—well under 10 percent. So, the *Srbobran* plays a much greater role than the *Slobodna Rec*, because it has a much larger circulation—over 30,000 copies are circulated.

Mr. DEKOM. If legislation were enacted which would provide for the deportation of aliens involved in Communist fronts or Communist activities, would that seriously affect, let us say, the Serbian population of this country?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I doubt it, since most of them are American citizens.

Mr. DEKOM. So that it would affect only a small number who are disloyal?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think so.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you see any objection to such legislation?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. No. If I may utter my opinion on a matter concerning the United States, I think that it would be most propitious and for the best interests of this country, because the least which can be asked from people living in this country, whether citizens or not, is to be loyal to the institutions and traditions of this country. People who are violating this rule definitely do not deserve to live in this country.

Mr. DEKOM. You do not believe that would work an injustice on anyone?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. On the contrary, I think it would be a most righteous and just measure.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Doctor, you have mentioned three or four of the pro-Communist newspapers printed in this country. Do you have any knowledge that these papers are being subsidized or receiving financial aid from any foreign governments?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I really could not tell you. That is the usual Communist practice. That is what they do elsewhere. For instance, the two former editors of *Slobodna Rec*, Srdjan Prica and Stevan Dediđer—who, by the way, were highly praised in 1947 and are bitterly attacked now in the *Slobodna Rec* because they are siding with Tito—have, to my knowledge, bought the Croatian paper *Novi Swiet*, and they intend to publish it as a Communist paper—but a Tito paper.

That, of course, is not quite an answer to your question. I mean, that is just an example of their usual practice of trying to meddle in the affairs of this country from abroad.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you name any additional newspapers published in this country which follow the Communist line?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. A very strongly communistic paper is *Narodna Volya*, which is a Macedonian and Bulgarian newspaper.

For instance, in the issue of January 16, 1948, the *Narodna Volya* carried an excerpt from the *Daily Worker* of "Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts," to the effect that the atomic bomb, which belongs to America, "will not destroy the people, but the people will destroy the atomic bomb," and that will be the end of American capitalism.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you examined the issues of the *Narodna Volya*?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Just a few of them.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you notice whether or not they reprinted articles from the *Daily Worker*?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes, sir. I think that all these papers are molded after the same pattern. If one studies the *Slobodna Rec* and the *Narodni Glasnik* with the *Narodna Volya*, one finds exactly the same thing in another language—the same news, the same editorials, the same stand on all issues concerning this country.

Mr. DEKOM. Is there a Slovene Communist newspaper published in the United States, to your knowledge?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes; the *Enakopravnost*, which means "equality of rights."

Mr. SCHROEDER. Doctor, with all of these pro-Communist newspapers that you have cited which are printed and circulated in the United States, do you think they sway the opinion of the people that read them?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think they do to a certain extent, because, for instance, if we consider the Serbian or Croatian national groups, there are quite a few people, especially those who are foreign-born, who do not sufficiently understand English. For them, it is simpler to read a newspaper in their own language than to read the paper in English. Consequently, they rely on that single newspaper, and the information they get is from that single newspaper. So, even though there are people who are not Communists among the subscribers, in the course of time they certainly get biased or indoctrinated by reading every day, or three times a week, the same paper, which is following strictly the Communist Party line.

Mr. SCHROEDER. In other words, if our immigrants or aliens that come to the United States would be taught English, and the American way of life, they would have a broader knowledge of our system of government and would not be so susceptible to the propaganda that is published in these foreign-language Communist newspapers?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think there might be a difference, but less than is expected, because, if they would not have their papers in their own

language, they would be obliged to learn English properly. Then it is certain that the Daily Worker would come in and would try to fill the place of the Narodni Glasnik and Slobodna Rec.

Mr. DEKOM. In view of the limited success with which the Daily Worker has met with the English-speaking people, would you consider that their chances of success would be very great?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I do not think so.

Mr. DEKOM. So it would actually be a benefit if these people were required to learn our language and our way of life, as Mr. Schroeder pointed out?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think it would be rather fairer to the United States to do that, but I do not think it would make much difference. The Daily Worker, as much as I can appraise, would not be able to make new inroads. But, on the other hand, I do not think the result of their learning English would be very considerable.

Mr. DEKOM. Would it make any difference in persuading them to read American newspapers written in English, such as, for example, the American newspapers published in Pittsburgh? Would the people be persuaded to read them?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. If that was possible—to make them read American newspapers that are unbiased.

Mr. DEKOM. Could they be persuaded of their own volition to read them if they could speak and read English well? Or well enough?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I wonder. I say that because some of the staunchest Communists—Mary Sumrak, editor of the Narodni Glasnik, as well as Stanko Vuich and Drago Kosic, editors of the Slobodna Rec—are all American-born, and they speak English better than they do Serbian or Croatian.

Mr. DEKOM. Dr. Draskovich, I notice in your report a considerable amount of information concerning involvement of the official Yugoslav family in the United States in these Communist activities. I mean, of course, the Yugoslav Embassy staff and the Yugoslav delegations to the United Nations.

I wonder if you would summarize your testimony there by giving us illustrative material or examples which you might consider advisable at this time?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think that the material which can be found on representatives of Yugoslavia in the United States proves that those people who came here as official representatives and, of course, were supposed not to meddle in internal politics or make Communist propaganda, did not respect that rule. They have taken part in many meetings.

Mr. DEKOM. What sort of meetings?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. All of them were organized by Communist organizations, so the meetings were by that fact alone communistic too. I mean, for instance, meetings organized by the Slobodna Rec or the Croatian American Council, or the Serbian Progressive movement. So that all the organizers, whether local clubs or chapters or national organizations, are Communists. We do not have in all cases the texts of their speeches, but on some occasions the texts are published, and they definitely transgress the limits of a greeting of a foreign representative. They present direct help to Communist propaganda in this country.

For instance, there is an interesting account in the Slobodna Rec of the entire United States tour of Dimitar Vlahov, who is vice president of the Presidium of the Federated People of Yugoslavia, which corresponds roughly to a position of the Vice President of the United States.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it not a fact that Dimitar Vlahov is one of the oldest of the South Slav revolutionaries?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Most definitely so.

Mr. DEKOM. Did he not organize the IMRO¹ revolutionary group?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is correct. His revolutionary activities started when he was a student, and they say that from his earliest age, he was a very strong advocate of revolutionary methods, first in Turkey and later on in Yugoslavia and in the Balkans in general.

Mr. DEKOM. Did he not establish a revolutionary newspaper in Austria?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. He had several of them in Vienna.

Mr. DEKOM. To your knowledge, did Dimitar Vlahov collect funds for transmission to Yugoslavia in his tour?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes, definitely. That can be found in my prepared statement. I think they collected on one occasion \$7,000. The Slobodna Rec of December 31, 1946, No. 188, page 4, publishes an account of Vlahov's visit to Detroit. It is stated:

At the banquet, \$14,000 was collected for a hospital in Skoplje * * * This sum was the beginning of the campaign to collect \$250,000.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Where was that banquet held, Doctor?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. In Detroit, Mich., at the Hotel Book-Cadillac in the Crystal Ballroom.

Mr. DEKOM. Was Vlahov a member of the Yugoslav delegation to the United Nations?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Vlahov was in the United Nations.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Doctor, do you know whether he ever attended any affairs at the Yugoslav Dom² in New York City?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I would not know that.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it customary for Yugoslav officials to appear there?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I notice that the consul, Miodrag Markovich, is a regular visitor. He used to go there very often. I do not know how it is at the moment, but definitely, before the break with the Cominform and even later, he was a regular guest at the American Yugoslav Home.²

Mr. DEKOM. What is the American Yugoslav Home?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. It is the main center of Communist activities among the American Yugoslavs in this country.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do you know any of the officials of the Yugoslav Home?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. People connected with it are Toma Babin—and evidence can also be found in the Slobodna Rec to that effect—who is certainly one of the most active Communists of Yugoslav origin in this country. He openly stated at one occasion—it is in my prepared statement—that the Yugoslav Seaman's Club, of which he is the presi-

¹ IMRO—Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization.

² The Yugoslovenski-Americki Dom (Yugoslav-American Home).

dent, was the center of progressive activity in this country and that people were educated and schooled for later activities, that is, revolutionary activities, in Yugoslavia. He said that many people who were members of the seaman's club and who went through its courses, now occupy positions of responsibility in Yugoslavia.

Mr. DEKOM. That is the Yugoslav Seamen's Club in New York City?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Again, when the term "progressive" is used there, it actually means "Communist" does it not?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know of Mirko Markovic?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes; very well. For a while he was editor of the *Slobodna Rec*, and he published a very interesting pamphlet in Belgrade in 1946, when he returned to Yugoslavia, entitled "The Struggle in America for the New Yugoslavia." I think that document is very interesting. I used all of the material I could in my prepared statement. From what can be seen in this material, according to him, the American Yugoslavs, more particularly the Croats, played a role of the first importance in bringing about the American Slav Congress. He says that the fate of the American Slav Congress depended on the American Yugoslavs, because they were the most dynamic group. Consequently, the merit of creating the American Slav Congress rests on the American Yugoslavs, especially the *Narodni Glasnik*. He notes, obviously with regret, that the *Narodni Glasnik* did more for the Communist cause than did his own paper, the *Slobodna Rec*.

The so-called Yugoslav revolutionary workers' movement centered around the *Narodni Glasnik*.

Mr. DEKOM. You say he returned to Yugoslavia. Do you mean that he returned permanently to Yugoslavia after staying here some years, after serving as an editor of a Yugoslav Communist paper in Pittsburgh?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is correct.

Mr. DEKOM. That is the *Slobodna Rec*?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know what position he received when he went back?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Shortly after returning, he became professor of economics at the University of Belgrade.

Mr. DEKOM. What educational qualifications did he have to occupy such a position?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think membership in the Communist Party and his Communist activities in the United States among the American Yugoslavs.

Mr. DEKOM. To your knowledge, what are his educational achievements?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think he graduated from high school.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it customary, Doctor, from your personal knowledge as a former professor of economics at Belgrade University, for its professors merely to have a high-school education?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. No. It was an indispensable condition that whoever applied for the position of a professor must be a doctor of science in the field in which he wants to teach.

Mr. DEKOM. It was changed by the Communists?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. It certainly was. The rule has been abolished.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Doctor, do you know how long he resided in the United States?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think about 7 or 8 years, but I would not be sure. If I may add one more comment. After the Cominform-Tito rift, he sided with the Cominform.

Mr. DEKOM. And as a result he went to jail?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. You mentioned the name of Srdjan Prica, as a Yugoslav official in this country. Can you tell us something about his prior record?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Srdjan Prica was, at one time, editor of the Slobodna Rec. As I have quoted in my prepared statement, Nikola Drenovac, who was the fourth editor of the Slobodna Rec, before returning to Yugoslavia, spoke at a farewell banquet expressing the highest respect and appreciation for the work of Srdjan Prica, which, as he says, laid down the pattern for his work.

Mr. DEKOM. In other words, Dr. Draskovich, at least three editors, recent editors of the Slobodna Rec, have returned to Yugoslavia to participate in the activities of the Communist government there?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is correct.

Mr. DEKOM. Would they be acceptable to that government if they themselves had not been Communists or had not been active in promoting the Communist cause?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I do not think so. I think that they are in these positions because they worked for the Communist cause in the United States.

Mr. DEKOM. Would the knowledge of that fact be indicative of the philosophy which governs the Slobodna Rec, that its former editors have all been highly rewarded by a notorious Communist government?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think so. I think it is a very good indication of how things really stand.

Mr. DEKOM. That fact, together with the analysis of the material contained in these newspapers which you have made, leads you to the conclusion that these newspapers are Communist newspapers?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think no other conclusion is possible.

Mr. DEKOM. And that the people who are the guiding forces and run them must of necessity also be Communists; is that your conclusion also?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is right.

Mr. SCHROEDER. And on their return to their native land they are rewarded with high positions for spreading communism while they were residing in the United States?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is the case.

In an issue of the Slobodna Rec it is openly said that "Drenovac, the fourth editor, is returning to Yugoslavia in the same way as his predecessors, to continue the work for the progressive cause, or for the cause of the people," as he was doing in this country.

Mr. DEKOM. I notice in your discussion here, Dr. Draskovich, that you make reference on a number of occasions to Maj. Branko Vukelic, who was at one time connected with the Yugoslav Embassy in the United States and who was extremely active in participating in the activities of the Yugoslav Communist fronts. Can you tell us anything about the present condition of Maj. Branko Vukelic?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Major Vukelic is one of the most interesting cases. Major Vukelic was certainly one of the most active propagandists among the Yugoslav officials coming to the United States. I have here a quotation from the Slobodna Rec of December 4, 1946, page 2, wherein, speaking of the new regime in Yugoslavia, he goes so far as to defend in the most categorical terms, the ill-famed Yugoslav secret police, OZNA, which other people usually avoid speaking about. It is stated:

Finally, Vukelic praised the secret police, "OZNA," as being the people itself. "The Communists * * * gave the power to the peasants and workers in Yugoslavia, and they will see to it that nobody will ever be able to take the power from the hands of the people."

Major Vukelic sided with the Cominform, so now he is in the hands of that very OZNA he had praised as being the people themselves.

Another interesting thing in connection with Vukelic is that recently in the Slobodna Rec of May 14, 1949, page 3, a letter was published by officials of the Serbian Progressive Club, "Karageorge," in Gary, Ind. (not to be confused with the thoroughly democratic singing and choir society "Karageorge" from Gary, Ind.), addressed to Dr. Ivan Ribar, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of F. P. R. of Yugoslavia, in which these people requested Dr. Ribar to use his influence to have Branko Vukelic released. What is most interesting, after 3 years, they now themselves admit and describe openly what Vukelic was doing in this country. I would like to read these passages:

* * * For your government's and your information, we take the liberty of telling you this about the activities which Branko Vukelic carried out among the Yugoslavia immigrants in America and Canada.

Before Branko's—

They use just the first name—

arrival in our midst at the beginning of 1946, all of us had rather poor information about your heroic and superhuman struggle against the invader and domestic traitors, because among us worked the anti-people's Yugoslav press which was under the influence of the exiled government in London.

With the arrival of Vukelic, the situation changed completely. His fiery speeches at conventions and other meetings exerted so much influence upon the people, that the anti-people's press was obliged to apologize to the public
* * *

Branko Vukelic succeeded, during his brief stay in our midst, to make our immigrants acquainted with the hardship and suffering of our people in the old country during the struggle for national liberation. It is just on account of the fact that Branko knew how to present to our immigrants, the real picture of the struggle and suffering of our people, that our people here started to give and send help to their people with both hands.

Second, Branko, with his energetic work has done more for making your national leadership popular, your national leadership and the great struggle of the people for Socialist ideas, than any one of your representatives in America or Canada. * * *

Dr. DEKOM. This same man was an attaché at the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington while he was carrying out such Communist propaganda work?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. They gave him various titles, that is right.

Mr. DEKOM. But he was an official of the Yugoslav Government, assigned to the Washington Embassy?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Dr. Draskovich, you have heard a lot about Communist assertions that they could bring about world communism without bloodshed, have you not?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes.

Mr. SCHROEDER. What is your answer to that claim?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. My answer is that it is entirely wrong. I think it takes typical Communist impudence to deny that. From Marx on up to the present time their thesis was always the forcible overthrow of the capitalistic society.

Mr. DEKOM. Dr. Draskovich, have you any specific examples on that subject which you care to point out to the subcommittee?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I think I have here a few examples which might be interesting, with regard to that question—the forcible overthrow of government.

In the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Frederic Engels, published in Moscow in 1848, it is said:

The proletariat, the lowest stratum of one present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Even more outspoken is the following sentence:

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Then I would like to quote from the History of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party, abbreviated edition, Serbian text, Moscow, 1938. They say:

Marx and Engels taught that it is impossible in a peaceful way to break the power of capital and transform capitalist ownership in social ownership. That the working class can achieve that only through revolutionary violence against the bourgeoisie, through a proletarian revolution by creating its own political rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat—which has to stifle the resistance of the exploiters and create a new, classless Communist society.

Then the conclusion of that history is summed up in a few points, and in the first of these points we can read the following:

The history of the party teaches us, first of all, that the victory of the proletarian revolution, the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is impossible without a revolutionary proletarian party * * * revolutionary with regard to the bourgeoisie and its government.

I think that this point is important because the Communists claim that the correct interpretation of world revolution is social change. I think this clearly refutes that contention. They are not speaking only of the bourgeoisie but its government; so revolution with regard to that government definitely implies force.

Then, as a last quotation, I would like to quote the famous Stalin letter to Comrade Ivanov, which was written in 1938, in answer to a question by Comrade Ivanov asking whether socialism is possible in one country or not. Here is the answer of Stalin, who quotes Lenin:

* * * the existence of the Soviet Republic next to a number of imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. In the end either the one or the other will have the better of it. Until that end comes a series of most terrible conflicts between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. This means that the ruling class—the proletariat—if it wants to and will rule, must prove this also by its military organization.

And, finally, a little further on, he says:

The second problem * * * the problem of the complete security of our country from the dangers of military intervention and restoration * * *

cannot be solved * * * by the unaided efforts of our country alone. The second problem can be solved only by combining a serious effort of the international proletariat with a still more serious effort of the whole of our Soviet people.

There are also—and, unfortunately, I do not have them here—some very interesting passages in Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*, where he also stresses that the bourgeois government must be overthrown by violence. So I think there is not a shadow of doubt that the Communist theory is not a theory of a peaceful development, but a theory of the forcible overthrow of the so-called capitalistic government and order in any country, including the United States.

Mr. DEKOM. What has been the actual practice in countries where communism has been established? How has that theory been applied?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. There have been some deviations from that rule, but not because the Communists changed their ideas. It was because their policy of anti-Fascist people's fronts was so successful that they actually succeeded in harnessing many non-Communists to the cart of the Communist Party. In that way they broke the resistance of the non-Communists to such an extent that they did not need to use full-scale violence to establish their domination. Thus, if the free countries would not strike back at their attempts to dominate the whole world by the Trojan-horse tactics, then they would not need to use much force and violence to establish their dictatorship, but only to consolidate it.

I would like at this point to quote Stalin and Lenin (from Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*):

"The dictatorship of the proletariat," says Lenin, "is a persistent struggle, sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society." And Stalin says: "The [Communist] Party is not only the highest form of class association of the proletarians, it is at the same time an instrument in the hands of the proletariat for achieving the dictatorship where that has not yet been achieved and for consolidating and expanding the dictatorship where it has already been achieved" (French edition, Editions Sociales, Paris, 1945, p. 83).

Mr. DEKOM. Have the Communists used force and violence when other means were not successful?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely. Even at this moment, when the Communists in America are doing their best to prove that the new road to socialism is a peaceful one, Foster openly declares that in the case that if the new Trojan-horse tactics cannot be applied successfully, then they must resort to an "offensive policy."

In the *Daily Worker*, too, they say, "We do not intend necessarily to use violence," which means that they will or will not use violence, according to their opportunities of breaking the capitalistic order.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you cite some cases in which force and violence have been used?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. The first case is Soviet Russia, then Hungary (1919), Poland (1920), Yugoslavia (1920 and 1921), where the Communists carried out several attempts against the highest state officials, prepared with the greatest care plans for an armed uprising. Today, China is a typical example of the struggle of a politico-military organization (as stressed in the famous Stalin letter to Comrade Ivanov) against the government.

In Burma, and many other countries of the Far East, all the unrest and trouble is caused by the Communists, who are trying to change the social and political order by the use of violence.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you describe the means used to rise to power, let us say, in a country like Yugoslavia?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. There is an open admission by William Foster that in all the countries behind the iron curtain the tactics of the people's fronts were so successful that there was no need to resort to much violence, and he says that tends to prove that socialism can be achieved without violence.

Mr. DEKOM. Were there no instances of force and violence in these iron curtain countries?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. There are many instances—not in coming to power—but once they seize power. Then they use ruthless oppression on anyone who does not agree with them. They use many non-Communists to come to power in a peaceful way and then they are liquidated one by one, so that only the Communists are left.

Mr. DEKOM. So the result is that they use force and violence against the people of the country in order to prevent them from protecting or reestablishing their democratic institutions?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. That is correct. If they can come to power without violence, they use violence anyway after coming into power.

Mr. DEKOM. How would you describe the tactics used in Czechoslovakia where organized armed units seized power?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. The case of Czechoslovakia is a striking example of what happens when the non-Communist elements, harnessed by the Communists to serve in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, try to prevent the unnatural partnership from taking its inevitable course. The Czech non-Communists wanted the coalition to remain a coalition of equals; the Communists wanted to use it as a means by which to achieve their goal. And since coalitions of non-Communists with Communists have always put the Communists in a strong position, because there can be no middle road between defending one's country and ruining it, the Communists did not have a very hard job to consolidate their dominant position. As can be seen from the quotations from Stalin and Lenin and as William Foster admits, the use of violence is just a matter of expedience for Communists, since communism in its essence implies the use of ruthless violence before the Socialist revolution, as well as after it. In the Czech case, the Communists used just as much force as they needed to achieve their goal: The establishment of a complete Communist dictatorship in that country.

Mr. SCHROEDER. And the control of the economic system?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely, of the whole life—economic system, and the political, social, and cultural life of the country in which they are in power.

In the case of Czechoslovakia there is proof that they will never hesitate to use force when they need it. When they thought that their grip over Czechoslovakia was not tight enough, they tightened it and there was no bloodshed, because the people were already deprived of their rights and freedom. But definitely, the consolidation of the Communist power was carried through by force.

Mr. DEKOM. Then you mean to say that they were so completely organized that by the seizure of a few strategic positions by means of armed groups or armed force, they were actually able to take control of the entire state without resistance?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Definitely. I think that is a good example of the application of Lenin's ideas, who, as is well known, studied Clausewitz¹ very thoroughly, and thought the struggle for the seizure of power is just a military struggle and must be carried out by following all the rules of warfare.

Mr. DEKOM. Was not the same thing substantially true in Yugoslavia, where organized Communist units simply took over, because they themselves were armed and organized and the opposition was not? So that, although there was no serious violence or opposition at the time, many of the governmental units fell by actual force or by threat of force?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yugoslavia is a somewhat special case. During the war two guerrilla movements were organized: The national movement of Gen. Draza Mihailovich and the Communist guerrilla movement of Tito. The first had the support of the great majority of the people. And, had the people in Yugoslavia been in a position to decide for themselves, the Communists would never have seized power in Yugoslavia. But, as Foster proudly explains in his *Twilight of World Capitalism*, and more particularly in the *Defense of the Indicted Leaders*, the Communist policy of anti-Fascist cooperation with the democratic forces, both in matters of domestic and of international politics, triumphed in the creation of "people's democracies"—that is Communist-dominated regimes—in a number of European countries. As for Yugoslavia, the official Allied policy was to help Tito, not Mihailovich. So the Red Army, which was supposedly coming as an Allied force to liberate Yugoslavia from the Nazis, was, in fact, occupying Yugoslavia and imposing communism upon her. The Yugoslav Communists followed in the wake of the Red Army.

Mr. SCHROEDER. There was a demonstration of might in the country when the Communists took over?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. More than that; there was use of violence and force wherever they went. The Communists just used that situation to install themselves in power.

Mr. DEKOM. So that actually, in all these cases, they did use force and violence to come to power, but only in smaller degrees, to a large extent because of the success of the Communist-sponsored united front movement?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. They never hesitated to use force, but the success of the anti-Fascist people's fronts just made it easier for them to seize power. It is not only the question of seizure of power. It is the question of exerting power. As I said, the use of violence is a constant principle of Communist rule. So they use it to seize power and they use it to govern the country.

Mr. DEKOM. Dr. Draskovich, if there is any additional material which you care to submit, with the permission of the chairman, we will accept it from you before these hearings are published.

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Now, Dr. Draskovich, I will ask you to proceed with the presentation of your statement.

Dr. DRASKOVICH. This is a study of the activities of the self-styled "progressive" organizations—that is, of course, Communist organ-

¹General Karl von Clausewitz, noted German military tactician (1780-1831).

izations—of Serbian and Croatian origin, as recorded in the pages of the two Communist newspapers, *Slobodna Rec* (Free Expression) in Serbian and *Narodni Glasnik* (People's Choice) in Croatian.

The material which I am going to present to the subcommittee is classified as follows:

- I. The general character of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik*.
- II. The stand of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* on problems of American foreign and domestic policy.
 - A. Foreign policy.
 - B. Democracy in the United States and the domestic policy of the United States Government.
- III. The stand of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* on Yugoslavia (before the Cominform-Tito clash).
- IV. The stand of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* on the Cominform-Tito clash.
- V. The stand of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* on Yugoslavia (after the Cominform-Tito clash).
- VI. The stand of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* on the Soviet Union.
- VII. Identity of "progressive" views on other issues.
- VIII. The appeal to Slavic solidarity, the American-Slav Congress and so forth.
- IX. The Yugoslav "progressive" press and the activities of various representatives of the F. P. R. Yugoslavia in the United States.
- X. Conclusion.

The analysis of the newspapers *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* and people and organizations connected and affiliated with them, leads to the definite conclusion that we are dealing with Communist newspapers and Communist activities. If we use the term "progressive" throughout this study, it is obviously not because these two newspapers and activities of various organizations recorded in them bear the distinctive marks of activities inspired by faith in human progress and striving for the improvement of the condition of man, but for other reasons. First, we do not want to anticipate the conclusion reached by the study. Besides, that is the term which they themselves use in most cases to describe their own activities. Finally, it seems to us that it is necessary today to reveal at least the most important abuses of democratic terminology by the Communists. That is certainly the case with the term "progressive," which is very often applied to cover activities of a distinct Communist character. That is also the reason why the term has been used in quotes.

The number of "progressives" among Americans of Serbian and Croatian origin has not been statistically established. There are, nevertheless, facts which make an accurate estimate possible.

At the seventh convention of the Croatian Fraternal Union, the largest organization of American Croats, held in Pittsburgh in September 1947, the "progressives" were successful in electing their own candidates to the executive and other boards. The average number of votes for "progressive" candidates was 175, or 59 percent, and the average number of votes for "nonprogressive" candidates was 123, or 41 percent.

As for the American Serbs, the percentage of "progressives" among them is very probably the lowest of all Slavic groups in the United States. If we apply the same yardstick as for the American Croats, the result is that the percentage of "nonprogressives" is over 96 percent and of "progressives" under 4 percent, since at the convention of the Serb National Federation, the largest organization of American Serbs, there were 4 "progressive" delegates and 106 "nonprogressives." The percentage of "progressives" is even smaller if one considers that the number of 110 delegates does not include the 17 members of the executive board, all of whom were "nonprogressives."

The above figures are subject to some modifications in view of the fact that the American Serbs and Croats have other organizations beside the largest ones. Still, when all of them are taken into consideration, as well as those who do not belong to any organization, the above percentages should not suffer any substantial change.

Thus "progressive" American Serbs and Croats are by no means typical American Serbs or Croats, but typical "progressives." And this study is no comprehensive study of American Serbs or Croats but a study of one particular sector of the Communist movement in the United States. It is the sector of "progressive" Serbs and Croats who, like the rest of them, belonging to all national groups in America, or regardless of national groups, are using the cover of "progressiveness" in order to work more effectively for the realization of Communist aims, which is the forcible overthrow of the democratic Government in this country.

I. THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SLOBODNA REC AND NARODNI GLASNIK

The newspapers Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik hold a great place and play an essential role in the life and activities of progressive Americans of Serbian and Croatian origin.

They are not only the main source of information on daily events and all current problems for their readers but rallying points for all their activities. They not only are instrumental in shaping their thinking, but their whole life as "progressive" Serbians or Croatians is made possible through the Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik. In these newspapers every single activity of various organizations—Serbian Progressive Movement; Congress of American-Croatian Men and Women; Serbian-American Federation of the International Workers Order; Progressive Youth and local clubs; the American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, and so forth—is reported, instructions given, announcements made, appeals addressed, and campaigns launched, celebrations, banquets, and conventions announced and reported, private letters published, private views expressed—always, of course, strictly within the limits of the official line indicated by the paper's policy—enemies assailed and slandered, people incited and directed to political, social, sports, humane, and other action.

In other words these two newspapers are links which hold "progressive" American Serbs and Croatians together, and to the extent these groups are playing a certain role among the "progressives" of the United States, that can mainly, if not exclusively, be ascribed to the educational-political work of the Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik.

It is thus hardly possible to find a better source of information about American "progressives" of Serbian and Croatian origin than

their respective newspapers. The identity of the stand, policy, and propaganda of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* make advisable one study instead of two, since separate studies would necessarily involve much repetition.

The task of establishing the place of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* and the role which they have played and still are playing among "progressive" Americans of Serbian and Croatian origin is facilitated by the editors of these newspapers themselves, who are explicit enough on the matter. There is, for example, the statement concerning the *Slobodna Rec*, which was published in its issue of October 4, 1947, pages 2 and 3, emanating from Nikola Drenovac, who was chairman of the Serbian Progressive Movement and chief editor of the *Slobodna Rec*. Drenovac made his report at the conference of the Serbian Progressive Movement at Akron, Ohio, before returning to Yugoslavia. It is worth while quoting the greatest part of his report, which represents a summary of the work of the *Slobodna Rec*:

From March 1942, when I publicly joined the ranks of the Serbian Progressive Movement, until the present date, many important things happened, many important changes took place, and many attempts to widen our ranks were undertaken. Although all this was connected with many difficulties, although it required much toil and much patience, I still must say that when I came the path was already laid—laid by my predecessors, people experienced and hardened in struggle.

I feel that I would be failing to do a special duty if I did not stress the important role which people like Mirko Markovich, Srdja Prica, and Stevan Dedijer have played. They are people of whom I know that they were the leaders of the Serbian Progressive Movement among the American Serbs and the editors of the *Slobodna Rec* at a time when it was most difficult to edit and publish a progressive Serbian newspaper.

After paying tribute to Zarko Bunchich, Nikola Kovachevich-Stari, and Joso Rajnovich, Drenovac goes on to say:

The Serbian Progressive Movement, as the basis and foundation of all other activities and undertakings of the democratic Serbs of America, worked from its very foundation, first on the education of the broad masses of American Serbs and then as a part of the democratic forces of America, carried on a struggle on a wider platform against reaction and fascism in general. * * *

This means that the movement of the *Slobodna Rec* has a role of the greatest importance and greatest merit for everything that has been achieved until today in the educational-political field among American Serbs.

The American democratic Serbs would not dare appear before the face of other Slav national groups if they had not behind them their honorable and militant 12-year history. How would we pay tribute to the known and unknown workers' fighters among the American Serbs who laid the foundations of the Serbian Progressive Movement and the *Slobodna Rec* if we would say, "We started 12 days ago and not 12 years ago"? If we would say so and if it were so, we would picture ourselves as the most backward national group; we would nullify everything that the Serbian Progressive Movement has done for the cause of American democracy, for the cause of south Slav brotherhood and unity, and for the cause of spreading the truth about the people's liberation struggle in Yugoslavia, and for the cause of progress in general.

The *Slobodna Rec* has patiently, persistently, and according to a plan pointed out to the American Serbs what is good and what is bad; where the truth lies, where falsehood; on which side the light is; on which darkness; and that the educational and political work of the *Slobodna Rec* was and is the prior condition for any other achievement in the humane, educational, or political field among the American Serbs.

While it insisted that the truth about Yugoslavia should penetrate as deeply as possible into the American people, the *Slobodna Rec* played one of the most important roles in the creation of the United Committee of South Slavic Amer-

icans. It also did not lag behind in the work of consolidating the American Slav Congress. From its start, the Slobodna Rec was and remained a part of the progressive forces of the American Slavs in general, playing in its own national sector the role of teacher, educator, and uncompromising fighter against reaction and fascism.

Drenovac admitted that errors had been made and that "not all of us are good at practical work among the masses of the people," so he urged the audience to more active work by stressing, in the same way as Communists ceaselessly do, that—

Although the united allied forces have smashed fascism militarily, fascism is, nevertheless, politically alive and very, very active.

One of the main tasks of the Serbian Progressive Movement is the organization and constant struggle against * * * Serbian fascism.

While we are fighting against fascism in our own Serbian national field here in America, we at the same time are fighting against world fascism, which is raising its head considerably owing mainly to the so-called Truman doctrine and the official policy of Washington here and abroad.

The trend of such a Washington policy has given courage to Fascist elements all over the world and has given them hope for the revival of all that has been defeated in this war by common allied forces. * * *

The Serbian Progressive Movement in America has thus today an even harder task than it had during the recent war. It must today defend the cause of democracy which has been indicted in this country and to fight all the elements to which the American official policy is favorable and profitable and which elements are helped by the American capitalists and great monopolistic capital. * * *

The Serbian Progressive Movement and the Slobodna Rec are going ahead with their work and program at a time of limitless intimidation with the "Red bogey," at a time of hysterical outbursts against genuine democratic forces and at a time of persecution of all elements which are following the political line of the great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The Slobodna Rec, together with the American people, is fighting against all those who want to provoke a new world bloodshed. * * *

We shall be defending freedom if we help with all our forces the struggle of American people against the various Hoovers, Rankins, Tafts, and other representatives of American reaction.

We shall be defending freedom if we stand against all attempts of rebuilding the German war industry and strengthening of all those currents which are sowing hatred among nations.

We shall be defending freedom if all of us resolutely and courageously oppose any forcible intervention and unauthorized interference in the matters and problems of other states.

After pleading for aid to war orphans in Yugoslavia, Drenovac, following faithfully the line of Communist tactics, says that—

On such a program ought to unite all American Serbs. On such a program ought to unite even people of divergent political ideas.

After announcing his resignation as chairman of the Serbian Progressive Movement and as chief editor of the Serbian democratic newspaper, the Slobodna Rec, Drenovac declared that all that he did in these capacities he did "sincerely, enthusiastically, and with the best intentions, having at heart always the unity and solidarity of all anti-Fascist forces."

And Drenovac, who in this whole indicative speech never thought of mentioning the good of America and the unity of all Americans, did not fail to conclude his speech by declaring that the "salvation of all of us, of all the Slavs, was in unity."

And, as if Drenovac was not explicit enough, his successor, the new editor of Slobodna Rec, Stanko Vuich, paid him special tribute for doing his utmost "for the awakening of consciousness and education among American Serbs"—Slobodna Rec, October 8, 1947, page 3.

As regards the Narodni Glasnik, one of the most outspoken statements of its policies was made by its editor, "Sister" Mary Sumrak, in her report at the national conference of the Narodni Glasnik in Cleveland, Ohio, which was published in the issue of December 1, 1948, under the title "Plan for the 3-Month Campaign of the Narodni Glasnik." After stating that the main source of trouble in all the world is the United States, that this country is on the way to becoming a Fascist country, and that American people do not want war but peace, Mary Sumrak speaks at length of the past, present, and future role of the Narodni Glasnik in the people's struggle for the new type of democracy:

One could hardly think of any activity, any movement for progress, democracy, or any action for the welfare of the people, to which our newspaper did not contribute its own part by educating and organizing our people. * * *

Through a daily newspaper we were able to influence much stronger the development of our social life; we were able to fight more easily our enemies and the agents of reaction among our people; we were able to contribute more to the war efforts to defeat the Fascist Axis, to help the struggle for liberation of our people in the old country, and later to help the people themselves and the young Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia for the reconstruction of the country and the creation of a better life for its people.

Through a daily newspaper it was much easier to work for the launching of our mass movements—Council of American Croats, Federation of Croatian-American Women, the Slav Congress, various committees for relief and reconstruction in Yugoslavia, for the strengthening of progressive forces in the Croatian Fraternal Union, for its progress and the progressive line, and the final removal of the people's enemies who were hampering its progress and trying to bring it into the antipeople's front—into the front of fascism and reaction.

The merits of the Narodni Glasnik in that field were and are acknowledged on the part of our allies and collaborators, as well as representatives of other groups. This is especially felt and seen in the American Slav Congress, where the Croats have always been and are today the strongest group and the greatest support and help to the work of the congress.

The Croatian Benevolent Fraternity, which is, by its membership, the second largest Croatian organization in this country, and by its work the most progressive of our organizations, has also to thank the Narodni Glasnik for its development and growth and for the influence it is exerting among our people.

As a paper which they read, the Narodni Glasnik helps rally almost all our progressive people and women in the ranks of the Croatian Benevolent Fraternity. These are men and women which our movement and our action helped educate in a worker's and a progressive spirit. * * *

In the present situation, the Narodni Glasnik has an even greater duty and even greater tasks. The black forces of reaction are trying to drag the world into another war. The war propaganda is going full blast. The trade-unions are in danger; the freedom and fundamental rights of American people are in danger; in danger is the peace of the world. * * *

The Narodni Glasnik is today more necessary than ever before * * * because the black forces of reaction have again started to rise. * * * We shall need it in the future to rally our people around the great movement under the leadership of the Progressive Party for the realization of yet unattained ends. * * *

* * * We must do everything to help the Narodni Glasnik remain a daily newspaper, to be in the future our teacher, organizer, and leader.

The above two statements, although outspoken and detailed enough, are even more significant if some other documents pertaining to "progressive" education and consciousness, as well as the role of the "progressive" Slavic press, are taken in consideration. These documents are not arbitrarily chosen. Mirko Markovich, former editor of the Slobodna Rec (from 1946 to 1948, then professor of economics at the University of Belgrade, and, since the Cominform-Tito conflict, in jail as an adherent of the Moscow line), says in a pamphlet published

in Belgrade in 1946 (The Struggle in America for a new Yugoslavia) that the American Yugoslavs are "the backbone of the American Slav Congress." According to Markovich:

The Yugoslav workers movement in America grew and developed as an organic part of the general workers' movement of the United States (p. 24).

After the October revolution [in Russia, 1917] among the Yugoslavs in America there shaped itself the organized worker's revolutionary movement around the newspaper Radnik [former name of the Narodni Glasnik], which was appearing in Croatian language in Chicago (p. 24).

Markovich gives them credit for their achievements, but criticizes their—

lack of understanding of the national feelings of those masses which are the result of the lack of understanding of Leninist-Stalinist views on the national problems (p. 26).

The reversal of this situation was started in 1935 and was led by the Narodni Glasnik and Slobodna Rec. * * * The first decisive move was the anti-Fascist Congress of American Serbs held in 1936. * * *

On the ground of such national congresses of the Yugoslavs was created the United Committee of South Slavic Americans, as the central leadership of a broader anti-Fascist movement.

Markovich goes on to describe the heavy struggle of the progressive Slavs against the "reaction" among Americans of Slavic origin, which reached its climax toward the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942:

The anti-Fascist movement in the Slavic groups, which were largely rallied around their progressive newspapers were persistent and unflinching in that struggle. The Yugoslav immigrants, i. e., the anti-Fascist movement among them, were the most active in that struggle, although they number just a little over 1,000,000, which is only one-third or one-fourth of some larger Slav groups. That dynamism in the Yugoslav group indicated that whether the All-Slav Congress would take place, and whether it would be successful depended entirely on the Yugoslavs (p. 47).

The congress, where, for the first time in history, American Slavs gathered at a common meeting, was, according to Markovich, a great success. President Roosevelt announced a few days before the congress (held on April 28, 1942, in Detroit) that he would send his greetings and a special personal representative:

The success of the congress did not consist only in the fact that for the first time in their history many representatives of American Slavs came together. Its success consisted of the fact that strong foundations were laid for a broad, anti-Fascist movement among American Slavs, and that this movement mobilized millions and millions of people in America, particularly workers, for a greater contribution to the victory of the United Nations over the Axis (p. 49).

A few days later, many national groups held their own conventions, among them the "progressive" Serbs with their "Seventh Vidovdan Congress." This congress was greeted by—

A. Cranston on behalf of the United States Government, a group of Yugoslav Cabinet members, led by S. Kosanovic, Leo Krzycki, president of the American Slav Congress * * * the All-Slav Committee from Moscow * * * (p. 54).

With regard to the above statements, it seems quite appropriate to quote the authoritative opinion of Bozidar Maslaric, chairman of the All-Slav Committee, on the role assigned to the Slavic press after World War II, i. e., after all Slavic countries became Communist-dominated. In an interview with a correspondent of the official Tanjug Agency in Belgrade on July 17, 1947, published in the Narodni List ("The People's Journal"), Zagreb, Yugoslavia, July 18, 1947, page 2, Maslaric, among other things, said:

One of the most important tasks of the All-Slav Committee, together with the Slavic national committees, will also be to popularize the successes of the Slavic peoples in the field of the construction of the new people's democracy, which is of tremendous importance for the cause of the consolidation of general peace and development, and furtherance of democracy in the whole world. In that respect, a special role belongs to the democratic press, which is called upon to spread the truth about the efforts of the Slavic peoples and about the postwar political, economic, and cultural development of the Slavic republics, as well as to unmask all those who are sowing distrust in the entire world against the peoples of the Slavic countries, who, together with the Soviet Union, are in the front ranks of the fighters for peace and friendship of the whole world. The All-Slav Committee * * * will * * * help people who work for the press to present the modern problems and the ideological essence of the new Slavic movement.

As for the correct interpretation of the term "education," Mirko Markovich may again be of great help. In his pamphlet, *The Struggle in America for a New Yugoslavia*, he states that—

The Yugoslav workers' movement played a very important role in the foundation and initial development of the Communist Party of the United States. So, for instance, in the first years after its foundation, the Yugoslav workers composed more than one-third of the membership of the Communist Party of the United States of America. * * * This fact shows that our immigrants, that is, the class-conscious part of them, not only did not lag behind other groups of the American working class in the most decisive moments, but they often were more advanced (p. 26).

And since the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* not only are "worker's" newspapers, but identify themselves with "progressive" movements of American Serbs and Croats, it seems fit to consult the *Daily Worker*, quoting Lenin, Stalin, and Marx.

In an article entitled "The Weapon Lenin Gave in Struggle for Socialism," by William Weinstone (*Daily Worker*, April 8, 1949, p. 9), strong issue is taken with all tendencies of "labor reformism" and "economism," whose main characteristic is—

"An exclusive or major preoccupation with the economic struggle, chiefly with the trade-union struggle for wages and hours and denial of the political fight for democratic liberties and socialism. As a consequence, economism denies the need for a vanguard party for the working class and belittles the role of consciousness and theory. * * *

"In rejecting economism, * * *

Weinstone continues—

Lenin did not mean that the struggle for immediate day-to-day demands must be neglected or underestimated * * * since otherwise the workers would be turned into broken wretches (Marx).

"However * * * to confine the struggle merely to economic reforms would mean to perpetuate wage slavery. Therefore the fight for reforms," stated Lenin, "must be subordinated to the militant struggle for democracy and socialism as the part is subordinated to the whole.

"Only if the workers * * * are imbued with class consciousness and the ideas of socialism, only if the number and influence of the Communists grow, can the organizations of the workers be strong and militant in their daily affairs and develop into powerful levers for ultimate emancipation."

Weinstone, quoting Lenin, sharply assails the adherents of economism and their "reliance on spontaneity" for realizing the "ultimate emancipation." Instead, he insists on the necessity—

to shape the thinking of the workers * * *

If the Marxists do not enlighten the workers on the events of the day, if they do not bring class conscious views and socialist ideas to the workers, the latter will remain under bourgeois-minded leadership, because, says Lenin, the trade-union struggle of and by itself cannot develop socialist consciousness.

Socialist consciousness, he teaches, must be brought to the workers by an organization of class-conscious people * * * the Communists. This is so because socialism is a science, which arose out of the spontaneous growth of the labor movement, and only this science can make clear to the workers the nature of capitalism, of the different classes and political parties, the real policies hidden behind demagogic phrases, why workers are poor, what causes crisis and war, material oppression, etc. The mission of the Communist Party, as Stalin puts it, is to wed socialism to the labor movement. * * * On the basis of the daily struggle (and not separate from it) the Communists must propagandize for socialism, politically educate the workers, broaden their activity and outlook, and raise their level so that they respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter what class is affected. Only in this way can the working class win and lead its allies, which in America consist of the small farmers, city poor, and the Negro people. * * *

Trade-union organizers should therefore strive not to be pure and simple trade-union secretaries, but real leaders, tribunes of the people. To play this great role, they must know Marxian theory, for "without revolutionary theory," proclaims Lenin, "there can be no revolutionary practice."

The above views were expressed by Lenin in his work, *What Must Be Done?* published in 1903, the year of the foundation of the Bolshevik Party. Its importance is stressed by Weinstone, in his statement:

No one can work effectively as a Communist or militant unionist in the labor movement who has not read and studied Lenin's master work, *What's To Be Done?*

And contrary to the statements of the defendants in the trial of the Communist leaders, claiming that the Government has, in fact, indicted a 101-year-old book—the Communist Manifesto, 1848, of Marx and Engels—and that principles valid during the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (1917) are not valid today, Weinstone declares:

Though published 46 years ago, its basic teachings are as fresh and timely as if written today.

In this connection, it is worth while quoting Mary Sumrak, editor of the *Narodni Glasnik*, and vice chairman of the Council of American-Croatian Women, who in an article entitled "Let Us Put Into Effect the Resolutions Adopted at the Second Congress of American Croatians," speaks both of economic and political problems, but with an obvious stress on the "unity and determination of Americans of Croatian descent against reaction, and for the people's democracy and peace," i. e., on politics. After declaring that—

The Council of American Croatians and the Central Organization of American Croatian Women will stay in the ranks led by H. Wallace and will urge the struggle to unmask the provocators of a third world war—

Mary Sumrak explains the necessity for American-Croatian women to educate themselves politically:

The second congress brought before us very important tasks * * *. This is what is going on and what is our first task: the struggle against high prices, against rent increase, for peace, etc., these are problems with which we have to deal and which deeply affect our life because they concern foodstuffs and the security of the working peoples.

Let us consider the Taft-Hartley Act, which is an attack on the most elementary rights of the workers and their unions. That act is a law now. If it remains a law, it will endanger our rights. It will impede the actions of organized masses and destroy the much-fought-for rights of unions. If that happens, it will affect women as much as men, because the woman is the housewife and every action for lowering the wage of her husband or her own is a blow to her family and the future of her children.

These are a few examples which I brought up to prove to the women that they must take interest in the domestic policy of our public life * * *. A short

while ago, when workers were invited to strike, in some localities, reaction¹ printed leaflets in which it appealed to women to try to prevail upon their husbands to desert their unions, because, as they said, "Your husband is losing his wages, and he could work." But we must know that it is just in organization that the strength of the working masses lies. There you can see how reaction endeavors to mislead the woman by its reactionary propaganda. This is the second reason why women ought to be interested in politics. * * *

Our clubs ought to discuss the above-mentioned tasks and take them seriously. If we are interested in what is going on in this country and in the world, it will be easier for us to build up our organization.

Finally, Mary Sumrak cannot resist pointing to the example of women in Yugoslavia, a country which—at least, according to the Communist views prevailing before the Cominform-Tito clash—had achieved "ultimate emancipation":

The anti Fascist movement of women in Yugoslavia is a large and strong movement of organized women of Yugoslavia. We have, during and after the war, endeavored to follow the example set by the women of Yugoslavia in many respects, but we neglected the example in which the greatest strength of our sisters lies, and that is the strength of the women's organization. In that respect we must follow their example.

That such views have been impressed upon the rank and file can be seen from a statement of K. Mikalacki made at a joint conference of the Slobodna Rec and the Serbian Progressive Movement in Chicago on December 7, 1947:

The workers' press is the mightiest and best weapon in the struggle for everyday life and for the final victory over reaction, and that it is so is best exemplified in France and Italy, where the workers are waging a struggle of life and death against reaction and the remnants of fascism. If those people did not have a strong and widespread workers' press, their struggle could not possibly aim at so great and ambitious an objective.

How the Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik are performing their function of "teachers" and "educators" of American Serbs and Croats can best be demonstrated by presenting their stand on various problems related to the United States:

II. THE STAND OF THE SLOBODNA REC AND NARODNI GLASNIK ON PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY

A. Foreign policy of the United States

United States diplomacy is unfair.—The Slobodna Rec of March 11, 1947, page 4, published a long letter of protest to Secretary of State George C. Marshall, by Zlatko Balokovic, chairman of the resident board of the National Committee of the American Slav Congress, who had just returned from a 3-month trip to Yugoslavia, where he attended the All-Slav Congress. Slobodna Rec dedicated a whole page to his letter under the headline "American Embassy in Yugoslavia pursuing unfriendly activities" and the subhead "Improper use of diplomatic immunity."

Of course, neither Balokovic nor Slobodna Rec ever noticed any unfriendly activity of foreign diplomatic or other missions from coun-

¹ In Communist language, the term "reaction" or "the reaction" is a collective noun used to describe anything that is anti-Communist, but particularly capitalism or systems of government, society, economics, ideology, et cetera which existed prior to the establishment of Communist régimes. "Reaction" might be translated to mean generally "the forces of reaction," the movement of the reactionaries," or "the reactionaries." The term is used as if "the reaction" were a living entity, in such phrases as, for example: "The reaction printed propaganda leaflets," "the reaction oppressed the masses," "the reaction is threatening our people with destruction," the reaction must be defeated by "world revolution."

tries of "socialism" or "people's democracies" to the United States or any improper use of their immunity.

The Truman doctrine.—In the *Slobodna Rec* of June 17, 1947, page 3, a "Poem of the Workers" is published, wherein the author, Jovan Radulovich, Detroit, Mich., attacks President Truman's doctrine as un-American: "All that is the deal of a clique of wealthy people * * * against communism and against the Russians." But the workers "are graduated politically and will not tolerate dictatorship. Whatever happens, they will not be blind slaves."

In a report at the conference of the Serbian Progressive Movement at Akron, Ohio, Nikola Drenovac, former chief editor of the *Slobodna Rec* and chairman of the Serbian Progressive Movement, said, among other things:

While we are fighting against fascism on our own Serbian national field, here in America we are, at the same time, fighting against world fascism, which is raising its head considerably, owing mainly to the so-called Truman doctrine.

The trend of such a Washington policy has given courage to Fascist elements all over the world, and has given them hope for the revival of all that has been defeated in this war by common allied forces * * *.

Such a group of criminals and people's traitors from Yugoslavia has found protection here in America and, moreover, these war criminals have helped here to persecute Communists and have been fervent executors and followers of the Truman doctrine.

We shall be defending freedom if we help with all our forces the struggle of the American people against the various Hoovers, Rankins, Tafts, and other representatives of American reaction.

In the *Narodni Glasnik* of September 17, 1947, page 4, Eusibio Ruic expresses the Communist view on American foreign policy in his article entitled, "The Lack of Knowledge of True Reality."

President Truman's doctrine can rightly be called expansion, because the Truman doctrine sent American military experts to Greece and Turkey, and that is at the border of Yugoslavia and Greece. Must Yugoslavia and Russia view that American expansion with indifference? No!

The Truman doctrine will lead to a third world war, if it is consequently carried out in Europe.

Americans would contribute much more to world peace if they would stop interfering in the internal affairs of the Greek people. Better relations on the Balkans would ensue. While, as it is today, Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria are insecure, they do not know when the Greek reactionary elements will penetrate into the above states and provoke a third world war.

Greece will be the stumbling block and can be the beginning of the third world war. Who will be responsible for the third world war?

Fascism and warmongering in America.—Following strictly the Communist line, that the center of evil and trouble in the world is America, Nikola Baltich, of New York City, in his article, *Forward With the Work* (*Slobodna Rec*, December 13, 1947), says:

* * * All reactionary cliques of this country and the rest of the world are firmly determined to annihilate progress and install reaction, to deprive the people of their civil rights, and, instead of democratic rights and liberties, to organize the persecution of all progressive persons and organizations, as well as of national minorities.

The Thomas-Rankin committee has already started such terrorism in the film industry and elsewhere. This is only the beginning and if it is not stopped in time, it will spread all over the country. The persecution of the foreign-born, the persecution of colored people, the instigation to race hatred are proofs that in our country, which throughout its history has given freedom and protection to everybody, Fascist methods of persecution and oppression are being introduced.

It is needless to stress that the *Slobodna Rec* seizes every opportunity to give publicity to any statement which indicts America before the

world. So the Serbian People's Calendar Vidovdan for 1948 advertised in the Slobodna Rec of December 17, 1947, page 3, contains the article by Henry A. Wallace: "Truman's program will turn the world against America."

The United States and peace.—In the Slobodna Rec of August 9, 1947, page 2, an article is published by J. Orahovich, under the title, "The Policy of Our Government Does Not Contribute to the Cooperation Between the Great Powers Nor to World Peace."

The United States against peace.—The Narodni Glasnik of December 1, 1948, publishes under the title, "Plan for the 3-Month Campaign of the Narodni Glasnik," a report by editor "Sister Mary Sumrak" at the national conference of the Narodni Glasnik in Cleveland, Ohio. Before outlining the tasks of this paper, Mary Sumrak makes herself clear on the situation in America:

The principal forces against the establishment of peace in the world are just in this country. These forces are threatening a new war. They are responsible for the big armaments in our country. They are creating hysteria and war-mongering, and preventing a peaceful settlement of disputes between nations—in the first place, in agreement with the Soviet Union and the new democracies in Europe.

But the American people do not want war—they want peace. They have expressed that in the last election, by defeating the most reactionary elements which were waging a campaign for war, for the abolishment of all democratic rights of the American people, and the establishment of a Fascist form of government in our country. * * *

The black forces of reaction are trying to drag the world into another war. The war propaganda is going full blast. The trade-unions are in danger, the freedom and fundamental rights of the American people are in danger—in danger is the peace of the world. The people of America and of all countries are faced with fateful events.

In spite of the people's will for peace, the war propoganda and bipartisan policy of all parties of big capital, are being continued and are threatening all people. The persecution of progressive and national minorities has not been ended. It is being continued. Many of our organizations are still unjustly on the subversive list. Constitutional and democratic rights are being denied to them. Their leaders are being threatened with new persecution and deportation.

America must help Communist countries.—In a letter addressed to President Truman by Anton Gerlach and Leo Bacich on behalf of the Seventh National Convention of the Croatian Benevolent Fraternity meeting in Cleveland, June 14 and 15 (and published in the Narodni Glasnik of July 8, 1947), it was demanded that capitalistic America immediately help Communist Yugoslavia:

We, therefore, urge that Yugoslavia be added to the list of nations to receive aid from the \$350,000,000 appropriation for relief. We suggest that Yugoslavia be allotted at least \$15,000,000 to tide her over until she can stand on her own feet and feed her people from her harvest this fall.

The Marshall plan.—As on every other issue, the Narodni Glasnik assumes, in the controversy about the Marshall plan, the stand of the Communist Party. This is drastically exemplified in the article, Flying Saucers, the Marshall Plan, Dictators, and Miscellaneous, by F. Tadey:

On the Marshall plan for the recovery of European economy, tons of material have been written, countless statements issued, and many debates and speeches given, but it seems that nobody has a clear idea what that plan contains. The news from London says that Bevin, urging the European countries to accept the Marshall plan, declared that "it would be wrong to ask Marshall wherein actually his plan consists. * * * Indeed, why disturb the man? Accept it, period."

However, it looks as if something of this kind is going on: The European countries vote to aid themselves mutually and cooperate with Britain, and, with American help, build up a new economy. A controlling or ruling board would be elected or appointed, which would consist mainly of representatives of Britain and France. That board would study the situation and would order what and how it should be done. For instance, that board would say to Czechoslovakia: "Don't you now develop industry * * * You had better cultivate potatoes, and we will furnish you with the necessary industrial products." To Poland it would say: "Don't care about the potatoes, but dig coal. We shall take care of the rest." To Norway they would possibly say: "Give up manufacturing steel. Leave that to us, and you better catch fish, cut wood, and dig minerals. The rest is our concern." To Italy they would maybe say: "You give up potatoes and industry, fish and wood. We shall take care of all that, and you just keep the leftists out of the government" (Narodni Glasnik, July 11, 1947, p. 3):

The State Department—All these condemnatory opinions on United States foreign policy are even more understandable if one takes into account what kind of people, according to the Slobodna Rec, are in the State Department.

In the Slobodna Rec of May 27, 1947, p. 3, a report by Marko J. Murisich of San Francisco is published on the case of an elderly man who applied to the State Department for a passport to visit his ailing son in Yugoslavia, but was refused. In the report, which bears the title "Do They Have Any Parents' Love At All?", it is said:

Can such a thing happen in the country of Washington, in the country of Jefferson, in the country of Lincoln?

It can happen. * * *

The old man asked me: "Do people in the State Department have children?" "They certainly have," said I.

How would they feel if some ill-famed government of some foreign country would deny them the right to go abroad to see their own children? * * *

The history of this war has shown that the Fascist beasts have no more feeling toward a child than they have toward the most dangerous wild beasts. I do not know then how people in the State Department can be without parental love, or how it is possible that they do not think, at least in cases like this one, of parental love.

It seems to me that reaction in America does not feel much different from the Fascists.

This opinion still does not prevent progressives from urging the State Department to stop insulting Yugoslavia.

The Narodni Glasnik of July 8, 1947, carries a letter to Secretary of State George Marshall signed by Anton Gerlach and Leo Bacich, in which they say:

Therefore, we urge you to use your influence in the State Department to adopt a policy of friendship toward Yugoslavia and make it possible for a friendly exchange of visitors to and from Yugoslavia. * * *

We earnestly hope that these insults to the Yugoslav people will cease and make possible a better relationship between the people of the United States and Yugoslavia.

It is noteworthy how the Narodni Glasnik and people connected with it, who are never concerned about America, are worried about the interests and prestige of other countries—namely, those of socialism or of people's democracy, i. e., Soviet satellites.

The Atlantic Pact.—In the Narodni Glasnik of April 6, 1949, an editorial is dedicated to the Atlantic Pact, under the title: "A Serious Warning to the World":

The gentlemen want war, in which the people have to pay with their blood, toil, and money. The gentlemen will hoard profits, as in all other wars.

The people cannot leave to the corrupt gentlemen to decide the question of war or peace, but they must decide themselves. They must decide it through a resolute

struggle against warmongers. In that struggle millions of people are rising all over the world.

Slavery for colonial peoples.—The Narodni Glasnik of July 7, 1949, carries an editorial under the title: "Truman's 'Bold Plan'—New Slavery for Colonial Peoples," and says:

The so-called bold plan which President Truman submitted to the Congress is, in fact, nothing but a new way of enslaving the African and other colonial peoples. * * *

It is hardly disputable that the above views are entirely compliant with the official Communist Party stand on the United States foreign policy. Holding thoroughly Communist views on United States foreign-policy problems, the Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik cannot be expected to hold opinions of a different brand on matters of democracy in America and the domestic policy of the United States Government.

B. Democracy in the United States and the domestic policy of the United States Government

Dollar patriots.—In the Slobodna Rec of May 29, 1947, a poem, under the title "Enough of Suffering and Sorrow," is published by Milo Marotich, Dearborn, Mich., which assails "dollar patriots" who are preparing bills in the Congress to deprive the workers of all their rights acquired during Roosevelt America.

Break-down of capitalism.—In the Slobodna Rec of July 31, 1947, a poem, under the title "The Knight of the Dollar and the Elevator Boy," signed by "Mitar," is reprinted from Jez (the humoristic newspaper published in Belgrade, Yugoslavia). The poem is an allegorical preview of the break-down of capitalism in the United States through general strike.

Un-American activities.—In the Slobodna Rec of August 23, 1947, Stanko Vuich publishes an article against the House Committee on Un-American Activities under the title "Fifth Columnists Cannot Decide Who Is Loyal to the United States and Who Is Not."

American investments in fascism.—In an article published in the Slobodna Rec of November 19, 1947, page 3, under the title "On Armistice Day, November 11," Dushan M. Pejovich, Detroit, indulges in considerations and reflections about the connection between poor people and peace on the one hand, and millionaires and war on the other:

While the poor and war-ruined people had optimistic views about all that [after World War I], others, who were mightier and better fed, craving for revenge and war wealth, and supported morally and materially by all those who saw the salvation of humanity and their fat income from invested capital in dictators and fascism, prepared a second human bloodshed. * * *

Do those in the millionaires' offices under whose windows the parade [after World War II] is marching and those who have not yet forgotten their investments in prewar fascism—do they look upon parades as we poor, small people do, or are they laughing at our stupidity?

The lovers of peace and those who suffered from the previous wars, today dread the commercial politics and commercial maneuvering which are being pursued against the people, who want friendship and unity among nations.

Fascism in America.—In its issue of November 22, 1947, the Slobodna Rec publishes an article against the Pittsburgh Press and its main source of information, the American Srbobran—organ of the Serb National Federation, Pittsburgh, Pa., "which has * * * joined Ameri-

can national reaction in strengthening the Fascist activities in this country. * * * They seek to destroy the most democratic avenues of expression of the common people."

Reactionary America.—In his article, the London Fog (Slobodna Rec, Nov. 29, 1947), Dushan Pejovich, in his democratic zeal, assails the reactionary press in America for giving space in its columns to the wedding of Princess Elizabeth in London:

This attitude of the reactionary press in America, which from the first moment of decision shook off the King's domination, plays not only into the hands of the English King, but of all kings, former and present, and still wants to prove that such a system of government is democratic.

One of the most revealing articles was published in the Narodni Glasnik of May 9, 1947, page 3, by Mary Sumrak, first vice chairman of American Croatian Women.

United States warmongers.—An article is published under the page-wide heading Croatian women at work for a better and happier future:

On Mother's Day this year, not all graves of all soldiers who fell have yet been found. The tears of bereaved mothers have not yet dried, and already new black clouds are casting shadows over the earth; already those who from the blood of our sons and daughters are drawing personal profits are warmongering and provoking a third world war. They do not care about mothers' feelings, they do not care about anything but their greed. A handful of billionaires, who are ruthlessly plundering American mothers and taking away from them the bread from their tables, being afraid of the people, afraid that they will lose the unlimited right to profits and plunder, have plotted against the democratic peoples, who have risen from the ruins of Fascist military power, who have acquired freedom and who in their ranks are building a new world of equality and brotherhood. This small handful of ruthless and greedy people are threatening with a new war, are threatening with atomic bombs, and are bent upon taking away from millions of mothers what is most precious to them—their children.

We mothers ought to and have to stand firmly by Wallace and others who are following the policy of the late Roosevelt * * *. We must not allow our sons and daughters to be again driven to the battlefields to defend the interests of greedy imperialists * * *.

A single glance at what is happening in the Congress of our country is enough to convince us of the danger which threatens those ideas for which the World War was waged and for which our sons and daughters died. All these plans for depriving the little common men of their rights and liberties must incite us to pull together from passivity and to take an active part in the realization of the program of the late President Roosevelt, which alone leads to the realization of the ideals for which our children fell. * * *

Only through a strong mass movement will we be able to fight reaction which is provoking war. American women are organized in the Congress of American Women, which is a part of the International Women's Congress.¹ We are closely connected with these organizations and through them the women of the world. Thus linked with a strong mass movement and if we are well organized ourselves, we will be able to wage successfully the fight for a better and happier future.

The break-down of capitalism.—In Slobodna Rec of May 27, 1947, a poem is published by Sofia Mark, of Detroit, Mich., entitled "To My Son Charlie":

To raise your fist against slavery and fascism
And all other cynicism—
There will be waves of struggle for you yet,
Because the world has freedom to get.
To worry for food and other things
In the land of plenty and everything,
Your name will be in line with others, who gave
Their lives to break the chains and orders.

¹ Congress of the Womens International Democratic Federation. The Congress of American Women is listed as a Communist front organization by the Attorney General, see appendix II, p. A7.

United States Government and United States people.—In the issue of *Slobodna Rec* of September 20, 1947, Nikola Baltich publishes an article against the decision of the Department of State not to issue passports for visitors to Yugoslavia, under the title "The Voice of the People Ought To Be Heard."

It is noteworthy that here again, the writers of the *Slobodna Rec* make a distinction between the Government and the people of the United States, whereas they always identify people and government when the Soviet Union is concerned.

Wall Street, Hitler, Mussolini.—In a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Obrenija Biberdzic, of Chicago, Ill., and published in the *Slobodna Rec* of November 26, 1947, page 3, it is said:

On the whole, everything is all right. But it seems to me that those trusts of yours hate us. They would like us to be obedient slaves of Wall Street, but we want to lead our own lives. If anyone goes off his head and touches us, we will send him along the same way as Hitler and Mussolini. That is the message of eastern Europe to all those who want to subdue and oppress other peoples. With us are justice and the working people of the whole world.

Reaction against the people.—The *Narodni Glasnik* of May 9, 1947, page 3, published a report on the Women's International Democratic Federation and the Congress of American Women by Anna Seliger, writing on behalf of the Committee of the Council of American-Croatian Women in New York. The author speaks at length of the situation in America in order to make clear the tasks of the Women's International Democratic Federation, whose first meeting took place in Prague from February 20 to March 1, 1947:

The November election and other events in America showed of how great importance it is to develop as much as possible the Congress of American Women. The attack of reaction against the workers' unions and the liberties of the American people, the plundering of the people on the part of the profit-hungry capitalists and bankers, has brought about a very critical period in American history. In this period and in the future, the Congress of American Women must play a very important and extensive role; the struggle for the preservation and raising of the standard of living, the struggle for the preservation of the people's liberties and the American Constitution, the struggle for the preservation of world peace and well-being, the struggle against discrimination and equal rights for all classes of people, regardless of racial, religious, political, or any other differences.

The Congress of American Women (which numbers 200,000 members) through its commissions is holding meetings and presenting petitions in the defense of these rights and liberties, guaranteed by the American Constitution, is taking part with other organizations in the campaign for the control of prices against inflation, is waging a struggle against the antiworkers' legislation, and is participating in all fields of activity, for a betterment of the American people.

The Congress of American Women has mobilized all its local committees and members in the general campaign for the preservation of a lasting peace through the United Nations Organization, disarmament and destruction of the atomic bomb and weapons, and for world cooperation.

The Congress of American Women, as a part of the Women's International Democratic Federation, is using all means to achieve the above aims.

Therefore, I want to conclude with the wish that all our women's organizations become members of the Congress of American Women, because only if organized in a strong organization will we be able to fulfill successfully the tasks which these troubled times are imposing upon us.

Gestapo in America, freedom in Yugoslavia.—In the *Narodni Glasnik* of September 8, 1947, page 2, Peter Simrak sounds the alarm against the "Gestapo Callahan Act":

The Callahan Act¹ entitles the State attorney to arrest whom he wishes when-

¹ "An act to regulate and control the operation of foreign agencies acting within the State of Michigan; and to prescribe penalties for violations of the provisions of this act" (Michigan Public Acts of 1947, No. 270; Mich. Stat. Ann. (Callaghan), sec. 18.58).

ever he wishes, to keep his victims arrested as long as he likes, without accusation or jury. Any individual, club, or organization, which has any direct or indirect connection with a foreign state or institution may be called an agent.

Such laws used to exist in some other countries in the recent past. There were laws for thought control. There existed especially trained police who had the task of finding out what people think. * * *

Today such Fascist laws are being transplanted in the State of Michigan, and in due time, would spread all over the country. It will be possible to arrest in a Gestapo manner, without warrants, without formal accusation, without witnesses or court processes. This at least, is the idea, but the people have not yet had their say. * * *

At the same time, a special bail fund of \$250,000 is being created, so that it will be possible to free from jail people who come in conflict with the Michigan police. The people of Michigan are confronted with a great danger, but that danger threatens in the same way all others, wherever they may be. That is why their struggle is our struggle.

It is a strange coincidence that the same issue of the *Narodni Glasnik*, in which the word "Gestapo" is connected with the United States, carries a letter sent to the editor of *Narodni Glasnik* by Ruza Pinto, Yugoslav Progressive Club of Los Angeles, Calif., in which it is said of Yugoslavia: "We enjoy today pure democratic freedom under the leadership of our Marshal Tito." This, however, was before the Cominform-Tito clash.

Warmongers in America.—In the *Slobodna Rec* of August 30, 1947, Josip Rajnovich, faithfully following the Communist views of the unity of all reaction, assails "the bankrupt statesmen, diplomats, and generals of old Yugoslavia" as well as "warmongers Churchill, Hearst, and Hoover."

Un-American activities.—One might compare with the article *We Must Not Forget* by Ivan Jankovic (*Narodni Glasnik*, August 22, 1947, p. 3), the statement issued by the Croatian Fraternal Union (CFU) and published in the *Narodni Glasnik* of August 21, 1947. The officials of this organization "deny false accusation of the Un-American Activities Committee" and as—

loyal American citizens bitterly condemn any suspicions or accusations * * * against the CFU of America and its members.

We urgently petition the Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate instead, those who so brazenly and maliciously point the finger of accusation against the CFU of America, and establish their nefarious reasons for such acts.

Irresponsible elements and world war III.—In the same issue of the *Narodni Glasnik*, Mary Sumrak, vice chairman of the Council of American-Croatian Women, is addressing an invitation to the American-Croatian women to "put into effect resolutions adopted at the Second Congress of American-Croatians." Among other things, Mary Sumrak says:

During the war, the American-Croatian men and women, who were engaged in the struggle against the deadly enemy, who set himself the aim and task of conquering the world, stood by their President Roosevelt and the United Nations who fought for the defeat of fascism.

After the war, when in this country and in the world, brotherhood and unity ought to prevail, irresponsible elements rose to the surface who started launching slogans for a third world war. Such elements encountered the resistance of people like Henry Wallace, Senator Pepper, and others, who are fighting for the ideals of the true democracy for the people's rights and the unity of the peace-loving mankind.

Fascism.—The Communist view that not all fascism has been wiped out by the defeat of Nazi Germany and Japan, but that it lives on in capitalism, bent upon provoking a third world war, is expressed in a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by George Maravic of

Gary, Ind., and published in the *Slobodna Rec* of November 8, 1947, page 3, under the title "We Must Not Allow Fascism To Raise Its Head To Provoke World-Wide Bloodshed."

Anglo-American monopolists.—In an article entitled "German Property Abroad," published in the *Slobodna Rec* of July 31, 1947, page 2, Milan Slani contends that the total of German property which goes in the form of reparations into the hands of the United States and Great Britain is 10.5 billion dollars, which is more than the total amount of Soviet reparations. From such considerations the author concludes:

It is in the light of these facts that the efforts of the Anglo-American authorities and their monopolistic circles to conceal the amount and the real origin of German property abroad must be viewed.

American democracy.—One of the most indicative articles as to the stand of Nardoni Glasnik and people connected with it on American democracy was published in the issue of August 22, 1947, page 3. In this article, entitled "We Must Not Forget," Ivan Jankovich says:

In the course of these postwar years, a veil is being pulled over the eyes—a veil well-nigh mysterious, invisible, but which you still can feel. Over the daily press controlled by various automobile and steel magnates and other cartels some new lines are being put before the people. It is directed to a new hazardous step * * * to clear away the remnants of today's democracy. * * *

To achieve this we are advised to reject the unions in our daily life, because they are headed by racketeers which are leading the members of the unions to catastrophe. And in order to achieve that success, to make our work easier, they have already taken the necessary steps; they have adopted an antiworkers' law, the Taft-Hartley bill. On the political field, they are recommending a new monster. We ought to reorganize Japan, so that democracy may be safeguarded also from that side.

The storm of these pests of our days is turning to a cyclone which, on its destructive way, is pulling out and breaking, destroying, and annihilating the little moral conscience we have left. Doubt and disintegration are arising. People are asking, How and why rearm Japan and against whom?

Strange is this life, they answer us. We live in the twentieth century, in the century of wonders of technique, in the period of the atomic bomb, in a life of sudden changes in which period a friend of yesterday is tomorrow the worst enemy. Yes; such is life.

In this turmoil of immoral ethics, our immigrants are straining their eyes and ears in the expectation of some great events. Public opinion is excited and something must happen. The curtain. The iron curtain. We must peep behind it to see what is hidden there. Because we, oh, yes, we are democrats, the only "right" and "proved" system, the best system—free enterprise. We are the only ones on this earth of tears and suffering who possess something which the rest of the world does not have; yes, we possess democracy.

The ruthless people in this country are endeavoring to put in our hands in an invisible way a knife with two blades, which they would, by means of some new scientific "energy" operate in the direction of massacrering.

Oh, these Balkan people! Oh, that cursed Russia! If only she wasn't there, there would be no Tito, and there would be even no Dimitrov,¹ no Groza,² and no Albanian Enver Hoxha. How happy this world would be. We would freely spread all over Europe our tested system of the pretty harlot, which we have named democracy.

Fascism and communism.—In the *Narodni Glasnik* of May 5, 1947, page 2, Frank Borich, executive secretary of the People's Council of American-Croatians, publishes an article on the importance of the Great Second Congress of American Croatians and Croatian Women:

[The conference] was a magnificent manifestation of the unity and determination of Americans of Croatian descent against reaction, for the people's democracy and peace. * * *

¹ Georgi Dimitrov, Communist dictator of Bulgaria.

² Petru Groza, puppet Prime Minister of Rumania.

Nearly 600 delegates cheered consciously and enthusiastically in the name of all the members to stress the need of unity of the Big Three in the United Nations Organization for the uprooting of all remnants of fascism. * * *

This was especially demonstrated by the thunderous applause when the name of Henry A. Wallace was mentioned, who, through his energetic struggle for the peace program of Franklin D. Roosevelt, expresses the fervent strivings and the wishes of the great American people to help the war-devastated countries with plows and not with guns. * * *

They were not the least intimidated or impressed by the futile threatening with the "bogey" of communism, since they know that behind it is concealed the plot of the vested interests and reaction against all achievements of the American people and the freedom of other countries which they achieved after much struggle.

The American Slav Congress and communism.—Although unimpressed by the threats with the Communist "bogey" the same author, Frank Borich, is anxious to "destroy that disgusting slander." In the Narodni Glasnik of August 12, 1947, page 2, he is addressing "three very important messages to all branches of the People's Council," especially urging them to support The Slavic American, published by the American Slav Congress:

This periodical is of enormous importance, not only for us Slavs, but for all Americans. It is important especially today when reaction is endeavoring to brand all of us, who gave all that we had for the victory in the war, as "fifth columnists." We must destroy that disgusting slander and prove to the people of America that we Slavs are among the best and most loyal citizens of America, who always fought for its democratic traditions and democratic ideals. The Slavic American will play here a great role. That is why we must divulge it, not only among Americans of Slavic origin but among others as well.

True Americanism.—The Communist view that only "progressive" Americanism is true Americanism is expressed in the article, Clear the Smog, by John Vidmar, Jr., president of the Yugoslav-American Youth Club Unity, Pittsburgh, Pa. (published in the Narodni Glasnik of October 2, 1947, p. 8):

From the very moment of our birth, we have been "Red-baited," which causes confusion among some of our present members. Clear your minds, brothers and sisters. * * *

Our position of fighting for the foreign policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, of friendship with the U. S. S. R., Yugoslavia, and all of our wartime allies, for an everlasting peace; our policy to fight discrimination, white chauvinism, and all other tendencies that lead to fascism, gives us the privilege of being fighters for true Americanism, of building an America on true democratic lines.

Break-down of capitalism.—In the Slobodna Rec of September 18, 1947, support is urged "to our democratic newspaper, which is lashing the Fascists, whose chains are breaking, so that we must do everything to break the last link."

In the Slobodna Rec of August 12, 1947, page 3, Krcun Sekulich seized the opportunity of writing an obituary in the form of a poem to suggest the inevitability of the break-down of capitalism:

And you died calmly, full of youthful dreams * * *
Of the old world crumbling and falling apart.

"Every one of us a Communist."—And if the old world is falling apart, then, according to the Narodni Glasnik, nothing remains but to join the Communists. In its issue of August 21, 1947, the Narodni Glasnik publishes a letter received by Marko Papa of Pittsburgh, Pa., from his daughter in Paris under the title "Many Strikes Are Breaking Out in Paris." In that letter the author, according to the Narodni

Glasnik, "pictures the situation in Paris and expresses his wishes and the wishes of French workers":

* * * What we have lived through here ought to make every one of us a Communist, that is, a true Communist and not, as some are, only with words and not with sentiments.

Here every now and then strikes are breaking out, one after another. These days such a demonstration took place that the police was powerless. I am glad that the people here will some day embrace the idea of communism * * * because there will be more freedom and less suspicion among peoples.

Moral and political terrorism in the United States.—In such a country as the United States, it appears from the above statements that the Slobodna Rec has for 13 years been doing "noble work," according to Milan Polovina of San Pedro, Calif. (Thirteen Years of Noble Work, Slobodna Rec, Dec. 17, 1947):

Thanks to the capitulation of the people who succeeded the great Roosevelt at the helm of this great country of ours, to the monopolistic and reactionary elements of the country, an unprecedented persecution of progressive and democratic forces is being carried out, and moral and political terrorism is being made possible. The consequences of such a domestic policy of our Government and the determination of the reaction to stifle the people's liberties and American democracy must not be underestimated.

They not only endanger the existence of the patriotic followers of progressive thought and our democratic institutions, but such a policy is endangering the existence of a free America—the America of Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt. Such a policy, if continued, will inevitably deliver America into the hands of fascism. * * *

Our workers' unions are being snatched from the hands of progressive workers' leaders and by means of laws such as the Taft-Hartley bill are becoming the prey of monopolistic lackeys. The Taft-Hartley bill is only the beginning of aggression, of the organization of American industrialists against the workers' and progressive institutions. This aggression by the representatives of American monopolists in the Republican Congress jeopardizes all achievements which the American working people have made in the course of their hard struggle for the last 25 years.

The campaign of the reactionary press and radio against the Soviet Union; our help to the Monarcho-Fascists in Greece, Turkey, and Italy and China; against the interests of those countries—all this leads to one goal: The third world carnage and fascism.

Whether these antipeople's forces, here and in the world, will succeed in realizing their diabolic plans, depends very much on the energetic resistance which the democratic and progressive forces here and in the world will be able to oppose in the struggle for the preservation of world peace and the democratic achievements of peace-loving mankind. This antipeople's offensive will not, and cannot, succeed if that resistance is strong enough; if that resistance results from a united front of all progressive and democratic forces, workers' and peasants' unions and organizations, and the democratically minded intelligentsia.

Bearing in mind that our Slobodna Rec is also closely connected with the struggle against the enemies of the working people, against warmongers and fascism, bearing in mind that it is closely connected with the struggle for peace and international friendship, our tasks are clear and well defined.

Truman and Wall Street want war.—Never missing an opportunity to oppose the United States Government to the people, the Narodni Glasnik of January 12, 1949, in its editorial, analyzes Truman's budget plan and declares:

We have said that Truman's whole program is based on Wall Street's war plans. * * *

The people must understand this and demand President Truman and the Congress to put an end to the cold war and the spending of money for war aims. Instead of war material, houses, schools, and hospitals ought to be built. The people must have greater social security and a better life. The people want peace, not war.

America rewarding war criminals.—The strike wave in France in January 1949 incites the Narodni Glasnik to the following considerations:

According to news from France, workers in various state-owned plants and factories have gone, or are about to go, on strike * * *

They are striking in protest against the planned return of nationalized industry to their prewar owners. * * *

This seems to be part of the ingratiating and submission to the American bankers and monopolists who, with the help of our Government are waging a campaign for free enterprise all over the world. * * *

That is not surprising. Our powerholders have been the first to forgive the sins of the Nazis. The French reactionaries had only to watch what General Clay¹ is doing in Germany, to come to the conclusion that, if the Americans can set Hitler's henchmen free, it is a sign for them to set free their own domestic traitors and moreover to reward them.

(Narodni Glasnik, January 14, 1949; editorial: The Rewarding of War Criminals).

Truman does not want peace.—In the editorial of the Narodni Glasnik from January 24, 1949, President Truman's inauguration speech is commented upon, and the conclusion is expressed in the title "Truman Does Not Want Peace."

Going the imperialistic way.—In the Narodni Glasnik from January 25, 1949, an editorial on the withdrawal of the CIO from the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) is published under the title "Going the Imperialistic Way," in which it is said:

From all that, it can clearly be seen that Carey² and the rest of the clique are holding the interests of the Marshall plan and their masters from Wall Street above the interests of the workers.

III. THE STAND OF THE SLOBODNA REC AND NARODNI GLASNIK ON YUGOSLAVIA BEFORE THE COMINFORM-TITO CLASH

The above statements seem to prove convincingly that the attitude of the Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik toward the existing democratic order of their own country, the United States, is one of strong disapproval. However, the tone swings from sharpest criticism to boundless praise when the new Communist regime in Yugoslavia (until the Cominform-Tito conflict, June 28, 1948) is concerned. The Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik do not hesitate to draw comparisons between the United States and Yugoslavia whereby the United States is always—without a single exception—the loser.

Example to the World.—In the greeting to the working youth on the Samac-Sarajevo Railroad from the delegates of the county conference of American Democratic Serbs gathered around the progressive newspaper Slobodna Rec, it is said that:

The building of the Samac-Sarajevo³ Railroad line is unique in history. It can serve as holiest example of the devotion of the young generation of Tito's Yugoslavia to economic and cultural progress, an example not only to the people of the FPR Yugoslavia, but to all democratic nations of the world (Slobodna Rec of May 27, 1947).

¹ Gen. Lucius B. Clay (then) military governor of Germany.

² James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO and leader at that time of the anti-Communist faction of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (CIO). Mr. Carey is presently administrative chairman of the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (CIO), the union established by the CIO in opposition to the UERMWA, the latter having been ousted from the CIO in November 1949 because of its Communist leadership.

³ The Samac-Sarajevo railway was one of the so-called youth projects. It was a special ground for indoctrination of foreign youth who, while not working on the railway, were indoctrinated with Communist philosophy.

In the Slobodna Rec of June 26, 1947, appears a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Michael and Eugenia Pramenko, Anaconda, Mont., in which the Chetniks are blamed for most of the misery endured by the civilian population, and the new Communist regime is highly praised.

Everybody is free.—In the Slobodna Rec of August 5, 1947, a report is published on the "Magnificent Welcome" to Bozo Galeb and Martin Zoric in Cupertino, Calif., returning from a visit to Yugoslavia, where Galeb is quoted as saying:

The people cleaned up the country forever. It has forged together not only the brotherhood and unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but also the brotherhood and unity with all other Slav nations which fought for the same cause * * *. The people are very gay and entirely free * * *. All land is divided among the peasants. Everybody has the same rights and the same duties.

Everybody can come to meetings and say what he desires and feels. Every peasant and worker, every citizen, can openly and publicly criticize all that he does not like and that he deems wrong. What the people ask for they get. The people complement the authorities. They dismiss from power anybody who does not act correctly and well.

Progressing in every way.—In the Slobodna Rec of September 11, 1947, page 2, a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia is published under the heading "Yugoslavia Is Progressing in Every Way."

Government by the people.—In the Slobodna Rec of August 5, 1947, a letter is published, allegedly received from Yugoslavia by M. Marich, in which it is said that:

The imperialists dislike the present state of affairs in Yugoslavia, because it is the people who rule there now.

Country of the working people.—In another letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia, by Milovan Vojnovich, Packwood, Wash., and published in the Slobodna Rec of August 9, 1947, it is said:

The face of our country is being changed, and it is the country of the working people.

Everything belongs to the people.—In another letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Milan Marich, Chicago, Ill., and published in the Slobodna Rec of August 21, 1947, it is said:

With us there is voluntary work, because the people know that everything belongs to them.

World admires Yugoslavia.—A letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by M. Budimirovich, Lincoln Park, Mich., published in the Slobodna Rec on September 13, 1947, was printed under a two-column-wide title: "The Over-all Development and Progress of Yugoslavia Receives the Admiration of the Whole World."

The economic policy of Yugoslavia even has poets among people connected with Slobodna Rec, such as Dushan Popovich, Chicago, Ill., whose poem The Five-Year Plan is published in the Slobodna Rec of September 13, 1947.

*Situation critical * * * but not in Yugoslavia.*—In the Slobodna Rec of October 11, 1947, a long article is published on Yugoslavia, signed by Milan Polovina, who returned to America after spending 3 months in that country. As usual, the opportunity is taken to draw a parallel between a Socialist country and the capitalist United States of America, which always ends in condemnation of the United States. Polovina says:

When after much trouble I finally obtained a passport for Yugoslavia, our authorities warned me that I was traveling on my own responsibility since

in Yugoslavia the situation was so critical that the American authorities would not guarantee my security.

I wonder from what sources our authorities are getting their information, but I found that such information was wrong, since the situation in Yugoslavia not only is not critical but is much more stable and normal than for instance in Italy, which is under the protection of America.

After singing the praises of the Yugoslav industry, education, transport organization, agriculture, and general reconstruction, Polovina goes on saying:

Unemployment, that sword of Damocles which is constantly hanging over the heads of the working people and darkening the joy of life in capitalist countries, does not exist in new Yugoslavia.

Polovina admits that there is great scarcity of certain goods, owing to the drought, but there, too, America has its share of responsibility:

The people's authorities have, for instance, endeavored to buy wheat and potatoes from us in America, but they were refused, although at that time we had so many potatoes that we destroyed hundreds of carloads. The reasons for which wheat and potatoes were refused to Yugoslavia are obvious to everyone, and there is no need to give them here.

As for political rights and liberties in Yugoslavia, Polovina admits that—

many priests are in jail, as well as peasants, government employees, lawyers, etc.—

but strongly refutes all "stories" about the persecution of the Church in Yugoslavia, since all these people were jailed

because they worked against the new people's authorities. Those people are angry and protesting, but Kardelj¹ very rightly said of them: "The dogs bark, but the caravan goes on."

As regards the new regime in Yugoslavia, the author of the article says that during his 3 months' stay he

was able to ascertain that the present people's authorities are based on granite foundations and that no reaction can shake it, be it domestic, foreign, or combined.

Writing before the Cominform-Tito clash, Polovina says emphatically:

The people's leadership and the people's authorities in Yugoslavia, with the great statesman and glorious soldier Marshal Tito at their head, cannot and will not desist from the road which they are following until they realize a new and more joyful life for all peoples in Yugoslavia.

Yes,

concludes Polovina,

the situation is critical indeed, but not in the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia must not be criticized.—According to the *Slobodna Rec* of October 22, 1947, page 3, Anton Gerlach, executive secretary of the American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, on the occasion of a solemn dinner in honor of 70 Yugoslav "returners"² to Yugoslavia, went as far as to warn them against any criticism of Yugoslavia:

Brothers, when you get to Yugoslavia, beware of those who are critical of the state of affairs in Yugoslavia. * * * They are the remnants of old exploiters and oppressors of Yugoslav peasants and workers. * * * They will complain that there is no freedom in Yugoslavia. They will ask you how they could get to America and other things.

¹ Edvard Kardelj, vice premier of Yugoslavia.

² The term "returners" is used to describe immigrants in this country who have returned to Yugoslavia and other Communist-controlled countries under a Communist-sponsored repatriation program.

And now Gerlach warns about the state of affairs in America :

Tell them that the American people do not have the same opinion about Yugoslavia and other democratic countries as Truman, Marshall, Hoover, and Taft, and others. Tell them that we have strong and powerful unions and millions of organized workers.

For the people.—Yugoslavia is repeatedly cited as a country with a people's regime. So, in an article entitled "The London Fog," by Dushan M. Peyovich (wherein the author assails the short-sightedness of the London people and the "reactionary press in America"), it is said that :

In some countries, the last war of liberation brought about great changes in the political structure and in the social life, so that today, especially in Yugoslavia, the whole state apparatus is following the people's will.

Through this London Fog one can still see that a majority of the people of that island have not yet started seeing with their own eyes and that they are still lagging behind many peoples, for whom the last war opened the eyes and showed what the popular masses are striving for (Slobodna Rec, Nov. 29, 1947, p. 3).

No exploitation.—In a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Milovan Akika, Midland, Pa., and published in the Slobodna Rec of December 10, 1947, page 3, Yugoslavia is again set up as an example of a country which has freed itself from the evils of capitalism :

Yugoslavia is being slandered because it is no longer possible in that country for one person to enrich himself at the expense of another person and live on the labor of others.

Reaction is powerless.—In a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Jovo Skulich, Chicago, Ill., and published in the Slobodna Rec of December 24, 1947, page 3, Yugoslavia is pictured as a country which has done away with reaction once and for all time :

As to what you write about enemies over there, I can tell you that we have them here, too ; I mean reaction. But our country has laid such firm foundations for a new future and new life, that nobody, not even the strongest enemy, can destroy it. * * *

Democracy in Yugoslavia compared to America.—In the Slobodna Rec of May 29, 1948, a very long article is published under the title "On Democracy in Yugoslavia" (p. 2) and "What Does Democracy Mean in Yugoslavia" (p. 3). This article is the final part of an article published in the periodical T & T, edited by Louis Adamic.

Slobodna Rec introduces the author, Donald L. Hesson, as a well-known lawyer from Chicago.

His report is "a strong rebuke to the insidious slanders and fabrications of the warmongers, American reactionaries, and the Chetnik-Ustashi¹ coalition. Because of the attempt of some circles to prevent the people from getting an objective picture and correct report of the real state of affairs in Yugoslavia, we are publishing here the end of Mr. Hesson's article."

In his article Hesson says, among other things :

In America we argue that socialism with its attendant restrictions and regulations is not democratic ; from the point of view of the average Yugoslav, however, it is democratic ; it has brought him a greater measure of economic freedom and security in terms of higher wages, more consumer goods, and increased educational, medical, and cultural facilities. * * *

¹ Chetniks was the popular term used to describe the Royal Yugoslav Army in the Homeland during the Nazi occupation which was under the leadership of the martyred Gen. Draza Mihailovich. The Ustashi was the Fascist Party of Croatia.

Comparing freedom in Yugoslavia with freedom in the United States, Hesson says:

Freedom, according to the Yugoslav notion, is not static but a dynamic force springing from the relationship between the individual and society. Since man is born into a social group, they believe his freedom comes from participating in and becoming part of that group. Hence emphasis is laid upon those activities which will draw the individual into the group and cause him to identify his interests with the interests of the group as a whole. I noted that instead of using the words "I" and "mine," most Yugoslavs said "we" and "ours." From this basic notion, it is evident why the Yugoslavs in reorganizing their economy have to a great extent eliminated economic competition for individual gain, and why cooperation is emphasized instead.

On the other hand, the underlying idea in America is that man is born free, hence it follows that any restriction imposed upon his "natural freedom" by the social group in which he lives is a limitation or curtailment of freedom. Accordingly, the individual thinks of freedom in terms of rights which must be wrenched from society and tends to look upon the group interest as being hostile to his own. This tends to create a conflict between the individual and the group and leads to the individual seeking after security and power on an individual basis without regard to the welfare of the group as a whole.

Individual initiative is encouraged in Yugoslavia, but—unlike in America, where it is directed toward the accumulation of property even at the expense of others—there it is directed toward the advancement of the group as a whole. Recognition comes not from the size of a man's bank balance as is generally the case here, but from the service he renders to the community. To the Yugoslavs, rugged individualism and enterprise operated solely for personal gain constitute a force which tends to destroy social values because it places property values above human values. Whatever the essence of true human freedom may be, surely it must include economic security and realization of comradeship.

Hesson admits some degree of persecution being applied in Yugoslavia, but is very quick to find excuses for the Yugoslav Communist regime:

That it has dealt harshly by our standards with a few people, no one can deny; but when viewed in the light of history and the efforts of other peoples in the past to liberate themselves from the forces of oppression and exploitation, it is remarkable that the cost has not been greater.

Workers are their own masters.—Not a single opportunity is missed to show Americans how fine other countries are, because they are countries of socialism. So in the *Narodni Glasnik* of July 8, 1947, (p. 2), Anton Minerich, in one of his articles from his journey through Yugoslavia, writes:

These miners worked before for foreign owners and now they are masters of their own mines, as they are masters of their own land.

People are the government.—In the same copy of *Narodni Glasnik*, which never tires of emphasizing the conflict of the interests of the American Government and the American people, carries (p. 5) a two-column headline over a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Steve Miletich (Braco), South Chicago, Ill.:

With us it is easy to agree with the government since the whole people are the government.

In another letter published in the same issue of the same newspaper—which is, in the same way as the *Slobodna Rec* and the *Daily Worker*, constantly assailing the reactionary press of America—a young man is quoted as writing to his aunt in the United States.

Dear Aunt: Read the newspaper that writes what is true, and its name is *Narodni Glasnik*.

A little further, another letter allegedly from Yugoslavia is published, evidently to make people in capitalist America think about the wonders of socialism in practice:

Here all work is done, because everybody knows that he works for himself and because we have full equality of rights and freedom.

And still further in the same issue of the same newspaper, a fourth letter allegedly from Yugoslavia is published in which it is proclaimed that—

The 5-year plan will bring well-being to our peoples.

Powerful activity.—In the Narodni Glasnik of July 30, 1947, three letters allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Terezia Marich, Canton, Ohio, are published under the following titles:

“From the Letters of Our People in the Old Country, a Powerful Activity and Elan Can Be Seen Through Which a Free Country Is Being Built.”

“Factories Are Working Full Blast and Peasants Are Cultivating More and More Land To Feed Themselves and the Workers in the Factories.”

Old and new Yugoslavia.—In the Narodni Glasnik of August 7, 1947, page 2, a report on “A Visit to the Yugoslav Ship *Radnik*”, by Petar Simrak, is published, in which the author describes his visit with the ship’s cook, who obviously tried to picture as strikingly as possible the difference between the old and new regimes in Yugoslavia:

The difference between the life of sailors during the old regime in Yugoslavia and today is enormous. In old Yugoslavia I had to cook separately for the ship’s captain, separately for the other officers, separately for the crew, and separately for myself; whereas today, by golly, we all eat out of the same pot, and we are all satisfied.

While the cook was telling this story an officer came in and asked the cook for a few plates. “There they are; take them and carry them,” replied the cook.

Following is an excerpt from a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Peter Buneta, St. Louis, Mo., published in the Narodni Glasnik of August 11, 1947, page 4:

The people are building their country enthusiastically. Many people before the war thought of Yugoslavia as a country where uncivilized people live, people unable to live by themselves, who should be ruled by foreigners, etc. But the people pulled themselves together at a certain moment; they did not want to be exploited any longer, but wanted to be free and their land and their country to belong to them.

We are not the least disturbed by Truman’s policy, by Churchill’s wish to divide Europe, by speeches of DeGaulle,¹ by the wishes of De Gasperi.² We know them well; they cannot deceive us, because we have suffered enough and shaken off our yoke, so that nobody can again bring us to the state of affairs which existed earlier.

Sorry they left Yugoslavia.—In the Narodni Glasnik of August 15, 1947, page 3, an article was published, signed by Katarina Luchich, under the heading “The Refugees Are Cursing the Gentlemen Who Deceived Them,” which contains excerpts from letters allegedly written by persons who fled from Yugoslavia and now regret that they did so.

Our teacher and savior, Tito.—In the same issue of the Narodni Glasnik (p. 4), a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by S. Busich, South Chicago, Ill., is published, in which it is said:

Our Marshal Tito is good for the people. He is our teacher and our savior and creator of F. P. R. Yugoslavia. This Government of ours is and will be doing

¹ Gen. Charles de Gaulle, leader of the French wartime resistance movement.

² Alcide de Gasperi, Prime Minister of Italy.

wonders for us working people. [This was, however, before the Cominform-Tito clash.]

Nowhere in the world.—In an article wherein she describes her trip on the Yugoslav ship *Radnik* from New York to Canada, Mary Perkins (Babin) says:

I think that nowhere in the world is there such comradely behavior and working élan as on this Yugoslav ship (Narodni Glasnik, September 3, 1947, p. 3).

No clothing, but democratic freedom.—In the Narodni Glasnik of September 8, 1947 (p. 4), a letter is published allegedly received from Slovenia (Yugoslavia) by Lynn Whitney, "famous radio actress" in Hollywood, from her nephew. After asking for old clothing ("if you have some old clothing for me and my wife, we shall gladly accept it"), he goes on to say:

We enjoy today pure democratic freedom, under the leadership of our Marshal Tito. * * *

Today people of leisure and exploiters do not belong to our just and working state. We have the watchword "all for one and one for all"—believe me * * * that the big capitalists hate us and invent anything to harm us.

The bourgeoisie does not like our regime, because it sees that everyone is receiving what he earns, that nobody has any other master but the state, which is the people themselves. The bourgeoisie is slandering us, because it sees that we are united. It would like the gentlemen again to be at the helm. We will not let them. As long as we have our leader, Marshal Tito, the capitalistic hopes to rule people will not come true. * * *

Please give this letter to some periodical to publish it, so that the workers of America might see that what their press writes about us is not true.

Charges false.—In the Narodni Glasnik of September 15, 1947 (p. 3), the Yugoslav regime is defended against the charge of godlessness:

DEAR AUNT: Do not believe that we do not go to church and that we do not believe in God. [Excerpt from a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia.]

Freedom in Yugoslavia and America.—In a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Kata Basich, Cleveland, Ohio, and published in the Narodni Glasnik of September 15, 1947, page 4, a parallel is drawn between progress and freedom in Yugoslavia and in the United States:

In the 5-year plan everything is foreseen that has to be done every day, week, month, year, etc. * * *

Once the 5-year plan is put into effect, I believe that even the Americans will envy us. Not for our wealth, because we are still much poorer, but for the pace of our progress and self-help.

If only the warmongers would leave us in peace we would progress very quickly. * * *

Foreign newspapermen who are on the side of the capitalists shout that there is no freedom with us. Yes; with us there is no freedom for those who would like to sell us, to use us for some loan, and that we afterward work for foreigners as in chains, just for a piece of bread. Freedom with us is better than in America, where you may perhaps write everything, but you must not think of a better life. * * *

Following is an excerpt from a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Marko Krnjich of Gary, Ind., and published in the Narodni Glasnik of September 17, 1947, page 4:

The people themselves work, the people decide, the people themselves enjoy their property in complete freedom.

A new world.—Yugoslavia is sometimes pictured in the Narodni Glasnik as a "new world," different from what the world has been for "thousand of years" (excerpts from the travel with the second group

of "returners" to Yugoslavia published in the Narodni Glasnik, October 1, 1947).

Comrade Jardas said, among other things, that we who return home are not returning to the old country which we left dozens of years ago, but to a new world which is ruled today by those who were oppressed, exploited, and humiliated for thousands of years. * * *

We travelers saw and felt that new world, about which comrade Jardas spoke, immediately. On the ship there is a new spirit, a new atmosphere, entirely different from the one in which we lived in Canada and America. The commandant and the crew of the ship are people from our workers' ranks, who think the same way as we workers do—very friendly, hospitable, modest, and sympathetic. They do not consider themselves to be above us, but one of us.

Strikes in America, reconstruction in Yugoslavia.—In the Narodni Glasnik of October 10, 1947, page 4, again a parallel is drawn between Communist Yugoslavia and the capitalistic United States (excerpts from a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Djuro Brkljacic, McKees Rocks, Pa.):

The life in our country, which has been much ravaged and plundered by various enemies of our peoples, is not bad, as you are informed by the McCormick and Hearst press.

I read often in the newspapers about strikes with you and also hear it over the radio. With us there are no strikes; the people, the youth especially, are participating in masses in the work of reconstruction of our devastated homeland, and you have heard about our youth railway lines, Breko-Banovici and Samac-Sarajevo, at which, besides our youth, the youth from all the world worked.

New type democracy, without American exploiters.—Even more outspoken is the criticism of the United States, as well as of Canada, contained in another letter, allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Frank Celicek, McKees Rocks, Pa., from his daughter, Barbara Krcelic, who returned to Yugoslavia with the Yugoslav ship *Radnik* (Narodni Glasnik, October 16, 1947, p. 3):

I really would never like to go back to Canada or America. Here the standard of living is, of course, lower than in America, but we are building something huge, great—a beautiful and happy future. We are building a workers' state; when we shall have built our industry, then the worker here will really be a happy man. We live all the same way. There is no privileged class which would live at the expense of others.

Our country has changed completely, or rather the relations between people and work has changed radically. * * *

Throughout the struggle for the liberation of our peoples, we at the same time were creating a new social order in our country; we were creating a state of the working people in which all the power derives from the people and belongs to the people. That is one of the greatest victories of our struggle—the creation of our true people's government, government of the working people of towns and villages. * * *

All land is distributed to the peasants. There are no more feudal estates in our country. All industry is nationalized; it belongs to the working people. The banks, the means of transportation, mineral riches, and in general all natural riches belong to society. Forever is liquidated the capitalist class, oppressor of the working masses, and the working masses have become the ruling factor of the country. * * *

We have created a new type of state and democracy in which all power, as foreseen in the Constitution, derives from the people and belongs to the people. Can there be more democratism than in our people's government, or can you say that you in America have such a democracy? It is true that your Constitution gives formulas and rights to the citizens of the United States, but these rights remain only on paper, they cannot be won, because the influence of the monopolies and capital does not permit the working masses to take part in the Government. * * *

During the war I performed the duty of a political commissar in our partisan army, and now I am captain of our heroic army—an army such as no country has, which is ready to fight for the salvation of all freedom-loving mankind. * * *

I believe that you are getting various news about our country, that our enemies (the American reactionaries) want to picture our country in a different way from what it really is. We know that very well, but that will not disturb us the least in our struggle for a better life for the working masses and in our efforts to create well-being for people who create and work, and, on the other hand, to make impossible the return to power of the capitalist clique, which was sitting on the back of our people and carrying away the fruits of their work. That is what the American capitalists do not like, because we do not allow them to make out of our country a semicolonial and dependent country which they could exploit to their will. They had such opportunities during the old regime in Yugoslavia, * * * but now that the new Yugoslavia does not tolerate that, then it is not good, there is no democracy in it, etc. (Excerpts from a letter allegedly received from Yugoslavia by Joe Fabian, Narodni Glasnik, October 16, 1947, p. 5.)

No oppression or exploitation.—In an article written by M. J. Brzovic, Chicago, to commemorate the second anniversary of the proclamation of the F. P. R. Yugoslavia, November 29, 1945, and published in the Narodni Glasnik of October 16, 1947, page 6, it is said:

This is the day when the fate of all those who for years and centuries oppressed and exploited our people was sealed. This is the day which gave to the people of Yugoslavia the opportunity to make through the 5-year plan a backward agricultural country into a modern industrial country which will satisfy all people's needs.

New democracy.—The Narodni Glasnik of June 11, 1948, also reprinted, under the title "What Democracy Means in Yugoslavia," an important excerpt from the article of Donald L. Hesson, a Chicago attorney, published in Louis Adamic's periodical T & T. The author describes "the new democracy" in Yugoslavia as "the desire of the people to build a new society and their spirit of cooperation."

The Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik do not show the slightest inclination to understand democracy in America such as it is, but readily opened their columns to Hesson, who declares:

I begin to understand democracy from the Yugoslav point of view.

IV. STAND OF THE SLOBODNA REC AND NARODNI GLASNIK ON THE COMINFORM-TITO CLASH

It might be assumed that this enthusiasm and the complete devotion to Yugoslavia derive from the sentimental attachment of "progressive" American Serbs and Croats to the country of their birth. But that is not the case. The "progressive" Serbs gathered around the Slobodna Rec represent the lowest percentage of "progressives" in any Slavic national groups in America—around 5 percent. And that minority is not made up of people who love the old country, cherish the memories of their national past, respect the traditions and cultural heritage of their ancestors; neither are they people who supposedly relinquished all the links with the old country in order to embrace America wholeheartedly and become good Americans.

"Progressive" American Serbs are people whose attitude toward Yugoslavia always depended only upon the regime in it or, to put it more precisely, on the attitude of the regime in Yugoslavia toward the Soviet Union. So, owing to such changes, there can be observed three distinct phases of the "progressive" Serbs' attitude toward Yugoslavia:

(a) *Before World War II.*—It is a well-known fact that Yugoslavia was one of the most thoroughly anti-Communist countries and one of the few countries which—until 1940, when, under the threat of Nazi Germany, relations were established—did not even maintain diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The newspaper *Slobodna Rec*, which is identical with the “Serbian Progressive Movement,” adopted from its very beginning, in 1934, an attitude of utmost enmity against the existing order in Yugoslavia.

In Yugoslavia, before World War II, as in any country where there is some freedom of thought and expression, many patriots and democrats were critical of the government’s policies. But the arguments of those people were always distinctly different from the Communists’ criticisms. While the first criticized in order to eradicate some evils and thus strengthen the country which had to face the formidable threat of Nazi Germany, the Communists did their best to formulate their criticism and launch slogans so as to demoralize, to spread defeatism, weaken the inner power of resistance of the country, and create confusion and chaos—the ideal ground for communism. The democratic opposition was criticizing the government’s policy for not being democratic enough or for failing to equip militarily the nation to resist any attack on its independence. The Communists’ criticism was following the usual destructive pattern which, with a few adaptations, is applied to any country of the globe which is not Communist and does not strictly obey Moscow’s orders. The Communists contended that the peasants were economically ruined and culturally backward owing to the lack of interest on the part of the regime and the greed of the capitalists; that the wages were too low and the workers did not enjoy any social care or security; that the capitalists, domestic and foreign, drew huge profits, in contrast to the misery of the broad masses of the people; that the “tyranny of King Alexander” and the “great Serbian hegemony” had deprived the people of its civil rights; that a powerful “military clique” was exercising an overwhelming influence on the state affairs, and so forth.

After Hitler’s rise to power, the Communists applied in all countries of the world their Trojan-horse tactics of anti-Fascist people’s fronts, which were adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International—Comintern—in July 1935. As everywhere else in the world, these tactics put the Communists in the position of influencing more strongly the democratic forces in their political thinking and action. Nevertheless, in Yugoslavia no people’s front was formed, and the line of democratic opposition remained different from the communistic.

The *Slobodna Rec* from the very beginning assumed the Communist stand, and until Tito’s rise to power it remained basically inimical to the Yugoslav Government.

(b) *From Tito’s rise to power until the Cominform-Tito clash.*—But when the old capitalistic order was eliminated in Yugoslavia and Tito firmly installed in power, the *Slobodna Rec*, as can be seen from the quoted examples, executed a complete about-face; and its attitude toward the regime in Yugoslavia became one of complete approval, lavish praise, and entire solidarity. All of a sudden everything became all right in Yugoslavia. Owing to the communistic interpretation, the people had taken its destiny in its own hands; all political, social, economic, and cultural problems were to be solved in the best way. The foreign policy particularly was satisfactory since, instead of

running against the people's will, that is, with the western democracies—it was based on the closest collaboration with the Soviet Government.

Overnight, the "progressive" American Serbs around the *Slobodna Rec*, American Slav Congress, and similar organizations had become Yugoslav patriots, such patriots that they forgot they were Americans.

The same can be said of progressive American Croats, in spite of some differences which exist between the two groups. Namely, the percentage of "progressives" among American Croats is much higher than among American Serbs. Then the *Narodni Glasnik* is a much older progressive newspaper than the *Slobodna Rec* and thus with a much older militant background than the *Slobodna Rec*. But their criteria, their yardsticks, are the same. As a result, progressive American Serbs feel uncomfortable because of their rather poor "progressive" record and class-consciousness; "progressive" American Croats proudly proclaim that in the American Slav Congress the Croats have "always been and are today the strongest group and the greatest support * * * to the work of the Congress." (See *Narodni Glasnik* of December 1, 1948, Report of Mary Sumrak.)

Mirko Markovich wrote, after his return to Yugoslavia (The *Struggle in America for a New Yugoslavia*, Belgrade, 1946, p. 24) :

The organized workers' revolutionary movement * * * was composed mainly of Croatian workers. The Serbs numbered only a few hundred.

Anyway, the period when the Soviet Government approved of the regime in Yugoslavia was also the period of boundless Yugoslav nationalism on the part of progressive American Serbs and Croats. A few examples make this point clear :

1. Perhaps the most striking example of the ideas of the people gathered in the American Slav Congress and other "progressive" organizations of Americans of Slavic descent is to be found in the announcement of a great picnic of the American Slav Congress, Midwest division, held on July 7, 1946. After saying that Slav dishes will be served by girls in Slav costumes, it announces :

One part of the proceeds is destined for the American-Slav Congress; and the other, to the orphans of Stalingrad.

Stalingrad and the sacrifices of its citizens for the whole world must be to every Slav what Thermopylae and Marathon are to the Greeks and Valley Forge and Bunker Hill are to the Americans.

Such an interpretation casts also a revealing light on the announcement that George Pirinsky, executive secretary of the American Slav Congress, will speak of the future work of the congress and how important a role it has played in the past. (*Slobodna Rec*, January 29, 1946, p. 4.)

2. On Independence Day, 1946, the Croatian organizations united in the Croatian National Council held a celebration. However, they did not celebrate the greatest American national holiday, but they proclaimed it "Croatian day" and distributed medals of the Yugoslav Red Cross to deserving persons, who distinguished themselves with their industrious work in collecting aid for the peoples of Yugoslavia.

A queer way for Americans to celebrate the greatest American national holiday.

3. In the announcement of the Serbian Congress in Pittsburgh on August 31 and September 1, 1946, an appeal is launched to give as

much help as possible for the Serbian people in the old country and cheers are addressed to the brotherhood and unity of the southern Slavs, as well as to the forthcoming congress, but the United States as such is not mentioned.

4. In the announcement of the Third American Slav Congress, September 20, 21, and 22, 1946, it is said that "for the first time will come delegates from all brotherly nations" and that brotherhood is confined to Yugoslavia, U. S. S. R., Czechoslovakia, and Poland, which all happen to be Communist-dominated. It is explained that such a congress "will be an important factor in America and in the world for the safeguarding of world peace and the best link between America and the Slav countries" (*Slobodna Rec*, September 7, p. 1).

5. The American-Serb Democratic Club, Cleveland, Ohio, celebrating the twelfth anniversary of the *Slobodna Rec* on December 1, 1946, invites "all brother Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Macedonians, as well as all friends of progress" (*Slobodna Rec*, November 27, 1946).

There is no mention of their American fellow citizens. Presumably because they consider, according to their ideas and conceptions of progress, America as a backward country and Americans as enemies of progress.

6. In an appeal to collect donations for people in Yugoslavia, especially in Lika—northwestern part of Yugoslavia—the organizer explains:

Brother Yugoslavs, do not think that I am singling out Lika from the other parts of Yugoslavia. The whole of Yugoslavia is dear to me and close to my heart, as well as the whole world, but I like Lika best.

It is noteworthy that a man with such a big heart did not find, between Yugoslavia and the whole world, a place for America, the country where he lives, whose citizenship he most probably has acquired, and where he intends to collect gifts for Yugoslavia (*Slobodna Rec*, December 4, 1946, p. 3).

7. In an invitation to a concert whose proceeds are to help war orphans in Yugoslavia, "all Slavs" and all "friends of the Yugoslav people" are invited. Americans are not mentioned. If the term "friends of the Yugoslav people" is sufficient for this, then what is the reason for singling out "all Slavs" and even putting them first (*Slobodna Rec*, December 31, 1946, p. 4).

8. *Slobodna Rec* of December 31, 1946, published the announcement of a certain V. Albanich, who makes known that he has bought 22 Yugoslav-American Communist almanacs and will send them "to all the six republics of our glorious Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia."

In Yugoslav "progressive" newspapers, it is not often that one can find the possessive pronoun "our" referred to America. As for the adjective "glorious," one can never see it in the *Slobodna Rec* or *Narodni Glasnik* connected with any other country but the Soviet Union and the Communist world.

9. In an account of the Second Congress of American Croats in Cleveland, April 13, 1947 (*Slobodna Rec*, April 24, 1947, p. 2), it is said:

The Croatian Congress manifested its feelings of brotherhood and unity among American Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrines, and Macedonians, and also with other American Slavs gathered in the American Slav Congress.

On this occasion not even all Slavs are mentioned, not to speak of Americans, regardless of national or racial origin.

(c) *The Cominform-Tito clash.*—But then came the Cominform-Tito clash, which inaugurated a third phase in the attitude of the Slobodna Rec and the Narodni Glasnik toward Yugoslavia, in which the unconditional adherence of “progressive” American Serbs and Croats to the Moscow line can be best observed by comparing the news and articles on that issue published in these two newspapers with those published in the Daily Worker.

The news about the clash was published in the Daily Worker of June 29, 1948, under the title “Cominform Raps Tito; Says Yugoslav Communist Party Heads Committed Anti-Soviet Acts, Stifled Democracy.” In an editorial—page 2—the Daily Worker commented on the Cominform’s declarations, immediately taking position in the issue:

The communiqué issued by the Communist Information Bureau * * * is a document which rests foursquare on the precepts of democracy and the unity of nations for peace.

The Slobodna Rec published the news in its issue of June 20, under the title “The Cominform Sharply Criticizes the Communist Leadership of the F. P. R. of Yugoslavia,” carrying the same communication as the Daily Worker.

The Narodni Glasnik published the news in its issue of June 30 in a page-wide headline: The Cominform criticizes Tito; the Cominform criticizes the leadership of the CPY¹; sharp criticism leveled at Marshal Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, and Rankovic,² carrying a long report on pages 1 and 3, which is practically a literal reproduction of the report published in the Daily Worker of June 29.

Under this main article, a commentary is published under the title “The Cominform Criticizes Yugoslavs in Yugoslavia,” which bears strong resemblance to the Daily Worker editorial of June 29, page 2.

In its issue of June 30, the Daily Worker published the full text of the Cominform declaration, as well as the statement of William Foster and Eugene Dennis, chairman and executive secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, respectively, greeting the Cominform declaration:

In our country, as everywhere in the world, the forces struggling for peace recognize that its cornerstone is friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, whose influence is felt increasingly among freedom-loving people in every land.

Besides the news that “Yugoslav CP refuses to accept criticism” and “Czech CP says Cominform action aids world socialism,” the Daily Worker carries two columns in which the orthodox Communist view, binding for Communists all over the world, is voiced; namely, that the Cominform, as always, was right. From the first moment, the Daily Worker endeavored to define carefully and precisely what the clash was about, what were Tito’s mistakes and deviations, and what was the correct view to be adopted by every true Marxist. It is thus interesting to quote its editorials as well as its columnists.

In his article, the Lessons of Yugoslavia, Joseph Starobin says:

Our problem remains to study the facts of our own country’s life, to deal with our own national peculiarities boldly and imaginatively, but in terms of a basic

¹ Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

² Edvard Kardelj, Vice Premier of Yugoslavia; Milovan Djilas, minister without portfolio, and Alexander Rankovic, minister of interior (which includes the secret police).

theory valid for capitalism as a whole and for our entire era. That is the Yugoslav lesson.

The other commentator, Milton Howard, entitles his article "Self-Criticism—A Creation of Marxist Democracy" and says, "The Cominform communiqué seeks more democracy and, through that democracy, a genuinely Communist struggle for peace."

In the days following, the Daily Worker went on clarifying the Communist stand in the matter. Josef Starobin, in his column Marshal Tito's Self-Indictment, July 1, 1948, stated that—

The issue is not, as the capitalist commentators say, between the authority of the Soviet Communists and the desire of the Yugoslavs for independence. Tito's attitude toward discussion shows that the issue was one of democratic discipline, which is elementary for Communists and all progressive organizational life.

* * * and now comes the call from Belgrade that the Yugoslav Communists rally around their leaders which also contains a veiled threat of force and the provocative appeal for a Balkan federation. Everybody knows that the Soviet Union rejected such a federation as unwise. Tito's call now belies his pretension of friendship for the Soviet Union. All this indicates something exceedingly corrupt in Belgrade. The document amounts to a shifty and unconvincing defense to the effect of self-indictment.

The Communist view that there is but one loyalty for any "progressive" in any part of the world, the loyalty to the Soviet Union, and consequently only one betrayal, hostility to the Soviet Union, is very clearly expressed in the editorial "A Tito-Washington Deal?":

The State Department sees a chance to buy Yugoslavia's independence. That is a straw in the wind which shows how right the Cominform criticism is. Tito's hospitality to the Soviet Union, despite hypocritical phrases, is working out inevitably as betrayal of Yugoslavia.

The Slobodna Rec of July 3, 1948, carries a large headline "The leadership of CPY¹ rejects the sharp criticism of the Cominform." The news published thereunder is partly a literal translation of the Daily Worker of June 30, page 3, under the title "Yugoslav CP Refuses To Accept Criticism," and the rest is a résumé of the Daily Worker's article.

The article The Czech CP says Cominform Declaration Aids Socialism is somewhat shorter, but obviously a translation of the same news published in the Daily Worker, June 30, page 3.

The article The Bulgarians Back the Cominform's Declaration is a translation of the same item published in the Daily Worker on July 1, 1948, page 3.

The article Trieste Communists Back the Cominform Movement is a literal translation of the same news published in the Daily Worker of July 2, 1948, page 11.

The article Albania Blasts Tito's Policy is composed of literal excerpts from the same news published in the Daily Worker of July 2, 1948, page 3.

The Slobodna Rec did not fail to inform its readers that "The American CP greeted the Cominform committee" and to publish excerpts from the Foster-Dennis statement in the Daily Worker of June 30, page 3.

The same issue of Slobodna Rec carries also the news "Jacques Duclos says that Tito is becoming a tool of imperialism," which is a

¹ Yugoslav Communist Party

quotation from Duclos' article in the French Communist organ *L'Humanité* wherein he concludes:

It is evident indeed that if you provoke the Soviet Union, you become a tool in the hands of imperialist leaders.

The *Slobodna Rec* reproduces this item verbatim from the *Daily Worker* of July 2, page 11.

Still the same issue of the *Slobodna Rec* (July 3, 1948) carries an editorial about the Cominform communiqué reading:

In order that our readers be best acquainted with the misunderstanding which broke out between the CPY and the Communist Party in Europe, we are publishing in this issue, the complete text of the Communist Information Bureau's communiqué, in which the attitude and policy of the CPY are most severely criticized. * * *

Because of this public criticism of the wrong policy of Yugoslav Communist leaders, the reaction is overwhelmed with joy. * * *

The circles of reaction want to utilize this conflict between the Yugoslav and other European Communists for their hellish war plans.

At this point, it is interesting to draw a parallel between the editorials of the *Slobodna Rec*, on the one side, and the *Daily Worker* and the Foster-Dennis statement, on the other side:

SLOBODNA REC

DAILY WORKER

The peoples of Yugoslavia have overcome many difficulties and hardships and there is no reason to doubt that the people of Yugoslavia will, on this occasion as well, find the solution which will be profitable to Yugoslavia and the world peace. * * *

We American Serbs, as well as other Americans, condemn all attempts to start a new war. We are against war and we desire friendly relations and a better understanding with all peace-loving peoples. The key to the realization of a stable world peace lies in an understanding between our country and Russia.

That is why the warmongers are making all sorts of intrigues to make impossible an understanding between America and the Soviet Union.

The *Worker* of July 4, 1948 (southern edition), publishes additional news about the "Cominform-Tito Clash" and again puts the stress on the clarification of the clash according to the Moscow angle. In an article "What It's About" (p. 4) it is said:

The Tito leadership of anti-Soviet position is being used as a cover-up for the betrayal of socialism in Yugoslavia. * * *

The State Department and the Marshall planners * * * are fishing in the Balkans for deals to betray socialism. * * *

It is a tribute to the alertness of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, France, Italy, etc., that they saw this degeneration of the Tito leadership in time, and boldly informed the world's working class of the facts.

In the same issue of the *Worker*, Milton Howard further interprets the "Cominform-Tito Clash" in the sense of "Communist democracy in action via self-criticism" after expounding that the leaders of the CPY went "off the beam," because they failed to build the CPY as a new type party. Howard concludes:

What makes the Communist Parties a "new type is that they are not merely parliamentary parties, whose main function is to elect representatives to capi-

talist-dominated parliaments or congresses, but also to act at all times as the guide, the vanguard, of the entire working class and other progressive groups of the country.

The Daily Worker of July 7, 1948, page 3, published an article entitled: "Slavs Here Hit ERP Fishing in Yugoslavia," wherein the radio speech of George S. Wuchinich, executive secretary of the American Slav Congress of western Pennsylvania is recorded. Wuchinich:

warned * * * yesterday that the commercial press is happy over the Yugoslav situation because "it fits into their plan for war." * * *

"Whatever makes the American warmongers joyous does not reflect what is good for the average American. We want peace—the turn of events in Yugoslavia is grave."

The Daily Worker goes on quoting in bold-faced print Wuchinich's warning:

"The Marshall planners," he continued, "with their press and radio bait are fishing in troubled waters to catch the big fish—a nation, and bring her back to the fold of free enterprise as a colony. If necessary, war may be used—the smell of blood is in the air."

Voicing the same view as the Daily Worker, Wuchinich puts stress, not on the Yugoslav Tito regime, but on the Yugoslav people to settle the difficulties:

"The solution to the problems of socialism" Wuchinich declared, "must be worked out by the Yugoslav people. Any nation that is moving in this direction," he warned "is not a friend of those here at home who want an American world of colonies. These are the monopolists who dislike any free and independent country working out its salvation without the help of bankers, generals, and admirals in New York and Washington. The people of Yugoslavia, their resources and their land, are a great prize that whets the appetite of Wall Street."

The Narodni Glasnik of July 7, 1948, page 2, gave publicity to the same radio broadcast by Wuchinich under the title, "American Monopolists Wish by Means of the Yugoslav Clash To Trouble Waters for Imperialist Fishing." Beneath was printed a subtitle, "George Wuchinich severely assails the press and radio in connection with the clash in Yugoslavia."

The same issue of the Daily Worker (July 7, 1948, p. 1), carries the headline, "Tito's Men Expel Writer for Reporting Criticism," about the expulsion of Telepress correspondent, June Cannon.

This news was reproduced verbatim in the Narodni Glasnik, July 8, 1948, page 1, under the title, "The Yugoslav Ministry of Interior Expels Telepress Agency Correspondent from Belgrade."

In the same issue, the Narodni Glasnik publishes (on p. 1) the news that, "The Communist Party of the USSR Rejected Invitation to Fifth Congress of Yugoslav Communist Party," which is, in somewhat shortened form, the translation of the article, "Soviet Communist Party Rejects Bid To Yugoslav Meet," published in the Daily Worker, July 7, page 2.

Still in the same issue of the Daily Worker (July 7, 1948, p. 9), Milton Howard continues his analysis of the Cominform-Tito clash in an article entitled, "The Problems of Nationalism, Internationalism, and Patriotism." Since this article contains very instructive revelations as to the real character of Communist "loyalty," it is necessary to quote it at some length.

[In Yugoslavia] a group of people have seized control of that country in the name of communism but in actuality in defiance of the democratic principles of communism * * *

For us, the independence of nations is crucial in the world today, since it is the independence of nations which is most menaced by the terms of the Marshall plan * * *

A "Marshall plan" country takes orders from the United States—or else.

Howard presents the Communist concept of a nation such as defined in the Communist manifesto in 1848. He says that there are two essential propositions, namely:

1. The working class has no country. You can't take from it what it has not got.

2. The working class must "constitute itself as the nation."

* * * The minority capitalist class puts its class interests above that of the nation. The working class has become, in all capitalist countries, the vanguard in the defense of the nation's independence.

The workers of all capitalist countries have the same problems basically, the same relations to the owners of industry, and the same need to abolish private property and establish socialism. *They have no antagonistic interests.* [Italics supplied.]

This is the basis of their internationalism, and the basis of the Marxist slogan, "Workers of all nations unite."

But this internationalism does not abolish patriotism, love of country. On the contrary, it is the only basis for true patriotism as distinguished from the false patriotism of nationalism.

Nationalism places the interests of the nation above the interests of the working class and its allies—that is the majority of the people. What is this nation when it conflicts with the interests of the working class and its allies? It is nothing but the property rights of capitalism and the material interest of the capitalist class and its allies. It is hostile to the real nation, the people * * *

This nationalism of the Tito regime is endangering the real national independence of Yugoslavia by opening the peril of outside of Marshall plan intervention, and by creating the peril of sliding back to capitalism through a failure to build a democratic Communist Party vanguard leading the nation toward socialism through people's democracy.

In criticizing the Yugoslav leadership for its failure to build such a body and such a policy of fraternal cooperation with other people's democracies and the Soviet Union, the Cominform parties were striking a blow for national independence, national sovereignty and for socialism at one and the same time. Only those who think that a nation cannot be independent except as a capitalist nation dependent on the Marshall plan, have failed to grasp this.

After the confusion of the first few days after the Cominform-Tito clash, the "progressive" American Serbs and Croats promptly lined themselves up. Accordingly the Narodni Glasnik of July 8, 1948, carried an editorial on the events in Yugoslavia in which it is said:

American Yugoslavs, friends of the new Yugoslavia had these days several meetings at which they adopted resolutions which support the criticism of the Cominform against Marshal Tito and the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. * * *

It is clear that the great majority of Americans of Yugoslav origin approve of the criticism of the Cominform against the Yugoslav leadership.

Although the Narodni Glasnik still expresses the hope that the Yugoslav Communists will admit their faults and improve the situation in Yugoslavia, they stress what they deem the essential thing:

Our people have confidence in the Soviet Union and its leadership.

In the Worker of July 11, 1948, on page 4, an article is published under the title "What European Communists Say About Yugoslavs." Here are quoted the views of French, Polish, Rumanian, Finnish, Albanian, Italian, and Czech Communists.

The Narodni Glasnik of July 12, 1948, page 1, publishes, under the title "What European Communists Say About Yugoslav Communists," a two-column report from London which—but for two short

passages which were omitted and one which was shortened—is a verbatim translation of the article “What European Communists Say About Yugoslavs”, published in the Worker of July 11.

In the Worker of July 11, 1948, the editorial “Tito’s Tactics” deals again with Tito’s Communist heresy. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia is quoted as saying:

With us, the party, the country, the central committee, the people’s front, and Tito are all one.

which provokes the angry comments of the Worker:

This is the open denial of inner party democracy, on the one hand, and the utter abandonment of the Leninist conception of the party as distinct from all other mass organizations acting as the highest form of the organization of the working class.

The Narodni Glasnik of July 13, 1948, page 2, contains an article by George Pirinsky, in which the author claims that:

Actually the sudden love of the warmongers for the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia indicates that something “is rotten in the state of Denmark.”

Until the end of the month, the Slobodna Rec and the Narodni Glasnik always carried the same news about the Cominform-Tito clash as the Daily Worker. So, when the Daily Worker of July 13, page 4, made known the stand of the Chinese Communists on the Cominform-Tito clash, who assailed Tito, the Narodni Glasnik of July 13 published the same news on page 1 and the Slobodna Rec did likewise in its issue of July 17.

The Daily Worker of July 14 reported that the Yugoslav Communists in New York had declared themselves against Tito. The same news was published in the Narodni Glasnik of July 18.

Thus, the Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik did not hesitate to adopt quickly and thoroughly the “only correct” stand on the Cominform-Tito clash, the stand of Moscow, as expressed in the Daily Worker, organ of the Communist Party of the United States, or communicated to them probably by more direct channels.

The Slobodna Rec, which for some time seemed to be reluctant to let a Soviet authority say the decisive word on the dispute, in order to preserve its semblance of an American newspaper, published in two issues (December 18 and December 22, 1948) a very long article, “How Tito’s Clique Is Fighting Its Own People,” written by L. Baranov, “famous Soviet writer” who, of course, presented the official Moscow viewpoint on the matter. And, without any reserve, the Slobodna Rec endorses his views:

Baranov condemns the present leadership of Tito * * * he says that Tito’s group switched to the road of betrayal of the interests of the people and country.

And the Slobodna Rec lets Baranov speak, “so that our readers may get a better understanding of what is going on in Yugoslavia.”

In his article, Baranov writes:

The present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party call themselves friends of the Yugoslav people. * * *

Nothing can be further from the truth.

They are bourgeois nationalists, enemies of the working class.

What in reality has Tito * * * in common with the true leaders in the Marxist sense of the word? Absolutely nothing. He is a staunch nationalist, old fractionist, a spoiled person far from the people.

How can anybody who considers himself a Marxist neglect the theory and practices of revolutionary struggle, confirmed by the experience of the international revolutionary movement, the experience of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union? No, a true Marxist would not act that way. Only traitors and enemies of the people do that.

Behind Tito comes the henchman Rankovic. Everybody knows that this gentleman cannot boast either of his intelligence or his courage. * * *

He killed and tortured to death hundreds of Yugoslav Communists whose only "crime" was that they wanted to march in the United Front with brotherly Communist parties, and that they respected the Soviet Union, the country of socialism.

The history of the Russian movement, as well as the history of the movement of the working class, offers countless examples how political Philistines try to lead the revolutionary party * * * but they usually went down and found themselves in the junk yard of history. Such individuals inevitably wind up in the camp of the reaction. They become the bitterest enemies of the working class, renegades, traitors, and assassins, as the despicable renegades Bukharin and Trotsky.¹

The leaders of the Yugoslav Party did not take into consideration, or rather did not want to take into consideration, the fact that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is not a private enterprise of Tito, but the product of many years of revolutionary struggle of the working class of Yugoslavia and of the international movement of the working class. Just because of that, the Yugoslav leaders, regardless of their deeds in the past, were not entitled to act toward the CPY and the international Communist front in the way they did. The problems of the Yugoslav working class and this party are also problems of the international workers' movement and the whole Communist front.

* * * The leadership of the Yugoslav Party drowned the party in the people's front, which is, in the same way as the CPY, composed of representatives of all classes of the present Yugoslav bourgeois society, including the Kulaks and the bourgeois parties. It is only the workers' class that is able to achieve the victory of socialism. Tito's clique, by rejecting the Marxist-Leninist teaching that only the proletariat can play the role of a revolutionary leader and the teacher of the people, now asserts that the peasantry is the main force for the realization of socialism. Lenin and Stalin teach that only the workers' class, the most revolutionary and organized part of modern society, is able to lead the peasants on the road to socialism; that the working class must move in close alliance with the working peasantry.

The champions of democracy and socialism throughout the world know that only if they rely on the mighty support of the Soviet Union and the new democracies—that stronghold of peace and democracy—can socialism be built in countries where people's democracy has been installed. * * * Only incorrigible nationalists, only persons who terribly hate the Soviet Union, the new democracies, and the brotherly Communist parties would dare to follow the road to treason. Only enemies of the Yugoslav people would dare deprive their own people of the mighty support of the Soviet Union and the new democracies. * * *

Knowing that they cannot keep the people oppressed long enough by deceit, Tito's clique has taken the road of open terrorism, declaring war on their party and people. * * * On the ground of the unwritten law of the henchman Rankovic, the reading of Soviet literature and newspapers is punishable by arrest, as in the days of the German Gestapo. * * *

There is no middle road: Either with the people, with the Soviet Union at the head of the people and the new democracies, against the imperialists or, with the imperialists against the forces of democracy and socialism, against the people. Tito's clique has chosen this latter road.

As the other peoples of the world, the people of Yugoslavia see in the countries of socialism, in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, their hope, their support in the struggle for the victory of socialism, for the victory of their ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. In the bitter years of Fascist occupation, old people in Montenegro, while pointing with their fingers to the East, would say to their grandchildren: 'There is Russia * * * the day will come when the Russians will arrive and we will be liberated.'

And the Soviet people has come and liberated the people of Yugoslavia from slavery.

¹Nicolai Bukharin, former president of the Communist International, "purged" in "treason trials" of 1937; Leon Trotsky, assassinated in Mexico in 1940.

Tito's clique betrayed the Yugoslav people, its strivings and hopes, but the Yugoslav people and their party are not alone. They have true friends in the Soviet Union, in the new democracies, in the great party of Lenin and Stalin and in the brotherly Communist parties which represent a mighty invincible front of democracy and socialism.

It is evidently easy to establish that Baranov's criticism of Tito, endorsed by the *Slobodna Rec*, expressed exactly, as the *Daily Worker's* editorials or its columnists Starobin and Howard, the Cominform, i. e., Kremlin viewpoint in the matter.

It is even more provocative to demonstrate how the change of the stand of *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* on one particular problem—the Cominform-Tito clash—affected their stand on all problems relative to Yugoslavia. Before the clash, these newspapers had nothing but praise for the Communist regime in Yugoslavia, for Tito, for the Yugoslav Government's policy in all its aspects. But, since after the Cominform-Tito clash Tito's Communist regime in Yugoslavia was considered by the Kremlin as treacherous to the Soviet Union and to the Communist cause, that view has pervaded all the articles of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik*. As much as the Yugoslav regime was highly praised before, it is now denounced in the most violent terms, as can be seen from examples to follow.

V. STAND OF THE SLOBODNA REC AND NARODNI GLASNIK ON YUGOSLAVIA AFTER THE COMINFORM-TITO CLASH

Complete lack of responsibility.—In the *Slobodna Rec* of January 15, 1949, page 3, an article on Tito's contradictions is reprinted from the *Nova Borba* (Prague):

Complete lack of responsibility, * * * separation of Yugoslavia from the Socialist camp carried out by Tito's group is bringing the country in a catastrophic economic position and makes it dependent upon the imperialists. * * *

And, since the Cominform-Tito clash all of a sudden turned Yugoslavia from a "Socialist paradise" to a "nationalist hell," the *Slobodna Rec*, on February 5, 1949, page 2, for the first time noticed that many people in Yugoslavia are stricken with tuberculosis:

Dr. Paul Anderson, leader of one of the teams of the Danish Red Cross * * * declared that Yugoslavia has one of the highest rates of tuberculosis in Europe, so that over 100 persons die daily from the disease. * * *

Hitting people over the head.—In its tireless efforts to reinterpret the whole situation in Yugoslavia after the Cominform-Tito clash, the *Slobodna Rec* dedicated five long articles (February 16, 19, 26, and March 2 and 5) to a review of the events in Yugoslavia, arriving at the conclusion that the Tito democracy consists of convincing people by hitting them over their heads.

Most undemocratic, reactionary.—In the *Narodni Glasnik* of February 24, 1949, Leo Bacich, secretary general of the Croatian Benevolent Fraternity (IWO), asks, "Where are the present leaders of Yugoslavia heading?" and answers:

Our people waged a heroic struggle for 4 years and achieved victory only owing to the mighty and great Soviet Union. * * *

[But] the leaders of Yugoslavia are waging the vilest campaign against the Soviet Union * * * as well as against the new democracies. * * * The gravity of the situation in Yugoslavia is especially evident in the most undemocratic measures of the Yugoslav leaders against those who do not approve of their policy of splitting the common peace front. Bacich's conclusion is that the Yugoslav leaders are "drifting into the camp of the reaction."

In its issues of March 28 and 29, 1949, the Narodni Glasnik published two long articles by Radonja Golubovic, former Yugoslav Ambassador to Rumania, under the title "Does Tito's Policy Lead Yugoslavia to Socialism?". The answer to that question was indicated in the subtitle which read, "The present policy of the Tito government is heaping heavier and heavier burdens on the workers and peasantry. Golubovic himself asserted that:

Thus Tito's clique transformed in our country the Socialist principle of "work according to one's abilities, and reward according to one's work" into the principle of "work according to one's socialistic consciousness, and reward according to one's capitalistic consciousness."

Tito's clique is introducing into the party nationalist elements through which it intends to stifle the internationalist traditions of the party and break up the strongest forces which remained faithful to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

Police terrorism.—In the Narodni Glasnik of March 11, 1949, page 1, a public letter of Yugoslav pro-Cominform students in Prague is reprinted from the Nova Borba (organ of Yugoslav pro-Cominform Communists, published in Prague), which accuses "Tito's nationalist clique * * * of arresting the most progressive elements among our peoples," charges the "use of disgusting police terrorism methods against the progressive democratic forces," and asks for help against the "bloody terrorism of those who betrayed the interests of the people of Yugoslavia and the anti-imperialist front in the world."

(The same news was published in the Slobodna Rec for Mar. 3, 1949.)

In the Narodni Glasnik for March 18, 1949, page 1, an almost identical appeal was published under the title "Yugoslav Students in the U. S. S. R. Appeal to the Youth of the World Against Rankovich's Agents."

Orgy of terrorism.—Before the Cominform-Tito clash, the Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik never wrote of any "killing" in Yugoslavia. News about ruthless Communist terrorism was discarded as the invention of "Fascists," "war criminals," "stooges of the reaction," etc. But when, after the Cominform-Tito clash the regime's terrorism hit not only patriots and democrats, but Communists faithful to Moscow as well, the humanitarian feelings of the Narodni Glasnik were suddenly aroused. The editorial from April 5, 1949, indignantly asks: "What does the killing of Communists in Yugoslavia mean?"

The news from Yugoslavia is becoming more and more terrible. It not only worries all decent emigrants, but utterly amazes them. * * *

Communists are being killed without trial in an orgy of terrorism, as it was during the old régime. That killing of Communists is entirely illegal and violates every letter and the spirit of the constitution of the FPR Yugoslavia, as well as all traditions of the workers' movement in all countries of the world. That is lawlessness which every honest man must condemn.

They are being killed because they are in favor of what the enormous majority of the peoples of Yugoslavia deeply feel, and that is the close friendship and firm alliance with the Soviet Union, protector of all Slavic countries and people's democracies. They are being killed because they believe in the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin.

Besides this, the Narodni Glasnik, which never before objected to the Yugoslav Government's propaganda in the United States and thought that only capitalistic countries, the United States foremost, were practicing an "antipeople's" guns-instead-of-butter policy, angrily protested against—

Tito's government, sending to America tons and trainloads of propaganda material. * * *

For all this material, Tito's government is spending thousands of dollars, which money is so necessary to the hungry people of Yugoslavia.

While before the Cominform-Tito clash, the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* published only protests against capitalistic and "reactionary" governments, such as the United States Government, the *Narodni Glasnik* of April 6, 1949, page 2, published a resolution of the Chicago chapter of the Serbian Progressive Movement signed by Pavle Bačich, president, and George Maravich, secretary, and addressed to Sava Kosanovic, Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington, D. C., under the title, "The Serbian Progressive Movement of Chicago Protests Against the Government in Yugoslavia."

We protest energetically against the arrests and killing of valiant fighters who are following and are working for a closer unity with the Soviet Union and other democracies of eastern Europe.

Towards capitalism.—"Why did the Yugoslav Government close the Polish information bureau in Belgrade?" asks the *Slobodna Rec* of May 14, 1949, page 1; and for an answer reprints an article from *Pravda* saying:

The Polish information bureau enjoyed a deserved popularity, because it truthfully informed the Yugoslav people about the life of the Polish people.

The Yugoslav ruling clique closed the Polish Information Bureau. However, the American, British, and French information centers are still functioning in Belgrade.

In Yugoslavia, all roads are open to the capitalistic propaganda. All doors are closed to the truth about the construction of socialism.

"The straw that flies shows whither the wind blows," says an old proverb. The closing of the Polish information bureau in Belgrade shows clearly that in the government circles in Belgrade the wind blows in a certain direction—in the direction of capitalism.

Down with Tito!—The same issue of *Slobodna Rec*, May 14, 1949, page 1, carries the news about arrests in Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Fiume, saying:

On one of the walls in the harbor there was a very visible big sign: "Down with Tito!"

People's and worker's traitors.—The editorial in the *Slobodna Rec* of May 14, 1949, is dedicated to the "destructive work of Tito's agents in America." The attacks are particularly leveled at Srdjan Prica and Stevan Dedijer, former editors of the *Slobodna Rec*, who will publish a new paper in America whose aim would be to "create trouble and dissension among the democratic forces of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in the United States":

He who today fights in such a way against the democratic and peace-loving forces in this or any other country deserves the name and stigma of enemy of democracy, progress, and peace. The Titoists have really deserved the name and stigma of enemies and breakers of democratic and peace-loving forces.

Dictator Tito.—In the same issue, May 14, 1949, the *Slobodna Rec* publishes in its column *Do You Know?* one news item on terrorism in Franco Spain and three on Yugoslavia. Besides other things, it is said that the police prohibited Charlie Chaplin's film, *The Great Dictator*, to prevent people from comparing Tito with the main person in Charlie's film.

Worst traitor.—The *Slobodna Rec* of May 21, 1949, page 1, carries an article entitled "Tito's Group Betrayed Socialism—*Pravda*" (summarizing an article from the *Moscow Pravda*, organ of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union, entitled "Tito's Clique—the Worst Traitors of Socialism") :

Tito is an agent of the Anglo-American imperialists, enemy of the Soviet Union, and a destroyer in the service of warmongers.

In the terms of the recently concluded commercial agreement between the Titoists and western Germany—

the Titoists will give to the German Nazis about 19 million dinars' worth of food in exchange for machinery.

The people of Yugoslavia, who severely suffer from lack of food, will have even less, and the Nazis will get fat on the bacon, ham, and other products and foodstuffs.

"Crime"—friendship with Soviet.—The Slobodna Rec of May 21, 1949, carries on page 1 the news that 11 students were sentenced to jail by Tito's authorities.

Their "crime" is that they are in favor of friendship with the U. S. S. R. and countries of the people's democracies.

Betrayal and terrorism.—The same issue of Slobodna Rec (May 21, 1949) carries on page 2 the news that Tito has ordered stricter measures against his opponents * * * to defend Yugoslavia from enemies outside the country and inside, i. e., all those who do not agree with his dictatorship. * * *

All these orders which Tito gave to his secret police are concerning the enormous majority of Yugoslav patriots, who condemn the treacherous policy of the Tito dictatorial clique, which are equally directed against the countries of the people's democracy and the U. S. S. R.

Murders without trial.—The Slobodna Rec of May 25, 1949 (p. 3), publishes an article by Eugenija Pramenko, assailing "the plan of the Titoists to break the progressive ranks":

Tito-Rankovic janissaries already killed many Yugoslav patriots who never appeared before a court.

With regret, the author notes that former editors of the Slobodna Rec, Stevan Dedijer and Srdja Prica, are doing their utmost to separate "progressive" Serbs and Croats from the democratic movement and exclaims:

Oh, Steve, Steve, how could you become such a Judas and spit on everything you once fought for.

Brothers and sisters, democratic American Yugoslavs throughout America, chase away the troublemakers and Tito agents if they appear amidst you. Let us rally our progressive democratic forces around our heroic and democratic newspapers Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik, which are our guiding stars, for freedom, democracy, and peace in the whole world.

Workers are in bad position.—The Slobodna Rec of May 28, 1949 (p. 2), carries a long article entitled "The Bad Position of the Workers in Yugoslavia," written by a young man who recently returned from Communist Yugoslavia to capitalist Australia.

Traitors.—In the Slobodna Rec of June 2, 1949 (p. 3), a poem, full of strongest invectives against Tito, is published with the following introduction of the anonymous author:

Until recently, I believed in Tito, as I believed in the whole working people or myself, but now I want to write a poem for him as traitor to his people.

In the poem, it is said that—

Tito suddenly became a Trotskyist;
He is certainly against the Russians;
He is against Lenin and Marx;
He now resorts to Hitler's practices.

But, according to the poet, "The people will crush Tito under their feet."

And as for his comrades in the government:

Rankovic will be skinned alive;
Kardelj will have his tongue pulled out;
And our Montenegrin, "brother" Djilas,
Will get a noose around his neck.

Life is intolerable.—In its issue of June 29, 1949 (p. 2), the Narodni Glasnik reports on Further Arrests of Communists on the Part of Tito Regime:

Life is intolerable, hunger, scarcity, and misery * * *. Only a small group of people, connected with Rankovic's police, enjoy normal living conditions. * * * Peasants, students, and officers are being arrested, in one word, everybody who loves his country and the Soviet Union.

Mass terrorism.—In the Narodni Glasnik of June 30, 1949 (p. 3), a long report on the situation in Yugoslavia is published which, in part, reads:

In order to remain in power, Tito's clique is using the most incredible means of terrorism over the people. * * *

In Yugoslavia, under Tito's regime, laws and civil rights are nonexistent. * * * Whoever declares himself in favor of the Cominform resolution is arrested. If he is married, his comrade [i. e., wife] is instantly ordered to disown her husband and to write an article for the Borba. The family of the arrested is immediately thrown out of the apartment and their ration cards taken away. * * *

We live today without any law or right—the law being the will of Tito's agents.

The same article is published in the Slobodna Rec of July 13, 1949 (p. 2.)

Terrorism, persecution.—In the issue of July 2, 1949, Slobodna Rec carries an anonymous letter from Yugoslavia, written by two returnees from America to Yugoslavia, very much different from the letters from Yugoslavia which it used to publish prior to the Cominform-Tito clash. The letter reads:

Eight hundred of us returnees have applied to return to America and Canada * * *. You can imagine how we live, and the fact that we disapprove of this betrayal of the leadership, makes matters even worse * * *.

Prices are so high that an ordinary worker cannot live. An egg costs 20 dinars and I work for 14 dinars an hour. A pair of chickens is 1,000 dinars; 1 kilogram of fat, 500 dinars; cheese, 150 dinars; 1 kilogram of bacon, 500 dinars; and the two of us earn 5,700 dinars a month, which is not enough for one person * * *.

This is not Yugoslavia as its people and we imagined it; Tito's betrayal ruined it completely. There is no morality at all, but only divorces, prostitution, and, in children's homes, there are more children of divorced parents than of fighters who fell during the war.

God, these are horrible things. Where did we come to? If you only could see this, you would be dumbfounded.

Terrorism and persecution, murders and arrests of anybody who dares criticize this greatest betrayal in the history of the workers' movement.

Those who write to you that it is well here, are liars or sycophants; they are those who sold themselves and have no character and no soul; they are those who vilify the best friends of Yugoslavia and its peoples, the Soviet Union and other Slavic countries.

For whom did we fight?—The Slobodna Rec of July 13, 1949 (p. 1), carries news from Belgrade of a grave incident in front of a jail where a deserving Communist is kept. His mother is said to have defiantly told the UDB (secret police) agents:

I am for the Cominform resolution; I am for Stalin. Shame on you. Traitors, for whom did we fight? Didn't you fight for Stalin, and today Tito is calling him a traitor. That traitor Tito about whom we heard only in 1943. And the graves of our dead heroes—for whom did we fight?

If the above quotations, expressing the views of "progressive" American Serbs and Croats, are compared with their views before the Cominform-Tito clash, commentaries are superfluous. It may only be pointed to the fact that the attacks against Communist Yugoslavia are sometimes even more violent than attacks against capitalist countries.

VI. THE STAND OF THE SLOBODNA REC AND NARODNI GLASNIK ON THE SOVIET UNION

But the attitude of the Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik toward the Soviet Union did not change. Invariably, always and in any controversy, before and after the Cominform-Tito clash, the Soviet Union was considered right, the paragon of socialist and democratic virtues, righteousness, progress, devotion to peace, love of mankind, et cetera. A few examples may serve to illustrate this point:

In the Slobodna Rec of September 7, 1946 (p. 2), a long article by Louis Adamic was published on the shooting down of American planes over Yugoslavia, under the title: "The Truth About the American-Yugoslav Crisis—Important Considerations on the Occasion of the Airplane Incident." According to Adamic's interpretation of this issue, which stirred a wave of indignation throughout the United States, this country was wrong and Communist Yugoslavia was right. The Slobodna Rec wholeheartedly endorsed this view.

In the same issue of the Slobodna Rec and on several other occasions, an advertisement was published concerning the book *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*, by M. Sayers and A. Kahn.¹ People were urged to buy it. In order "to meet the needs of the broad masses of the people, the price has been reduced from \$3.50 to \$1."

This concern about the interests of the Soviet Union is certainly touching, especially since it is impossible to find among "progressives" any similar concern about the United States or any warning about the interests of the United States being threatened by any conspiracy.

Soviet Union won the war.—The Slobodna Rec, which never speaks of the merits of America in winning World War II, has a different attitude toward the Soviet Union. In the Slobodna Rec of November 29, 1947 (pp. 3 and 4) it is stated:

Today * * * the people of Russia, with its unity, spirit of sacrifice, and great heroism, as well as owing to its modern policy, saved not only its own country from the enemy, but all other countries in the world as well * * *

The reversal of the military situation in Soviet Russia secured the victory of the Allies.

This text is strikingly similar to the views expressed by *The Worker*, May 9, 1948 (p. 7), in an article entitled, "Not Communism, but Anti-Communism Is a Conspiracy," by M. Howard:

Socialism in the U. S. S. R. performed a lion's share in saving the national independence of Britain, France, and the U. S. A.

Mother Russia.—In the Slobodna Rec of September 18, 1947, a list of solicitors of advertisements for the Almanac Vidovdan is published, together with some of their letters addressed to the Slobodna Rec. Among others, Risto Nogulich, Chicago, Ill., is sending \$110 to have the almanac, in which "the life, work, and struggle of Mother Russia and Yugoslavia, against whom the Fascist dogs are hissing and yelling," is described.

¹ Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn.

U. S. S. R. keeps its word.—Under the title “The U. S. A. Violated Its Commercial Treaty With the U. S. S. R.” the Narodni Glasnik of August 12, 1948, published an item from the New York Post saying that—

The United States flagrantly and inexcusably broke a solemn agreement with the Russians. * * * while the U. S. S. R. always stood by its obligations in the treaty.

In order to give more emphasis to that “fact,” the Narodni Glasnik published, besides the reprint from the New York Post, an editorial on the same subject.

Life for America.—Always on the alert to defend the Soviet interests, the Narodni Glasnik of January 21, 1949, after reporting that the U. S. S. R. has decided to stop the export of manganese ore to the United States, asks, “Who started all this?” and promptly answers that the United States is to blame, since it stopped the export of machinery to the U. S. S. R.:

If we need that ore and if we want to get it, then it is more than correct that we be ready to sell to the Soviet Union the machinery which it needs and which they want to buy in our country.

Hundreds of thousands of workers, who in the course of the last months lost their jobs in various industries, would also like to know why did we stop the export; i. e., the sale of machinery and other products to Slavic countries. They know that the permanent export of such products means work and employment—life itself for America.

In the United States of America, fascism.—The Narodni Glasnik of February 21, 1949, page 2, published an article under the title “The Peoples of the World Do Not Want War, but They Strive for Peace and Cooperation,” in which Anna Devunich, reporting on the Congress of Women for Peace, held in Budapest, draws a comparison between the United States and the Soviet Union:

The peoples realize the fact that the Soviet Union is the main pillar of peace and realize that the policy of Wall Street is the main prompter of a new war.

The greatest danger of a third world war arises from the American reaction. The case of the 12 Communist leaders in New York is compared by the peoples to the Reichstag fire in Germany. That event has a great importance and international bearing and is thus looked upon as a very great restriction of democracy and concession to fascism in America. All these things which today are happening in America, including the chauvinism against the Negro people and other minority groups, present our democracy in the world as a monstrosity and created hatred. * * *

Men and women in Budapest, for instance, know very well that the Soviet Union is their friend, because 20,000 Russian soldiers lost their lives fighting from house to house against the Nazis for the defense of Budapest * * * Children did not have bread and water, but Russian soldiers brought bread, water, and freedom.

And that is why in Europe not only is there no war hysteria nor war propaganda like here, but there is great sympathy and open love for the Soviet Union.

United States of America: Profits for the few.—In the Narodni Glasnik from March 4, 1949, the editorial deals with the question, What does the price reduction in the Soviet Union mean?:

The question is why do prices go down in the Soviet Union and in the United States they are still at their highest level, although production is much higher here than in the Soviet Union? That is not difficult to answer. In the Soviet Union, industry and agriculture belong to the people, and consequently they are not founded on profits. An increase in production means that prices must go down. An increase in production does not mean increased profits as in our country where the means of production and distribution are in the hands of wealthy individuals and groups of individuals. That is the difference. That is also the reason why the prices in our country are so unreasonably high. The profiteers do not care about the people, but about ever-increasing profits.

Greatest country.—A good example of the attitude of Narodni Glasnik toward the Soviet can also be found in its issue of June 30, 1949, page 4, where an article is published under the heading "S. Radic on Soviet Russia". The article consists mainly of excerpts from articles (*The Truth About the Bolshevik Revolution*) by the late Stjepan Radic, president of the Croatian Peasant Party, written between 1920 and 1927:

Russia is in fact a peasants' republic with a workers' government; therefore Russia is not only the biggest and strongest but also the most righteous country in the world (1920).

Bolshevism is an organization of society and the whole government in which participate not only every worker and peasant but all other workers so that every cook and laundrymaid is participating when decisions are made in the matters of social life (1924).

* * * * *

Soviet Russia is the only great power in the world which in reality acknowledges and respects the right of nations to self-determination (1924).

* * * * *

The tenth anniversary of the Soviet regime in Russia is celebrated very solemnly in Moscow. The bourgeois newspapers in the whole world predicted in the course of these 10 years not once but many times that the Soviet rule in Russia would not last more than a few months. However, this regime is getting stronger, and that because it is supported by the Russian peasants and workers who, on the ground of social justice, are leading the Russian people to a brighter future. (1927).

VII. IDENTITY OF "PROGRESSIVE" VIEWS ON OTHER ISSUES

However, the identity of policy and propaganda between the Daily Worker, on the one side, and the Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik, on the other, is not confined to the Cominform-Tito clash. Besides often carrying the same cartoons and photographs, either several days after the Daily Worker or sometimes even before the Daily Worker, the Narodni Glasnik and Slobodna Rec have faithfully followed the Daily Worker line, especially in the basic problems of the United States. Here are some examples:

A. Refusal of the Communists to fight for their countries

The Daily Worker carried in its issue of March 7, 1949, pp. 1 and 9, an open letter of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis under the title "Is It Treasonable To Talk Peace?" A few days before Foster and Dennis had issued, in the name of the Communist Party, a statement in which they opposed an "aggressive" war of the United States. President Truman reacted by condemning that stand and calling the Communists traitors. In their open letter, Foster and Dennis said:

You twisted the question originally asked and implied that we Communists had discussed an attack by the Soviet Union upon our Nation.

We, of course, did not discuss the fantastic impossibility of such an attack upon our country. * * * it is not from the Socialist Soviet Union * * * that the danger of war arises.

Neither the American people nor the Soviet Union is responsible for the present world tension. Responsibility rests squarely on Wall Street and its bipartisan puppets.

Despite all threats and persecutions we will continue resolutely to work for peace. * * * We shall continue * * * to urge that our nation shall sign a pact of friendship and peace with our great wartime ally, the Soviet Union.

The Narodni Glasnik, in its issue of March 8, 1949, page 1, carried the above letter, somewhat shortened, under the title "Foster and Dennis Have Answered Truman That Peace Talk Cannot Be Called Treason." The Slobodna Rec, March 9, 1949, page 1, also carried the

letter under the title "Communist Leaders Tell Truman That Peace Talk Is Not Reasonable."

In the same issue—March 7, 1949, page 9—the Daily Worker published an editorial under the title "Peace Is True Patriotism." It is revealing to compare this editorial with the editorial of the Slobodna Rec, March 9, 1949, page 2, entitled "Wallace Stands in Defense of Peace."

[Daily Worker, March 7, 1949, p. 7]

PEACE IS TRUE PATRIOTISM

Amid the shrill cries of the press which would like to silence all political disagreement with the Government's war-breeding "cold war," Henry Wallace has again spoken out with courage and patriotism for peace.

While President Truman calls his opponents either "s. o. b." or "traitor," Wallace dares to stick to his view that an American-Soviet war would be a crime against humanity, that it is unnecessary and completely avoidable without sacrificing a single national interest which is genuinely American. America's national welfare is a different thing from the profits of the munitions makers, of course. For them a war would be a godsend, even though millions would be slaughtered before the people of the world began to enforce peace.

While everyone in Washington—Congressmen, Senators, and Cabinet members—speaks about war as if it were the most natural thing in the world, as if it were inevitable, and not even too undesirable, Wallace on Thursday, speaking for the Progressive Party, made these points:

"I said it was possible for progressive capitalism in the United States to live at peace with communism in eastern Europe. I still think so. * * * Our opposition to the Truman doctrine, the ERP, the Atlantic Pact, universal military training, and increased military expenditures continues stronger than ever. We must resolve that there shall be no war. * * *

Wallace, in his speech, supported the struggle of the Communists against the policy of cold war—i. e., policy of all those who fight for peace—and expressed the apprehension that the warmongers will seize upon these statements to instigate even greater war hysteria. With his speech Wallace defended all Americans, the Constitution, and civil rights and that every person and individual has the right to speak his mind. * * *

Wallace's speech will win the support of every citizen, regardless of differences of political conviction, who has at heart the good of America * * * if we do not want to happen again what happened in 1933 in Germany.

[Slobodna Rec, March 9, 1949, p. 2]

WALLACE STANDS IN DEFENSE OF PEACE

Henry Wallace has, as in the past, again spoken out for peace. * * *

President Truman calls his opponents names or "traitors." * * *

The national welfare of America and the American people, on the one side and the interests of the munitions makers on the other, are as wide apart as heaven and earth. For the instigators of a new war, that would be a godsend, while for millions of Americans and other people death. * * *

The warmongers, munitions makers, and the reactionary press speak daily that the war against Soviet Union and the people's democracies is inevitable. * * * Wallace on Thursday * * * said, among other things:

"I said it was possible for progressive capitalism in the United States to live at peace with communism in eastern Europe. I still think so. * * * Our opposition to the Truman doctrine, the Marshall plan, the Atlantic Military Pact, universal military training, and increased military expenditures continues stronger than ever. We must resolve that there shall be no war."

Of the Communist Party statement * * * Wallace said:

"I am glad that they want to work with all those who seek peace, democracy, and social progress. But I am not in accord with their recent statements because, in my opinion, they will not contribute to peace, democracy, and social progress." Wallace said that he thought that the "reactionaries will seize upon these statements to justify new reaction and bigger war budgets." But Wallace reiterated his determination to defend the civil right of all Americans to speak their minds on these crucial issues.

But, regardless of such differences, Henry Wallace's renewed call for peace will win the support of every citizen, regardless of creed or political affiliation, who does not want his country to be shoved down the fatal German path by munitions makers and war-hungry banker-generals.

It goes without saying that on the question of the Communist trial the *Daily Worker* assumed an attitude of sharpest disapproval. The essence of its views is that, since the Communists stand for democracy, the indictment of the 12 leaders of the Communist Party is an attack against the most elementary democratic traditions of America, its democratic institutions, and the civil rights of its citizens. In the *Worker*—southern edition—from September 26, 1948, special section, page 3, the editorial proclaims that “If Communists are outlawed, you’re next,” and quotes William Z. Foster, saying:

The attack on the Communists is the major phase of the drive toward fascism that is now taking place in the United States.

In the *Daily Worker* of January 10, 1949, page 2, the trial is assailed as being undemocratic because of the “undemocratic jury system.”

In the issue of January 17, 1949, page 1, a cartoon entitled “The Thirteenth Defendant” was published showing how the indictment of 12 was a blow striking the torch of liberty from the hands of the Statue of Liberty. The same cartoon was repeated in the issues of January 23 and 30.

In the *Worker* of January 23, 1949, a cartoon was published under the title “The Other Defendants,” referring to Jefferson and Lincoln, who allegedly are the invisible but, together with the Communists, real defendants in the trial.

In the *Worker* of February 6, 1949, page 3, an article bears the title “If They Frame the Communists, They Can Frame You, Too.” In the issue of March 22, 1949, page 1, a page-wide title reads, “CP Fights for American People, Dennis Tells Jury.”

The stand of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* is identical to that of the *Daily Worker* in essence and in the details.

The *Narodni Glasnik* published on January 19, 1949, page 5, a report of the trial, saying that “the court hall and its surroundings look like a battlefield.” It quoted one of the lawyers, George W. Crockett, Jr., calling the police on duty “an armed mob” and presented the views of the lawyers. A similar report was printed in the *Slobodna Rec* of January 19, 1949, page 1.

The *Narodni Glasnik* could not be more explicit than it was in the report of January 17, 1949, page 1. The three-column-wide title read, “The trial of the 12 Communists is a trial of the Bill of Rights,” and the subtitle, “If the Communists are deprived of the right of political opinion, then automatically the people of America are deprived of it, and the basic law, the Constitution of the United States, is ridiculed.” In the article, the editor presents the Communist view of the trial, saying:

In connection with this trial, here is what the Communists say: “The Bill of Rights is in fact on trial.”

Strangely enough, the editors of the *Narodni Glasnik* made this viewpoint their own by choosing it for the headline of their newspaper. The article ends with the pathetic outcry:

On trial are not only 12 Communists, but the rest of us—we 145,000,000 people.

The *Slobodna Rec* of January 19, 1949, entitled its editorial “The United States Constitution on Trial,” declaring that—

Today, if Jesus Christ, Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln were to appear again, the reaction would accuse them too of being “in favor of forcible overthrow of our Government.”

The Narodni Glasnik in its issues of January 20, 1949, page 1, January 25, page 1, and January 26 and 28, page 2, attacked the "undemocratic" jury system, reporting that "protests against the trial of the leaders of the Communist Party are pouring in" and that Senator William Langer of North Dakota "sharply assailed the biased system of jury appointment."

In the same way, the Slobodna Rec in its issue of January 29, 1949, page 1, wrote "against the undemocratic appointment of the jury" and reported on Senator Langer's attack against the "discriminatory jury system in New York."

The Narodni Glasnik of January 18, 1949, page 2, stated that—

The trial of the Communists is a frame-up. And that means a frame-up against America.

In the same issue was published a telegraphic request of the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania, signed by John Rudiak, president, and George Wuchinich, secretary, addressed to President Truman and Attorney General Tom Clark, to reject the indictment of the 12 Communist leaders, because "the political rights of all Americans are threatened." The same was published by the Slobodna Rec on January 19, 1949, page 1.

In its issue of February 21, 1949, page 6, the Narodni Glasnik published an article by Howard Fast entitled "The Battle of the Working People of Our Nation Is Being Fought at Foley Square in New York." In the issue of February 22, 1949, page 1, the Narodni Glasnik proclaimed that "The indicted Communists are more and more appearing as accusers," and that "Judge Medina is squirming and by legal measures preventing the exposure of the disgraceful jury system."

The Daily Worker of March 14, 1949, carried on page 1 the headline "Wallace hits betrayal," with the caption "Henry Wallace, former Vice President of the United States and Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, yesterday lashed the bipartisan betrayal of civil rights in Congress." He urged Americans regardless of political beliefs, to join in action to break the filibuster.

The Narodni Glasnik of March 15, 1949, page 1, published a literal translation from the Daily Worker under the headline "Wallace assails old parties because of betrayal of civil rights" and the subtitle "The administration capitulated before the southern Tories as was to be expected; the reaction gets bolder." Not satisfied with the reprint, the Narodni Glasnik added one additional column of comments.

VIII. THE APPEAL TO "SLAVIC SOLIDARITY," THE AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS, ETC.

In all the policy and propaganda of the Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik, the appeal to "Slavic solidarity" is one of the favorite themes and most important instruments for the mental conditioning of their readers and for their preparation to do their duty when the movement of "ultimate emancipation" comes. The files of these two newspapers also reveal the closest cooperation between them and affiliated "progressive" organizations, on the one side, and the American Slav Congress and its activities, on the other. In the Narodni Glasnik of

May 8, 1947, page 3, Dushan Popovich, praising some singing choirs and music bands, says:

Our youth, we are proud that you are of Slavic blood.

In the *Narodni Glasnik* of May 5, 1947, an article is published by Frank Borich, executive secretary of the People's Council, on the importance of the great second congress of the American Croatian men and women, which contains all the main points of the program adopted at the congress. In point 6, the congress pledges "active support to the United Committee of South Slavic Americans and the American Slav Congress through a fuller participation in their work."

In 1947, Bozo Galeb went to Yugoslavia as a delegate to attend the All-Slav Congress held in Belgrade. Upon his return, he was given the greatest publicity in the *Slobodna Rec*. In the issue of June 3, 1947, page 1, it is announced that "brother Bozo Galeb will speak in the course of June 1947 in the following places": Gary, Ind.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Chicago, Ill.; St. Louis, Mo.; Denver, Colo.; Salt Lake City, Utah; Boise, Idaho; Spokane, Wash.; Seattle, Wash.; Vancouver, Canada; Portland, Ore.

The same issue of the *Slobodna Rec* carries an advertisement for the magazine, *The Slavic American*, official organ of the ASC:

Featured in the first issue will be an article by President Benes, of Czechoslovakia, on Slav unity, and an exclusive interview with Leo Krzycki, president of the American Slav Congress, on his fiftieth anniversary as a labor leader * * * [and] a short story by Louis Adamic.

"No magazine so ambitious in scope, specifically for Slavic Americans and their friends, has ever been planned," said George Pirinsky, executive secretary of the American Slav Congress.

Here is an example of how the American Slav Congress tries to identify its own cause with that of the American people. The *Narodni Glasnik* of July 30, 1947, page 1, publishes a telegram sent by the executive secretary of the ASC, George Wuchinich, to the chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, J. Parnell Thomas. The telegram reads:

We request to be heard on the charge of a so-called "Slav fifth column" emanating from hearings before your committee. We stand forward to speak in the name of thousands of American working men and women of western Pennsylvania to deny this deliberate slur intended to spread fear throughout our country.

The same issue of the *Narodni Glasnik* carries—page 4—the full text of a letter to Secretary of State George Marshall, signed by Leo Bacich, acting executive secretary of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans, asking—

That the policy pursued toward Yugoslavia in connection with issuance of passports for travel to Yugoslavia be reversed and passports issued.

The *Narodni Glasnik* of August 7, 1947, page 2, publishes a report of a visit to the Yugoslav ship *Radnik* by Petar Simrak. After stressing the difference between prewar Yugoslavia and the present regime, Simrak enthusiastically quotes a few new stanzas added to the old song called O Slavs, and sung by the crew choir:

O Slavs, the earth is trembling
From the Volga to the Triglav;
With a clear tone thunder the waves
From the blue Adriatic sea.

In a thunderous voice calls our comrade
Stalin, from the Russian plains,
And his comrade Tito answers
From the Bosnian mountains.

Simrak also quotes a new song sung by "young sea girls":

From the Don, the Volga, and the Ural
To the blue seacoast of the Adriatic
All Slavs are illuminated
By the Red Star.

The Narodni Glasnik of August 12, 1947, carries on page 2 three very important messages to all branches of the People's Council by Frank Borich. The second is a recommendation of the first copy of the Slavic American, published by the American Slav Congress:

This periodical is of enormous importance, not only for us Slavs, but for all Americans. It is important, especially today, when the reaction is endeavoring to brand all of us who gave all that we had for the victory in the war, as "fifth columnists." We must destroy that disgusting slander and prove to the people of America that we Slavs are among the best and most loyal citizens of America, who always fought for its democratic traditions and democratic ideals. The Slavic American will play here a great role. That is why we must take it not only to Americans of Slav origin, but to others as well.

In an article entitled "The Lack of Knowledge of True Reality" (Narodni Glasnik, September 17, 1947, p. 4), Eusebio Ruc comments on Dorothy Thompson's article "The Fallacy of Containing Russia."

I do not know what the racial origin of Miss Thompson is, but from her writing it can be discerned that, at least, her great grandmother was German, because she is displaying the same German partiality and greed which before many German leaders used to display when they were building a great Germany at the expense of the Slavs. Miss Thompson knows well that today the united Slavs have thwarted the plans of all exploiters and conquerors. Now they have nothing else left but to slander the Slavic countries.

The Narodni Glasnik of October 16, 1947, page 2, carries an appeal of George Pirinsky, of the Slavic American, to subscribe to this periodical under the title "The Slavic American Is Your Paper, It Speaks for You, Subscribe to It." Pirinsky boasts that "in the course of the last fortnight over a thousand people subscribed."

The Slobodna Rec of August 5, 1947, page 3, carries a report on the "magnificent welcome to Bozo Galeb and Martin Zorich in Cupertino, Calif." Among other things Bozo Galeb is quoted as saying that in Yugoslavia:

The people cleaned the country forever. They have forged not only the brotherhood and unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but also the brotherhood and unity with all other Slav nations which fought for the same cause.

There is no more hatred, envy, and odium among the people in Yugoslavia. Instead of that love, warmth, cordiality, sincerity, and the mutual devotion of one to another prevails. They, in Yugoslavia, call all that brotherhood and unity. In the same way there is a strong all-Slav solidarity and also a strong friendship toward all freedom-loving people who work for cooperation and peace.

The Slobodna Rec of September 16, 1947, page 3, carries an announcement of a public meeting of the United Committee of the South Slavic Americans in connection with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, on September 25, Manhattan Center, Thirty-fourth Street and Eighth Avenue, New York. The chairman of the conference was Louis Adamic. The announcement is signed by Leo Bacich, executive secretary of the united committee.

The same issue of the *Slobodna Rec* publishes on page 4 an article, *The Un-American Committee Must Go*, by Harry M. Justiz. Above it is a report on a meeting of the American Slav Congress under the title, "Henry Wallace Presented With Slavic-American Magazine." The subtitle reads, "Urges Slavic Americans To Take an Active Part in Elections and Promote Friendship Between America and Slav Nations." George Pirinsky, executive secretary of the American Slav Congress, greeted the Michigan group and commended them for the good work they are doing.

The *Slobodna Rec* of October 15, 1947, page 3, carries a poem by Krcun Sekulich which is directed against Serbian and other Fascists who want to "break down the iron curtain," but will fail, because "behind it is a great fighting army of 300,000,000 Slavs, which have weapons and food and are led by two giants: Tito and Stalin." They have "given power to the workers and shaken the whole world. * * * Especially are trembling the Nazis and Fascists, rich people and monopolists. From slaves they became men, and capital is no longer their judge. All people must finally be equal." In this poem the Serbian Chetniks are assailed and called names, and the Slavs are glorified.

The same issue of the *Slobodna Rec* carries a report on an article of Bozidar Milosevich on the importance of Slav unity for peace, published in the August-September issue of the magazine, *The Protestant*, under the title, "Slavs United for Peace."

The *Slobodna Rec* of October 25, 1947, page 4, carries an open letter of Los Angeles Slavs to President Truman, unanimously endorsed by over 1,000 people attending the fall Slav festival at 330 South Ford Boulevard, sponsored by the Slavic Council of Los Angeles. The letter urges President Truman to adopt a "realistic approach in our relations with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Poland, and Yugoslavia," and "to do all within your power to promote friendly relations and understanding between our Nation and our allies, the people of the Slavic countries." It is signed by the Slavic Council of Los Angeles, George V. Boroz, president, and Casimir E. Nowacki, executive secretary.

The *Slobodna Rec* of November 1, 1947, page 2, carries a public statement of the executive committee of the American Slav Congress of western Pennsylvania, signed by George S. Wuchinich, executive secretary, Pittsburgh, Pa., against Judge Blair Gunther and Harry Alan Sherman, lawyer.

The same issue of the *Slobodna Rec* carries, page 3, a report by Drago Kosich, editor of the *Slobodna Rec*, on the "magnificent success" of the banquet of the Serbian Peoples Congress. As usual the loyalty of these people is pledged, not to America, but to all Slav countries. Philip Vukelich, representative of the Council of American Croats, and chief editor of the newspaper *Zajednicar* (organ of the Croatian Fraternal Union) declares:

All Slavs have united in all Slav countries, and we have to do the same. * * *

Back in the old times, the Romans used to say that if the Slavs would unite, they would become an important factor in the world.

The *Slobodna Rec* of November 5, 1947, page 3, publishes an article by Milan Draskovich, Wilmington, Calif., praising Jovo Popovich, the delegate at the convention of the Serb National Federation, who

was expelled by unanimous vote, and assailing Tomo Deretich, who failed to realize that—

All this boils down to one thing, to send the Slavs again to be killed.

In the Slobodna Rec of November 19, 1947, page 3, an article, under the title "The Armistice Day of November 11," is published in which Dushan M. Peyovich, Detroit, Mich., asks:

With whom shall we make friends and plan a lasting peace in the world? With the attackers on Pearl Harbor and Belgrade, Stalingrad, and London? Or with the age-old friends of unity and peace, the Slav Nations?

In the Slobodna Rec of November 29, 1947, page 2, its chief editor Stanko Vuich in his article Why Are the American Slavs Being Slandered? takes issue with Robert Taylor, who wrote several articles in the Pittsburgh Press on the American Slav Congress and similar organizations:

What upsets him [Taylor] most is that the Slavs are taking an active part in preparing the meetings of Henry A. Wallace. This grieves him much, and he goes as far as calling Wallace himself a Communist. To be active in the workers' union and to fight for the interest of the American workers is, for the Pittsburgh Press, to indulge in disloyal activities.

The attacked Slavic organizations and individuals were among the first to support President Roosevelt and his policy.

In an article entitled "The Unity of the Slavs Is an Important Factor for a Lasting Peace in the World" (Slobodna Rec, November 29, 1947, pp. 3 and 4), Jovan Mushikich takes a typically "progressive" Slavic stand:

In the past * * * agreements were made with the help and approval of the western European countries at the expense of small Slavic nations, and even of Russia * * *.

For centuries, the small Slavic nations remained the object of trading between the ruthless European countries whose enmity toward the Slavs is age-old.

Once again, where the Soviet Union is concerned, the Slobodna Rec, its editors and correspondents identify the people with the Government, whereas, when their own country, the United States of America, is concerned they always make the strictest distinction between the interests of the people and the governmental policy which is, allegedly, against the essential interests of the people. Mushikich exemplifies this practice:

Today * * * the people of Russia, with its unity, spirit of sacrifice, and great heroism, as well as owing to its modern policy saved not only its own country from the enemy, but all other countries in the world * * *.

The arrival of the glorious Red Army on the territory of the small Slavic nations is the most precious event which will shine on the most recent pages of the history of Slavic people. Through that were realized their strivings, secured their national boundaries, and democracy, and at the same time were cemented the solidarity and friendship of all Slavic nations * * *.

The united Slavs, together with all democratic and peace-loving people of the world, will secure peace and freedom.

And this article in the Slobodna Rec, which never hails the brotherhood and unity of all Americans, ends with an enthusiastic:

Long live the brotherhood and unity of all Slavs.

In an article published in the Slobodna Rec of December 31, 1947, page 2, S. Vukalovich says:

In the last war Russia broke Hitler. Fascism was not able to break the Slavs but broke itself. That is what the Fascists can never forgive Russia for. That is the reason why they are now attacking the Slavs and Russia.

The same issue of the *Slobodna Rec* carries (p. 4): "New Year's greeting of the Yugoslav Seamen's Club in New York" addressed to "all brothers and sisters in the United States, Canada, South America, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries:

We wish you further success in your work for the unity of all south Slav and all Slav nations.

Long live the brotherhood and unity of all Slavs.

The greeting is signed by Toma Babin, chairman of the club.

The *Slobodna Rec* of August 26, 1947, publishes (p. 4) an article by George S. Wuchinich, executive secretary of the American Slav Congress of western Pennsylvania under the title "Widen Democracy—Don't Narrow It."

The *Slobodna Rec* of November 12, 1947, describes (p. 3) the conference of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born in Cleveland on October 25, 26. After saying that many resolutions were adopted, among which, one to "dissolve the House Committee on Un-American Affairs, as well as the Ku Klux Klan," they informed the readers that after the conference "there was a meeting of a few Slavs with George Pirinsky. Pirinsky explained the situation of the American Slav Congress and appealed for financial help in the amount of approximately \$100,000 in order to enable it "to realize its many aims as an efficient organization." The reporter of the *Slobodna Rec* concludes that "this is briefly my report. The thing is big, the struggle against the reaction must be waged on all sides."

The *Slobodna Rec* of November 22, 1947, carries a large announcement of the People's Festival in Pittsburgh, featuring Louis Adamic, "outstanding people's writer," and Paul Robeson, "famous singer," and says:

Tickets can be obtained at the American Slav Congress of western Pennsylvania, 1005 Berger Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

In the same issue of the *Slobodna Rec*, an article is published against the labor-hating Pittsburgh Press. A photostatic copy of a letter of President Roosevelt of September 11, 1944, addressed to the Second Slav Congress is reproduced in order to "refute the lies now being spread by the Pittsburgh Press against the American Slavs" since—

Now these great American patriots of Slavic origin are subjected to a campaign of vilification and smear by an unscrupulous big-business press.

Thus, the appeal to all-Slav solidarity which represents one of the main themes of the progressive propaganda among Americans of Slavic origin is far from having a purely sentimental character. Besides creating the necessary state of mind and mood to fight capitalism, which is allegedly the main enemy of the Slavs, this appeal to Slavism is connected with some concrete facts which the Communists are never tired of repeating in connection with the decisive question of what will happen in case of war. A few examples might illustrate the practical revolutionary importance of this "Slavic propaganda":

1. In a chapter entitled "American Yugoslavs—Backbone of the American Slav Congress," Mirko Markovich in his pamphlet *The Struggle in America for a New Yugoslavia* says:

Many theoreticians tried and are trying to prove the Anglo-Saxon origin of the Americans as a nation. But many facts are fundamentally correcting this "Anglo-Saxon" theory. One of the most striking is the following: During

the war, it was discovered and statistically proven that over one-half of the war material produced in the United States was produced by the hands of the American Slavs. In other words, more than half of the workers who were employed in war industry, especially heavy industry, were Slavs. American-Slavs in the United States number between 13 and 15 million people.

This fact alone reveals the importance of the role of Slavs in America during the war for the cause of the United States, for the cause of the whole anti-Hitler coalition. That is why it was of unusual importance to build up and develop the anti-Fascist united front of Americans of Slavic origin (p. 45).

2. The Slobodna Rec of April 29, 1947, page 2, published an article of Dimitar Vlahov, vice president of the F. P. R. Yugoslavia, and delegate to the UN conference in New York, under the title "What Vlahov Says About the Immigrants in the United States."

Americans of Slav origin represent a very considerable force, because they constitute 50 percent of all the workers in the American heavy and war industries * * *

The progressive role of Americans of Slav origin is today a well-known fact. They exert an important influence between the American people and the Slav nations.

Until the attack of Hitler's Germany on the Soviet Union, Americans of Slav origin, whose number amounts to 15,000,000 people, had no special mutual links, but as they understood what a menace fascism represented for the Slav nation, they organized themselves and formed special committees for an efficient struggle against fascism. * * *

They founded several very active committees, among which stand out the Committee for Yugoslav Relief, the Committee for Aid to Macedonia, the Committee for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, the Special Committee for Collecting the Funds for Building a Modern Hospital in Dalmatia, further committees for building hospitals in Macedonia and Hercegovina, as well as the committees of people from Lika and Hercegovina for the aid to these regions.

After praising the work of the American Slav Congress, Vlahov ends his article by saying:

The huge majority of our immigrants stand firmly by the F. P. R. Yugoslavia.

3. In the Slobodna Rec of February 2, 1946, page 3, an article was published by Milan Polovina, dealing with the problem of strikes and workers' rights, in which the author says:

The fact that in those industries [i.e., steel and automobile] 52 percent of the workers are Slavs and that, on account of that, the success or failure of the workers' claims depends to a great extent upon them, burdens us Americans of Slav descent with a great responsibility to the working people of this country. * * *

The employers who had billions of profits during World War II, want to continue accumulating that immense wealth even at the expense of workers' lives, standard of living, and the welfare of the workers' families, and even at the expense of the survival and welfare of our country, America. That is what we are fighting against. * * * In that struggle, we Americans of Slavic origin, are playing a great and important role.

4. Maybe the most outspoken in dealing with this problem was George S. Wuchinich who, in his column "Keep America Free," published in the Narodni Glasnik of October 13, 1948, page 4, said:

Fifteen million work in the basic industries and they know the meaning of Berlin. To have war, steel and coal must flow out of mills and mines.

The same Wuchinich, besides being executive secretary of the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania, and an organizer of the Progressive Party, has played an increasing role in the Slobodna Rec and Narodni Glasnik. Three days before the Cominform-Tito clash, he announced in one of his articles that the Narodni Glasnik

had decided "to make this column a weekly feature." Very politely, Wuchinich declares:

We in the [American Slav] Congress thank them for this opportunity to reach you.

And since Wuchinich has had plenty of opportunity to reach the readers of the Narodni Glasnik, as well as of the Slobodna Rec, his views can be considered as representative of the links which bind together the American Slav Congress, the Progressive Party, and the "progressive" American Serbs and Croats organized around the Narodni Glasnik and Slobodna Rec. As can be seen from the following examples, Wuchinich's dominant concern is to preserve in all themes and problems, the purity of the "progressive" line:

America, arsenal for world reaction.—The Slobodna Rec of May 15, 1948, carries a "Call to the Tenth Anniversary Conference of the American Slav Congress," signed by George Wuchinich, in which it is said:

Another war is being planned. * * *

Preparations for war go full speed ahead in our country. Politicians are fast making America an arsenal for world reaction and not democracy. At home, the Taft-Hartley law does its work against the people. * * *

A cloud of fear spreads over the Nation endangering our civil liberties.

The Narodni Glasnik of May 27, 1948, carries on page 4 the full text of a radio address by George Wuchinich delivered on May 23 under the title, "The Mundt Bill Is a Measure to Introduce a Police State and Fascism in the U. S. A." Subtitle: "Quick Action by an Aroused People is Needed to Defeat the Mundt Bill."

In 1948 * * * we face a crisis. * * * The American people must awaken. Franklin Delano Roosevelt led the war for world liberation against fascism. * * *

After these sacrifices do we want fascism here? Do we want it to happen here?

Anyone who is "left of feudalism"—who believes in the practices of the Roosevelt policies—that person is a target for the Mundt bill.

Last week, President Truman said publicly that enough laws exist to deal with treason and subversion.

Even during the war, when our national security was at stake, when we fought humanity's worst enemies, we had no Mundt bill. * * *

This bill has a specific purpose—to launch America into a police state.

This is fascism; this is the reason for the Mundt bill. It's fascism, feudalism—or democracy. And it's up to you * * *.

Privileged forces against democracy.—In an article entitled "Widen Democracy—Don't Narrow It," published in the Narodni Glasnik of August 21, 1947, George S. Wuchinich expresses his apprehensions about America's future:

America's democratic traditions are in great danger today. Powerful interests, mainly those of monopoly, have waged an offensive against the people during the past session of the Eightieth Congress. Not satisfied with a 50- to 75-percent higher cost of living, they are now attacking our civil liberties with greater vigor than ever before. Instead of courage and justice in the land, we find fear and suspicion spreading. Instead of more democracy, we see privileged forces openly working to restrict it.

"Reaction * * * singled out the Slav Congress as a distinctly leftist organization. To this weapon another one was added—the slander of a Slavic fifth column in America. And remember this is to strike fear into all Americans."

The Marshall plan.—In his column in Narodni Glasnik of October 13, 1948, page 4, Wuchinich says:

The Marshall plan that was supposed to do wonders in France with tons of Coca-Cola juice, with millions of toothpicks and tubes of toothpaste, is falling

apart. The people of France parade the streets saying they will not fight the Soviet Union; that they don't want any part of the Marshall plan.

Yeah, that's those Communists, says Wall Street.

Everywhere they take up the "red herring," always blaming it on the Reds.

Why, there must be over 1,000,000,000 Reds in the world.

More than 200,000,000 in China alone.

Everyone who is against Wall Street is a Red—the press and radio say it again and again. * * *

Here at home these men of money plan their biggest Red-baiting stunt. They're going to have a trial this Friday of 12 leading Communists. They want to hang the rap on them. Blame them for everything.

"O. K.," says Wall Street to itself; "we can't save China, Greece, France, Germany, England, Africa, Asia, but we can save ourselves at home. Those foreign Communists won't listen to us, but we'll make those Joes at home pay and pay."

They won't make the Communists pay. They're going to make you pay. They don't want the Communists alone, they want to put the American people in a grab bag.

Sure, indict the Communists if they are responsible for high prices, for \$2,500 autos that are worth \$1,000, for high rents and no houses, for high corporation profits, for the Taft-Hartley law, for the fear they spread, for the lynching of Negroes.

Sure, indict Communists if they do this.

But, they don't do this.

Who does it?

Look at Congress and the Senate. Is there a Communist holding a seat in either House? No; there isn't. Not a single Communist in our Government. It's either a Republican or Democrat who voted to kill OPA, to bust unions with Hartley, who O. K.'d the draft, who lowered taxes for corporations, who hold up housing, and give \$200,000 to the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Every law we have is passed by either a Republican or Democrat.

Indict these—not the Communists.

Hitler blamed Communists and hundreds of millions learned the lesson the hard way. Must we jump at the bidding of liars, at the bidding of false fronts, of Wall Streeters and their donkeys and elephants, who blare and bluster about communism? * * *

Voting for Truman or Dewey means that people like Ilse Koch will be coming to America to teach others like her to make lamp shades out of human skin. It means that more Negroes will be lynched and that more unions will be busted.

The column of December 8, 1948, in the Narodni Glasnik is used to present an interview broadcast by Wuchinich with Gus Hall, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of America, on the issue of civil rights. Wuchinich, after presenting Hall, said:

His civil rights are in danger. So are yours. * * * The issue is not socialism or communism; it's you and your rights that are [the issues] * * *

HALL. There are altogether 12 of us indicted * * *.

WUCHINICH. Twelve of you? History records another 12—Jesus Christ and his 12 disciples—the 12 apostles.

HALL. I have good company. * * *

WUCHINICH. If you are convicted, then no man or woman is safe?

HALL. Our conviction would mean that America stands convicted before the world, not us. * * *

If civil rights are taken from Communists, from trade-unions, from religious and national groups, then nothing will stop fascism in America.

WUCHINICH. We * * * are privileged to present you. We have read and heard about your party and have been accused of being a Communist front. We know something of what you undergo. * * *

In his column of March 2, 1949, Wuchinich says:

The case of the Cardinal [Mindszenty] has been judged by the Hungarian people. That is their affair. In our land, those who use him and religion for a war hysteria, are not men of peace, they lead people to slaughter. * * *

The men who issued a call to arms today, do it on the same theme as did Hitler—anticommunism. * * *

People are thinking, and not in the direction the monopoly press wants them to go.

People want peace—not war.

In his column of March 3, 1949 (*Slobodna Rec* for March 5), Wuchinich declares:

Washington is as busy as a bee over its newest baby, the Atlantic Pact. It's being born illegally.

President Truman, Dean Acheson, and bipartisanites are fathers of this child—the pact. * * *

Still the pushers of this pact ignore the Constitution and in the name of anticommunism are promising that American blood will be shed without Congress having to make it legal. * * *

Here, on the one side, is an attempt to violate our Constitution in the arena of world affairs, and at home in New York is still another that does it against the civil rights of all Americans. * * *

The jury itself is a violation of our Constitution. Only the rich, privileged are asked to serve.

Now there is a parallel to the Atlantic Pact and the New York trial. They are both being done in the name of anticommunism. Marshall planners, Truman doctriners, and bipartisanites are raising the world banner of anticommunism—gathering up bases, making treaties, lend-leasing arms, sending military and police missions to Iran, Turkey, Greece, China—and even this they have found is not enough—but they must deny Americans the right to think and hold ideas.

Defeat after defeat has met their plans. Today, over the past week, we have the announcements from France and Italy by the leaders of the people, Thorez and Togliatti,¹ that their people will not join in a war of anticommunism, and have their countries become battlegrounds for American imperialism.

Anticommunism, whether American brand or German, leads to one road—the violation of people's democratic will.

Atlantic Pact—New York trial of Communists—it's all the same cloth, falsely woven into lies and laid into a trap into which our future, if we let it, will be soaked in blood.

In his column of March 16, 1949, Wuchinich asserts:

These are your dollars and wealth that should go to stop unemployment, to lower prices, spread national health systems, to build TVA's, and to widen our social security. These are peaceful pursuits; the others lead to war. * * *

Unemployment is the issue, not Red baiting.

Wuchinich's views on anticommunism do not seem to differ materially from those of Milton Howard, *Daily Worker* columnist, who thinks "Not communism, but anticommunism is a conspiracy" (*the Worker*, May 9, 1948, p. 7), and that—

The modern philosophy of anticommunism reached its peak in the writings and activities of Adolf Hitler (*the Worker*, Sept. 19, 1948, p. 7).

In his column of May 9, 1949, Wuchinich states:

Instead of war and huge military budgets, we must consider trade with the Soviet Union. * * *

This is the No. 1 point on the order of business—and not war.

In his column of June 30, 1949, Wuchinich says:

Ominously, the FBI is showing itself as a model of a police state so beloved by Hitler, Himmler, and Heydrich the Hangman. Suicides and mysterious deaths have already resulted from the many investigations conducted by the FBI, Department of Justice, House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Judiciary Committee, and other bodies that spend public money ferreting into people's minds.

¹ Maurice Thorez, secretary-general of the French Communist Party; Palmiro Togliatti, secretary of the Italian Communist Party.

IX. THE YUGOSLAV "PROGRESSIVE" PRESS AND THE ACTIVITIES OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FPR YUGOSLAVIA IN THE UNITED STATES

Although the evidence already presented leaves no doubt as to the real character of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik*, it seems appropriate to present, for the sake of completeness, the evidence about the activities of the officials of the Yugoslav Embassy in the United States, as well as of the officials of the Yugoslav delegations to the United Nations Organization, Red Cross, and others, as recorded in the pages of these newspapers.

The fact that the instances quoted in this chapter belong into the period before the Cominform-Tito clash does not make them obsolete. On the contrary, we consider this fact as enhancing the importance of the evidence quoted, since that period was marked by an unparalleled submission of Yugoslav Communist policy to Soviet policy. It must be borne in mind that it is the period when Edvard Kardelj, the then Yugoslav Foreign Minister, asked the Soviet Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Sadchikov,¹ "that the Soviet Union regard us [the Yugoslav Communists] as representatives of one of the future Soviet republics and not as representatives of another country able to solve her problems independently, and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as a part of the All-Union Communist Party, which is to say that our relations ensue from the perspective that Yugoslavia in the future will become a part of the U. S. S. R." (letters of the CKKPY, central committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and letters of the CKSKP, central committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), Belgrade, 1948, Serbian ed., p. 42).

Consequently, the documents presented here pertain to a period when the U. S. S. R. was "directing the domestic and foreign policies of Yugoslavia in the right way" (letters, p. 42).

A. *Activities of the Yugoslav Embassy staff*

According to the *Slobodna Rec*, the following instances can be cited:

1. Popular meeting of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans, Chicago, February 9, 1946. Speakers: Dr. Sergije Makiedo, counselor of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington, D. C., on behalf of the Ambassador, and Vladimir Vukmirovic, consul general in Chicago. Besides them, all the members of the delegation of the Yugoslav Red Cross: Dr. Robert Neubauer, Nada Krajger, and Gayo Ratkovich. The film, the Liberation of Belgrade, shown on that occasion, was certainly quite instrumental in supporting the official Communist thesis that not the western allies but U. S. S. R. and the Yugoslav Communist guerrillas beat the Germans and won the war (*Slobodna Rec*, February 2, 1946, p. 4).

Later, on the very day of the meeting, it was announced that the main speaker would be "the former Yugoslav Ambassador to the United States and newly appointed Foreign Minister of Yugoslav, Stanoje Simic."

2. Great popular meeting and concert given by the Democratic Serbian Women of Western Pennsylvania, on February 24, 1946, with "net proceeds going to the people of Yugoslavia." Speakers: Capt. George Wuchinich, "officer of the American Army" (and executive sec-

¹ Ivan V. Sadchikov.

retary of the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania), and Maj. Branko Vukelich, "officer of the Yugoslav Army." Maybe such a way of featuring these two speakers was intended to suggest the identity of views between "progressive elements" of the American Army, and officers of the army of the FPR Yugoslavia, which is entirely "progressive." Main guest speaker: Mrs. Danica Simic, wife of the Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs.

3. *Slobodna Rec* of March 9, 1946, page 2, published in connection with an article of Mary Sumrak on International Women's Day, a picture of Mrs. Simic and Mrs. Sime Balen, wife of the press attaché of the Yugoslav Embassy and former Partisan fighter.

4. On May 19, 1946, Dr. Sergije Makiedo spoke at the meeting of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief. After describing the sacrifices and efforts of the people in Yugoslavia, he said: "And still, in spite of all our efforts, we would be exposed to many sufferings, were it not for the help of you, our friends in other countries. The UNRRA helped us to save millions of lives. The Red Cross has helped us, and the American Committee for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia has given to us not only its material help, but its warm feelings, as it understood our problems and our achievements and contributed much to the understanding of other friends of ours in this country" (*Slobodna Rec*, May 21, 1946, p. 2). In view of the fact that the financial burden of UNRRA was carried not by individuals but by the American taxpayers—that is, the United States as a whole—the turn which Dr. Makiedo gives to that help does not seem to be accidental or naive. His accent on the work of enlightenment of Americans done by the American Committee for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia also deserves some attention.

5. "Representatives of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington" were present at the queer celebration of Independence Day by the Croatian National Council, mentioned before (*Slobodna Rec*, June 29, 1946, p. 4).

6. The consul general in Chicago, Vladimir Vukmirovic, spoke as "representative of the Embassy of FPR Yugoslavia in Washington, D. C.," at the "splendid banquet in honor of the delegates and guests of the Serbian National Congress" in Pittsburgh, September 1, 1946 (*Slobodna Rec*, Aug. 31, 1946, p. 1).

7. Consul General Vukmirovic, "as a delegate of Yugoslavia," spoke at the banquet of the American Slav Congress in Pittsburgh (*Slobodna Rec*, September 7, 1946, p. 2).

8. Sava Kosanovich, Ambassador of FPR Yugoslavia in Washington, D. C., spoke at a mass rally in Madison Square Garden, with which the American Slav Congress in New York (Sept. 20–22, 1946) was concluded.

9. On December 1, 1946, the Dalmatian-American club of western Pennsylvania, Free Dalmatia, organized a "Dalmatian Evening." The main speaker was Dalibor Soldatic, the social attaché of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington, "who recently arrived from Yugoslavia." The *Slobodna Rec* made known that the proceeds would be devoted to "technical help to the newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija* (*Free Dalmatia*)" and that "our brother, D. Soldatic, will explain to us the newest events in our dear homeland" (whereby of course the term "our dear homeland" does not apply to the United States, but to Communist Yugoslavia) (*Slobodna Rec* Nov. 27, 1946, p. 4).

10. At the big ball, organized by the newly founded All-Slav Federation for Lakawanna, December 1, 1946, whose proceeds were devoted to "building a new children-hospital in F. P. R. Y.," the main speaker was Sime Balen, press attaché of the Yugoslav Embassy, "who fought valiantly for the liberation of our country, Yugoslavia" (Slobodna Rec, Nov. 27, 1946, p. 4).

11. Sava Kosanovic, Yugoslav Ambassador, spoke at a great mass meeting organized for the aid to Yugoslav children on February 2, 1947, in Pittsburgh, Pa. (Slobodna Rec, Jan. 25, 1947, p. 1).

12. Sime Balen, press attaché of the Yugoslav Embassy, spoke at a meeting and concert organized by the Council of Free Croatian Men and Women in New York City on February 9, 1947, which was announced as "important." It was stressed that "after the speech people from the audience may ask questions of the speaker" (Slobodna Rec, Feb. 2, 1947, p. 4).

13. Dr. Sergije Makiedo, counselor of the Yugoslav Embassy, and consul general, Vukmirovic, spoke at the "great celebration" of the third anniversary of the Croatian-American Club Partisan in Chicago on February 16, 1947. The proceeds went to "our people in Yugoslavia" (Slobodna Rec, Feb. 2, 1947, p. 4).

14. Dr. Slavko Zore, counselor of the Yugoslav Embassy, spoke in Milwaukee, Wis. "He first greeted the public in English and spoke in English about half an hour; then he spoke in Serbo-Croatian and then in Slovenian." Dr. Zore obviously would not miss the opportunity to let people know in three languages what he thought of the progress and strength of F. P. R. Y., as well as of Mr. Churchill's idea of the iron curtain and his Fulton, Mo., speech, as these were the main points of Dr. Zore's speech. When the toastmaster introduced Dr. Zore to the public, he received "thunderous applause. People rose to their feet to greet their dear guest. And during his speech he was often greeted with enormous applause" (Slobodna Rec, Apr. 17, 1949).

15. At the solemn celebration of the sixth anniversary of the "uprising in Montenegro," July 13, 1941, organized by the united Serbian organizations of New York City, the Yugoslav consul general in New York, Miodrag Markovich, delivered a long speech in which he praised the Yugoslav partisans and their activities in 1941. They did so well "that Generalissimo Stalin could say, 'The flame of the partisan struggle has spread to all Yugoslavia.'" It is very interesting that a Yugoslav consul general to New York does not know that President Roosevelt, the then Chief Executive of the country to which he is accredited as a diplomat, spoke at that time (1941) of the "valiant struggle of the Russians and the Serbs" (quotation approximate), but, strangely enough, quotes the words of "Generalissimo Stalin." At the same occasion Markovich did not miss the opportunity to say that the "partisan victories brought not only freedom to the Yugoslav peoples but the partisans brought also new conceptions of a social order" (Slobodna Rec, July 31, 1947, p. 2).

16. Consul General Miodrag Markovich spoke in New York on the occasion of the state holiday of Yugoslavia, November 29, 1947, and stressed that the F. P. R. Y. was "realizing the 5-year plan without inflation." Perhaps a survey of the American press dealing with the danger of inflation in the United States at that time would be quite indicative as to the motives of Consul General Markovich in mentioning the inflation.

17. At the banquet of the American Serbian Women in Pittsburgh, February 24, 1947, which was a "manifestation for Yugoslavia," the main speakers were Mrs. Danica Simic, wife of the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, and Mrs. Sime Balen, wife of the press attaché of the Yugoslav Embassy and herself representative of the Anti-Fascist Women's Front of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington, D. C.

"The entry of Mrs. Simic, Mrs. Balen, and Major Vukelich was greeted by the public, standing, with a long applause." Mrs. Simic spoke at length about the "traitor Draza Mihailovich." As for Mrs. Balen—

she was not on the program, but as the people knew she was there, they wanted her to say a few words at any cost. Especially since her husband left a good impression with his speech in the midst of us. She was greeted sincerely and enthusiastically. She brought the greetings of the Anti-Fascist Women's Front of Yugoslavia, an organization which was created before the war and which played one of the great and glorious roles in the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Mrs. Simic and Balen stayed in our midst 5 days, during which they were invited to visit many of our American institutions and organizations. We have not words enough to thank them all, who contributed that our organizations could give this modest moral and material help to our peoples * * * to build a bright and happy future toward which the genial Marshal Tito is leading them (Slobodna Rec, Mar. 21, 1946, pp. 3-4).

18. At the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the coup d'état of March 27, 1941, in Pittsburgh, took part Dr. Slavko Zore, counselor of the Yugoslav Embassy, and Sime Balen, press attaché, beside Dr. Nikola Petrovich, Yugoslav Minister of Commerce. Balen attacked Draza Mihailovich and hailed Tito, but was on the whole rather reserved. Dr. Zore "explained to the listeners the events in Yugoslavia and stressed the meaning of the national revival."

19. A meeting held in the Palm Garden Hall in New York (May 5, 1946), where the main guests were members of the Yugoslav delegation to the UNO, was also attended by Col. Mihovil Tartaglia, military attaché of the Yugoslav Embassy, as well as Aleksandar Franich, Director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Pavle Lukin, Director of the Personnel Division of the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry; and Zaka Popovich, Counselor of the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

20. Sime Balen, colonel of the National Army of Liberation of Yugoslavia and press attaché of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington, D. C., spoke, together with Zlatko Balokovic and Maj. Branko Vukelich, at the picnic of the Serbian organizations of New York City, which had "to show our solidarity with our heroic peoples in Yugoslavia." The proceeds were dedicated to "building hospitals in Yugoslavia."

21. Sava Kosanovic, Yugoslav Ambassador, was main speaker at the Second Congress of American Croatians (Cleveland, April 13, 1947), together with Leo Krzycki, chairman of the American Slav Congress (Slobodna Rec, April 24, 1947).

22. Sava Kosanovic spoke at the banquet of the Second Serbian National Congress in Pittsburgh on October 26, 1947.

23. Sava Kosanovic was featured as main speaker at the Yugoslav exhibit, sponsored by the Twenty-fourth Annual Women's International Exposition, November 6, 1947. Also present was the singing choir Jedinstvo (Unity) directed by Dr. Lujo Goranin, and others.

Since in 1946, the most-featured public speaker at American-Yugoslav Communist gatherings was Maj. Branko Vukelich, "one of the

leaders of the people's uprising in Lika, and later social attaché of F. P. R. Y. in Ottawa, Canada," it is worth while dwelling a little on his activities:

1. Speaker, in addition to Capt. George Wuchinich and Mrs. Simic, at the "great popular meeting" of the Democratic Serbian Women of Western Pennsylvania, on February 24, 1946 (Slobodna Rec, February 19, 1946, p. 3).

Western Pennsylvania, on February 24, 1946 (Slobodna Rec, February 21, 1946 (Slobodna Rec, February 19, 1946, p. 1).

3. At the "great popular meeting" in Chicago, on March 17, 1946, besides other speakers, Vukelich is featured as "member of the Yugoslav Embassy" (Slobodna Rec, March 12, p. 1).

4. At the "great popular meeting" in Chicago (March 24, 1946), organized by the Serbian Progressive Club, Sloboda, Vukelich spoke about Yugoslavia during the German occupation. No account of his speech was published, but the announcement of the organizers is indicative enough. It reads:

Brothers and sisters in Chicago. Come to hear the plain truth from the lips of a man who fought for the liberation of the whole Yugoslav people. You must hear both sides. Do not believe what various agents and stooges of Fotich¹ and his like, who while mourning the fat and money posts which they have lost, are lying and shedding crocodile tears over the fate of the Serbian people (Slobodna Rec, Mar. 19, 1946, p. 1).

5. Slobodna Rec, of March 21, 1946, No. 34, page 2, published under the title "People's Fighter Branko Vukelich on the Historical Change in Yugoslavia":

A very interesting and important talk which Major Vukelich, member of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington, D. C., a well-known and outstanding organizer of the uprising in Primorje, Gorski Kotar, and Dreznica had with our Canadian comrades.

Vukelich first criticized the domestic policy of Yugoslavia until 1941 in a most biased and arbitrary way, following the Communist Party line. Then he assailed Yugoslavia's foreign policy, which was "an inimical policy toward our eldest brother, the Soviet Union."

In order to keep this slave order, the regime ruthlessly fought the political thought of the people, and its first and heavy blows were aimed especially at the vanguard of that people's thought and ideals—that is, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia—and so it outlawed it in the very first years of existence of Yugoslavia.

Vukelich finally praised all the achievements of Communist Yugoslavia, and particularly the social care for children:

In those villas and palaces where formerly licentious princes, kings, ministers, barons, and rich people were living luxuriously and making plans how to fight down democracy and the people, now there is our young hope—to who all that belongs.

6. After such speeches, it is no wonder that Slobodna Rec (March 21, 1946, No. 34, p. 3), reporting on the banquet of American Serbian Women in Pittsburgh, where Vukelich spoke, beside Mrs. Simic and Balen, reported that "in a short space of time he has become the most popular speaker among our emigrants in the United States." Vukelich spoke of "how the people fought, what it fought for, what are its

¹Constantin A. Fotich, last Ambassador of non-Communist Yugoslavia to the United States.

ambitions and decisions, what is the present situation in the country, etc.”

7. Speaker at a picnic in Akron, Ohio, June 16, 1946. (Slobodna Rec, June 13, 1946).

8. Slobodna Rec published on June 15, 1946, page 3, Vukelich's photograph with the statement that he “organized the first people's uprising in 1941 in Dreznice, Kordun, which gave 1,800 partisan fighters.”

9. Slobodna Rec of December 4, 1946, page 2, published under the title “What Is Freedom to the People Is Dictatorship and Terrorism to the Enemies of the People?” Vukelich's speech in Ottawa, Canada, at the celebration of November 29. The speech begins:

Dear Brothers and Sisters, Comrades: You have gathered at this grandiose meeting in order to celebrate, as a branch of the great Yugoslav people, November 29, the greatest national holiday of our brotherly, united, and happy people.

After speaking in superlatives of the partisans' activities during the war and the Communist regime in Yugoslavia, he tackled the criticisms of the undemocratic character of that regime:

When they tell us that we abolished liberties and introduced dictatorship, they say it and conceive it under the angle of their felonious and vile aims. We all know and it has been scientifically proved that there are oppressors and oppressed and that those of the two who hold power do not establish dictatorship over themselves nor do they deprive themselves of freedom, but those whom they are going to oppress. * * * It would be stupid to believe that we established dictatorship for ourselves and abolished freedom; and, as for the former oppressors, it is true that they received what they asked for and that an end was put to their harmful activity. Well, the difference is that the former was a complete democracy for a handful of human vultures, and this is democracy for 90 percent of the working people and at that a complete democracy of the finest form. And, inversely, that was a strict dictatorship over 90 percent of the working people, and this is the interdiction of crime to a handful of overthrown exploiters.

Finally, Vukelich praised the secret police, OZNA, as being the people itself: “The Communists * * * gave the power to the peasants and workers in Yugoslavia, and they will see to it that nobody will ever be able to take the power from the hands of the people.”

In this connection, it is very instructive to quote the Slobodna Rec of May 14, 1949, page 3, publishing a letter of the Serbian Progressive Club, Karageorge, Gary, Ind., addressed to Dr. Ivan Ribar, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of FPR Yugoslavia. The club requests that Branko Vukelich, former counselor of the Yugoslav legislation in Ottawa, now in jail in Zagreb, be released. The request is supported as follows:

* * * For your Government's and your information, we take the liberty of telling you this of the activities which Branko Vukelich carried out among the Yugoslav emigrants in America and Canada.

Before Branko's arrival in our midst, at the beginning of 1946, all of us had rather poor information about your heroic and superhuman struggle against the invader and domestic traitors, because among us worked the antipeople's Yugoslav press which was under the influence of the exiled government in London.

With the arrival of Vukelich, the situation changed completely. His fiery speeches at conventions and other meetings exerted such an influence upon the people, that the antipeople's press was obliged to apologize to the public. * * *

Branko Vukelich succeeded, during his brief stay in our midst, to make our immigrants acquainted with the hardships and sufferings of our people in the old country during the struggle for national liberation. It is just on account of that fact that Branko knew how to present to our immigrants the real picture of the struggle and sufferings of our people that our people here started to give and send help to their people with both hands.

Second, Branko, with his energetic work, has done more to make your state leadership popular, your state leadership and the great struggle of the people for Socialist ideas, than any one of your representatives in America or Canada. * * *

(B) Activities of the Yugoslav delegates to the United Nations

This is approximately the framework, furnished by the activities of American-Yugoslav Communists, as well as by the members of the Yugoslav Embassy to the United States, within which the Yugoslav delegates to the UN (or affiliate organizations) were called upon to play their own role. And the Slobodna Rec does not fail to provide the necessary proofs that the UN delegates did their best to act up to the expectations of their masters.

1. The Slobodna Rec of May 16, 1946, p. 2, published, under the title, "The Peoples of Yugoslavia as Guardians of Peace and Fighters for a Happier and Better Future," the broadcast speech which Dr. Dushan Brkich, Minister of Justice in the People's Republic of Croatia and delegate of FPR Yugoslavia to the UN Commission for Human Rights, delivered in New York, on May 10, 1946. Brkich paid tribute to UNRRA, but added that, "our people are expecting, by right, even greater help for the reconstruction of their country and realization of their hopes for a happier future."

2. In the Slobodna Rec of May 23, 1946, in which was published an article of Minister Dushan Brkich on Communist Bulgaria, full of praise and approval, naturally, there appeared also an announcement of forthcoming meeting organized by the Serbian Progressive Club. "Vasa Pelagich" (to be held May 26, 1946) :

Our colony will have the honor of hearing the official representative of FPR Yugoslavia, Minister of PFR Croatia, the Serb Dr. Dushan Brkich. We invite all Slavs to come to this picnic and get acquainted with Minister Brkich, and through him with the real situation in Yugoslavia. * * * At the picnic will also be present our "Shumadinka" Krista Djordjevich, who is a delegate of the FPR Yugoslavia. Minister Dushan Brkich and Krista Djordjevich arrived recently from the old homeland.

3. In its report on the celebration of the cornerstone laying for the Yugoslav Home in New York (Slobodna Rec, June 13, 1946, p. 3), it was especially announced to the public "that diplomatic representatives of our fatherland, FPRY, who have come to represent it before the UN, were present at the celebration." They were Dushan Brkich and Krista Djordjevich.

The public greeted with great enthusiasm our dear and cherished guests and representatives of FPRY, because we and our gatherings were not accustomed to be visited by diplomats and representatives of the past and old Yugoslavia.

4. It is worth while mentioning that the Third American Slav Congress (September 20-22, 1946) was attended by Dr. Oskar Lange, Poland's representative to the United States, besides Sava Kosanovic, the Yugoslav Ambassador representing Yugoslavia (Slobodna Rec, October 22, 1946, p. 4).

5. Under the title "Dimitar Vlahov—Macedonian and Yugoslav Fighter and Statesman," the Slobodna Rec of December 11, 1946, publishes the biography of Vlahov, Yugoslav delegate at the session of the UN in New York. According to this biography, Vlahov spent his whole life in illegal political activity :

Because of his progressive views, he was named the first Socialist in the Turkish Parliament. Between the two World Wars he published several Communist newspapers and periodicals. In 1925 he founded the United Macedonian Revo-

lutionary Organization. In 1933, during the Anti-Fascist Congress in Paris, he was elected member of the central committee of that congress, whose chairman was the well-known French writer and democratic fighter, Henri Barbusse.

Vlahov wrote articles in *L'Humanité*, *Pravda* (Moscow), and many other newspapers. In 1943, when the foundations of a Communist Yugoslavia were laid (although illegally), Vlahov was elected vice president of the first Provisory Yugoslav Communist Parliament. During the Paris Peace Conference in 1946, Vlahov was a member of the delegation.

6. A few days later the *Slobodna Rec* of December 31, 1946, No. 188, page 4, published an account of Vlahov's visit to Detroit:

In spite of the few days available for preparations, the attendance at the splendid banquet in honor of Vlahov was larger than could be expected.

Four hundred and fifty persons filled the crystal ballroom of the Hotel Book-Cadillac, and many had to withdraw as there were no more places.

When Vlahov rose to speak, the great hall resounded from thunderous applause. Vlahov described the history of the Macedonian people and described in detail its importance within the framework of the struggle against fascism and against domestic quislings.

Today the Macedonians have equal rights with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, and there are no more "great Serbian gendarmes who would terrorize the poor," said Vlahov.

The common struggle with the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrines, and other freedom-loving people * * * has forged our unity which nobody is able to break any more, however cunning he may be. There is no more danger of "great-Serbianism" and "great Serbian dictatorship," nor will there ever be any, as with Tito there is no difference between various religions and political groups. Those who work for the people have the greatest rights and their labor is acknowledged.

At the banquet \$14,000 was collected for a hospital in Skoplje. * * * This sum was the beginning of the campaign to collect \$250,000.

This speech will be better understood if an article (radio speech) of Vlahov's, under the title "The Colonial Peoples Must Be Guaranteed Full Social, Political, and Cultural Development," is taken into consideration, as it distinctly shows that Vlahov did not look for the best solution of the "Macedonian problem" according to the needs of the "Macedonian people," but tends to apply to all peoples, regardless of all their peculiarities and special circumstances of life, character, and history, the same Communist pattern.

7. The *Slobodna Rec* of January 6, 1947, page 1, published a very interesting account of Vlahov's activities under the title, "Dimitri Vlahov Touring Our Colonies:"

The delegate of Yugoslavia at the United Nations, Dimitar Vlahov, has visited our Macedonian immigrants in America and Canada. Dr. Vlahov is a great Macedonian fighter for the independence and rights of all Macedonians. As early as 1908, he was elected as first member of the Turkish Parliament, where his speeches in favor of an autonomous Macedonia won him fame.

From 1932 on, he was in Vienna editor of the *Balkan Federation and Macedonian Affairs*, which were published in several European languages. Today he is president of the partly free Republic of Macedonia and vice president of the FPR Yugoslavia and delegate at the UN in New York.

That great son of the Macedonian people has up to now visited Buffalo, Toronto, Detroit, and other places. Everywhere our Yugoslav immigrants, especially the Macedonians who, in his honor, organized concerts and banquets gave him a warm welcome. On all these occasions Vlahov gave long speeches in which he set forth the position of Macedonia in today's FPR Yugoslavia. He especially stressed the great understanding of Marshal Tito and of other people's republics for Macedonia, and declared that Macedonia is obtaining all possible help for its development and progress.

His statements about the position of the part of Macedonia under the rule of Greece (Egean Macedonia) attracted great attention. He said, "If the

racial terrorism against our people in Greece is continued, it will be completely obliterated."

The visit of Vlahov to our colonies will bring very good results. In that manner the people learn to know the facts and realize more clearly the true aims of the struggle for liberation. On the occasion of these visits, donations for a hospital in Macedonia were collected. In Toronto, the collection brought \$7,000, and in Detroit \$14,000. From Detroit, Vlahov will go to Chicago and Akron. We wish for Vlahov that he will achieve great success on his travels for the good and benefit of Macedonia and the whole FPR Yugoslavia.

Characteristically, the "good and benefit" of America is forgotten.

9. On the occasion of the Second Serbian Congress in Pittsburgh, October 25 and 26, 1947, the Slobodna Rec several times published the announcement that Vladimir Simich, President of the Federal Council of the National Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, would be the main guest speaker. It even published his photograph and biography. However, there was later no account of Simich's participation at the congress.

10. The Slobodna Rec of July 31, 1947, page 2, reporting on the celebration of the sixth anniversary of the people's uprising in Montenegro, stressed that the "celebration was attended by Dr. Joza Vilfan, Minister of the FPRY at the UN, Mr. Aleksa Todorovich, secretary of the delegation of the FPRY at the UN, and Mrs. Zoja Levi, member of the Anti-Fascist Women's Front of Yugoslavia." The report reveals what importance such visits have for American-Yugoslav Communists by saying: "The organizing committee expressed its gratitude to all people who attended the picnic, but foremost to the above-mentioned persons."

ACTIVITIES OF THE DELEGATES OF THE YUGOSLAV RED CROSS

Concerning the representative of the Red Cross of Yugoslavia, on a mission in the United States, the files of the Slobodna Rec tend to demonstrate that they have done their best not to lag behind other delegations and missions from FPRY, and that their activities have been nicely timed with the activities of the Yugoslav Embassy:

1. The Slobodna Rec of January 17, 1946, page 3, presents the picture of three delegates of the Red Cross of FPR Yugoslavia, announcing that:

The representatives of the Red Cross from our homeland, partisan fighter, Dr. Robert Neubauer, Lt. Nada Kraiger, and Lt. Gayo Ratkovich, will participate at the meetings in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Farrel, Johnstown, Duquesne, Milwaukee, and other towns. * * *

They will personally greet our people here and tell them the truth which some of our people's enemies are distorting.

At the same time it is announced that a special reception for Nada Kraiger is being prepared by the Slovene Progressive Women in Cleveland.

2. The Slobodna Rec of January 22, 1946, page 4, reprinted from the New York Post, January 11, 1946, an interview with Dr. Robert Neubauer, chief of the Yugoslav Red Cross delegations, written by Mary Bragiotti. Dr. Robert Neubauer explains that until 1941 he was "too busy to be interested in politics." In May 1941 he was sent to a German concentration camp but does not explain for what reason and under what charges. At any rate, "in that camp I caught the spirit

* * * and once you've got it it's finished. I joined the liberation movement." Subsequently "The German commanding officer received so many letters urging him to release the doctor that, after 6 weeks in the concentration camp, he was freed and told to disappear quickly into the Italian-held part of the country." He disappeared—but quickly—and reappeared in his birthplace, Ljubljana, Slovenia, as an innocent, small-town doctor. His office was opposite the police department and some of his patients were Italian officers and men.

The "innocent" doctor was one of the organizers of the National Liberation Front.

Perhaps one is permitted to wonder whether a man who "caught the spirit" so quickly and was so easily released by the Nazis has come to the United States for such an innocent purpose as "to study [the organization of the American Red Cross] and to explain to the American people Yugoslavia's medical and social problems."

3. All three members of the Red Cross delegation spoke at the meeting of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans in Chicago, February 9, 1946, together with Dr. Makiedo, counselor of the Yugoslav Embassy, and V. Vukmirovic, consul general in Chicago. (*Slobodna Rec*, February 2, 1946, p. 4).

4. Under the title "Johnstown Deserves Honor and Recognition," the *Slobodna Rec* of February 2, 1946, No. 13, page 3, published an enthusiastic account of Dr. Neubauer's visit to that town:

After Dr. Neubauer's speech, \$1,700 was collected for the people of Yugoslavia.

[Dr. Neubauer.] who described the situation in Yugoslavia and the sufferings of our people brought upon them by Nazi-Fascist invaders, * * * spoke with incredible enthusiasm of our people in building the destroyed and charred land. Dr. Neubauer's words left a strong impression. To many the picture became clearer. * * * Dr. Neubauer's speech covered all important problems of the reconstruction and aid to the people of Yugoslavia. Also the background of events was very convincingly shown.

5. According to the *Slobodna Rec* of February 16, 1946, page 4, all three delegates spoke in Auckland (February 26), San Francisco (February 27), and Cupertino (February 24).

6. Under the title "Our Aid Raises the Spirit of Our People," the *Slobodna Rec* of February 16, 1946, page 4, published a picture of a—

beautiful group of progressive women—Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian—who have organized a heartfelt welcome to the Partisan Nada Kraiger. Partisan Nada is seen in the middle beside a bunch of flowers which were presented by the active sisters. They all work for aid to Yugoslavia.

7. The *Slobodna Rec* of February 23, page 4, published an appeal of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief to attend a mass meeting in San Francisco at which all three delegates spoke. Net proceeds were "devoted to children in Yugoslavia." The appeal invites "all Yugoslavs from San Francisco and vicinity to attend this meeting and hear about the situation in Yugoslavia."

8. According to the *Slobodna Rec* of March 12, 1946, page 4, Nada Kraiger spoke in Gary, Ind., at the meeting of the Women's Committee for Yugoslav Relief on March 13, 1946.

9. *Slobodna Rec* of March 27, 1947, page 3, published an appeal of Mrs. Krista Djordjevich, special delegate and member of the central committee of the Society of the Red Cross of FPRY, addressed to "the Montenegrines and Bokese in the United States" to give donations for the purchase of an ambulant clinic for Montenegro.

Mrs. Djordjevich says that she "had the opportunity of meeting many Americans of Yugoslav origin. * * * I attended the gathering of the American Serbs in New York City, who, in a short time, collected an important sum for Yugoslav war orphans." She summons them to do more:

I am convinced that you will further on collect, with the same willingness and love, donations and gifts for any part of our devastated country, and especially for our war orphans.

10. Mrs. Djordjevich was also present at the meeting of the Serbian Progressive Club, Vasa Pelagich, in Detroit, together with Dr. Dushan Brkich (previously mentioned, *Slobodna Rec*, May 23, 1946), and the meeting in New York City on May 5, 1946 (*Slobodna Rec* June 13, 1946). On that occasion it was mentioned that she was a delegate to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission.

D. ACTIVITIES OF THE DELEGATES TO THE UNRRA MEETINGS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The delegation of FPR Yugoslavia at the fourth session of UNRRA in Atlantic City (March 15-29, 1946) was headed by Dr. Nikola Petrovich, Yugoslav Minister of Commerce. This is what the *Slobodna Rec* writes about his activities:

1. The *Slobodna Rec* of March 19, 1946, page 4, printed an advertisement of the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the people's uprising in Yugoslavia. That advertisement, printed on almost a whole page of the paper, featured as main speaker Dr. Nikola Petrovich. The net proceeds were devoted to Yugoslav relief. The appeal summoned all Americans of Yugoslav origin to "show your solidarity with the Yugoslavs of Marshal Tito."

2. The *Slobodna Rec* of March 26, 1946, page 2, published a biography of Dr. Nikola Petrovich under the title, "Nikola Petrovich, Yugoslav Minister of Commerce, on an Important Mission." The *Slobodna Rec* informs us that—

After realizing how terroristic, reactionary, and hostile to the people the Belgrade clique of power holders were, Petrovich as a high-school student already joined the ranks of the Serbian Democratic Youth, fighting for a truly democratic Yugoslavia, based on a brotherhood of all Yugoslav people. During his studies in Prague, he stood out among democratic students with his active work. After graduating, he came home and lived in Belgrade, taking an active part in the struggle of the Popular Front against the dictatorial regimes of the Karageorgevich¹ clique. Besides his political activity, he distinguished himself in the field of economic and cultural activity. He wrote a number of articles and studies in democratic papers and periodicals, such as *NIN*,² *Nasa Stvarnost*,³ and others which the royal police subsequently prohibited.

In 1941, he answers "the appeal of Tito, takes up arms and joins the partisan ranks." He organized partisan units in Voivodina. In 1942, he was elected a member of the Chief People's Committee of Liberation of Voivodina and, in 1943, "at the historical second session of the AVNOJ⁴ in Jajce, he was elected a member of the presidency of the AVNOJ."

¹ Karageorgevich, the royal house ruling Yugoslavia before the Communist seizure of power.

² *Nedeljne Informativne Novine* (Weekly Information Newspaper), a well-known Communist weekly, edited by Sveta Popovich, a professional Communist and veteran of the Spanish civil war.

³ One of the leading Communist periodicals published in Yugoslavia prior to World War II.

⁴ Anti-Fasističko Veće Narodnog Oslobođenja Jugoslavije (Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia).

In 1944, he was Acting Minister of Commerce in the National Committee of Liberation of Yugoslavia and, in February 1945, became Minister of Supply in the first cabinet of Tito.

3. The Slobodna Rec of April 4, 1946, page 2, published the whole speech of Petrovich in Pittsburgh under the title, "New Development in the History of the South Slavs and the Historical Change in Yugoslavia—Important Speech of the Yugoslav Minister Petrovich." In order to fit the occasion, Petrovich started by sustaining the official Communist thesis about the coup d'état of March 27¹ by asserting that it was the work "of the people":

On that day, I listened to the speeches of today's minister in our government, Lt. Gen. Milovan Djilas, today's major general of our army, Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo, today's vice president, Dr. Ivan Ribar and his unforgettable son, the late Ivan-Lola Ribar. * * * It is because of the people that the name of Yugoslavia is shown for the first time with bright light before the whole world.

Fate has determined that I am celebrating the fifth anniversary of March 27 here in Pittsburgh with you, my dear brothers and sisters. * * * But * * * at a distance of thousands and thousands of miles, we are today united in spirit with our whole people.

After attacking the foreign policy of Yugoslavia until 1941, which was "inimical to the greatest Slav country in the world, the Soviet Union," Petrovich hailed Tito: "You know him because he is the blood of your blood."

Petrovich then spoke about Draza Mihailovich and made the very significant statement that "there is no power in the world which could possibly force us to deliver Draza Mihailovich to some international court. He will be tried by our people's court." It is indicative that these words were printed in three places in the same issue of the Slobodna Rec: In the report on Petrovich's speech, in the leading article, and in a column. As to the "legend about Draza Mihailovich," Petrovich said that—

it was not difficult for us to shatter and bare the skillful lie about Mihailovich. It is much more difficult to shatter the legend about Draza Mihailovich here in America, because here you lack the immediate experience which the people in our country had. Therefore, it will take much more persistent work.

Although you are far away from your homeland, I think that it is possible for you to help it in many ways. In my opinion, one of the main tasks of our immigrants in the United States is to be the living link between the people of Yugoslavia and the American people. Explain to your American fellow citizens the meaning of the events in Yugoslavia; explain to them all the great changes which have been brought about under the direction of Marshal Tito.

4. In the same issue of the Slobodna Rec the leading article is devoted to comment on Petrovich's speech:

Mr. Petrovich casts a strong beam of light in the ideas of our immigrants. He is stating an important historical fact when he says: "The demonstrations which preceded March 27th were directed by the then unknown Josip Broz-Tito." * * * Mr. Petrovich especially stressed * * * that the coup d'état of March 27 would never had happened, had it not been prepared by the year-long struggle of democratic forces in our country against the domestic reaction. * * *

¹ On March 27, 1941, a group of Yugoslav officers revolted against the government of Regent Prince Paul over the signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact by Yugoslavia with Germany and Italy. The revolt was led by Gen. Dusan Simovic. The Communists have since the end of the war attempted to claim credit for participation in the revolt when as a matter of fact they had absolutely no part in it. At that time, the Communist Parties throughout the world carried on a program of "peace" propaganda to support the Soviet-German Pact of 1939. Therefore, any military action aimed at Nazi Germany would have been contrary to the current Soviet Party line and would automatically been opposed by the Communist Parties.

It is significant that owing to such speeches Petrovich won, according to the *Slobodna Rec*, "the sympathies of the people" in Pittsburgh and "left the strongest impression on all who attended the meeting."

In spite of all the care that the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* took to present the cooperation between the official representatives of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the "progressive" Americans of Serbian and Croatian origin as a harmless cultural and humanitarian cooperation for welfare and peace, the real nature of those contacts can easily be established from the above quotations.

It is nevertheless helpful to study the pages of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* after the Cominform-Tito clash, when the official contacts rapidly declined and almost disappeared. In the same way as the Cominform-Tito clash induced Tito's regime to publish revealing facts and information about communism in Soviet Russia and, on the other hand, induced Moscow to publish revealing information about communism in Yugoslavia, the Cominform-Tito clash brought into the open some interesting facts relative to the activities of Yugoslav officials in the United States (and Canada) and the relations between American (or Canadian) organizations and the Communist Yugoslav authorities.

In this connection, it is worth while pointing—besides the case of Branko Vukelich—to the conflict between the Secretary General of the Yugoslav Government, Ljubodrag Djuric, and the Council of Canadian Yugoslavs, an issue in which both the *Slobodna Rec* (February 1, 1949, p. 2) and the *Narodni Glasnik* (February 10, 1949, p. 2) took a very definite stand.

The *Narodni Glasnik* praised the work of the council which "has played and is playing a very useful and progressive role in the life of Yugoslav emigres in Canada." It stressed equally the merits of the council in helping "the heroic people in Yugoslavia, for which the Yugoslav Government and its representatives in Canada gave laudatory acknowledgments." But since the Yugoslav Government "left the powerful front of peace and anti-imperialism, led by the Soviet Union," the representatives of the Yugoslav Government "reacted in a manner which can * * * only harm the interests of Yugoslavia itself and of the progressive movement in Canada."

In his letter addressed to the Council of Canadian Yugoslavs, the Secretary General of the Yugoslav Government withdrew "all authorizations and powers issued to the council by the authorities and institutions of FPR Yugoslavia." The reason for this was that—

the attitude of the council toward the FPRY lately does not give the necessary guaranty that the money collected for help to Yugoslavia will be correctly used, which could harm both those who give the money and those who ought to benefit from it.

In its angry answer, the council declares bluntly—

We consider your intervention in the affairs of the council, especially the intervention of your legation in Ottawa, whose work in this country oversteps all diplomatic rights, as an open provocation and an attempt to break our emigrant movement.

[The council and similar organizations in Canada and the U. S. A.] never asked nor obtained any authorizations, permits and powers, etc., from the Yugoslav Government to work in the United States of America or Canada * * * In no case were they organs of the Yugoslav Government or any other foreign agency. * * *

The withdrawal of authorizations * * * publicly casts a suspicion not only on the organization concerned, but on any other organization which per-

formed a noble and patriotic work in helping the peoples of Yugoslavia, that it is an agency of a foreign power. * * *

Have the representatives of the Yugoslav Government ever thought or cared about the undesired consequences if the Canadian authorities would take the declaration of the representatives of the Yugoslav Government as a proof that the Council of Canadian Yugoslavs is anything but a Canadian organization?

X. CONCLUSION

All the evidence presented in this report points to a few elementary facts concerning the "progressive" American Serbs and Croats, and more particularly the *Slobodna Rec* and the *Narodni Glasnik*, namely:

1. That these two newspapers have never, on any single occasion, on any single issue, supported the stand of the United States Government.

2. That they always, without a single exception, have given full, unconditional, and unrestricted support to the official stand of the Government of the Soviet Union.

3. That their attitude toward Yugoslavia, the country of their origin, depended solely and entirely on the existing relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union; that is, on the policy of the Yugoslav Government in power toward the Soviet Union, or, to put it more precisely, on the policy of the Soviet Government toward the regime in Yugoslavia.

4. That the criticism by the *Slobodna Rec* and the *Narodni Glasnik* leveled at the existing social and political order in the United States follows to the letter the line of Communist strategy and tactics. These two newspapers not only are doing their best to illustrate the main theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory but follow closely and conscientiously the line of Communist tactics themselves, especially the new tactics of the Communist Party, of the so-called anti-Fascist people's fronts adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and elaborated in detail in the two most recent works of William Z. Foster, *The Twilight of World Capitalism*, and *In Defense of the Communist Party and the Indicted Leaders*.

This Communist theory, reduced to its essentials, consists of the following theses:

(a) Capitalism is the source of exploitation, oppression, and all evil in this world.

(b) Capitalism, owing to its inner structure and the laws of its development, is doomed to failure.

(c) On the ruins of capitalism a new order will be installed—the socialist order.

(d) Although the downfall of capitalism is unavoidable because it is subject to laws as unchangeable as natural laws, the downfall of capitalism will not be achieved automatically. The working class, which is the creator of socialism, in order to achieve victory must necessarily be organized into a party, but not a "bourgeois" party which follows the rules and can function only within the parliamentary system. The party of the working class must be a "new type" party, a militant vanguard party which will prepare and organize the workers for direct revolutionary action and a forcible overthrow of the existing capitalistic order and government.

(e) The United States is no exception to the above rules. On the contrary, capitalism in the United States exemplifies most drastically all

the main theses of Leninism, which is Marxism in the imperialistic phase of capitalistic development. Capitalism in America is thus bound to fall, owing to its own internal contradictions and inability to solve the growing difficulties inherent in capitalism as a system.

(f) But since, according to Marx, Lenin and Stalin, no ruling class in history ever gave up its privileged position without struggle—never voluntarily disappeared from the world stage—American capitalism is doing its best to keep at all costs the unique position which it has in the present world.

(g) These efforts of American capitalism to keep its position at any price is entirely undemocratic. Since its downfall is inexorable, American capitalism—personified in Wall Street bankers, and political reaction—must necessarily pursue a policy of fascism in America and the policy of imperialism which leads to war in its relations with other countries.

(h) In pursuing such a policy, Wall Street and American reaction must necessarily clash with the interests of the common people in America as well as with the interests of all people in the world. The internal and international tension which ensue must necessarily lead to an open conflict between world capitalism, headed by Wall Street, and the front of democracy and peace, headed by the Soviet Union.

(i) The growing violence of the capitalists must be met by violence on the part of the people. The entire program of the Communist Party, its press, and all affiliated organizations is to prepare the people for the conflict which is bound to come, so that the sinister intrigues of capitalists can be met and “the people smash the power of the ruling capitalists, take control themselves, and enter into genuinely fraternal relations with other peoples, particularly with the U. S. S. R.” (Foster).

This background is necessary for the correct understanding and appraisal of the policy and propaganda of any “progressive” organization in the United States, since the Marxist-Leninist theory requires a special technique of propaganda.

This special technique is well illustrated in the pages of the *Slobodna Rec* and the *Narodni Glasnik*. It follows a few simple rules:

No news or articles must be published which could possibly harm the mental and political preparation of the people for the overthrow of capitalism. All news must be carefully selected so as to support any one of the main theses of Marxism-Leninism. This applies not only to the editorials but to the most insignificant item published in the papers, such as cartoons, photographs, announcements, and advertisements.

Moreover, every single item must be carefully selected so as to increase the belief of the readers in the inevitability of the downfall of capitalism, in the righteousness of the Communist cause, and to increase their willingness to take an active part in the decisive revolutionary struggle. These simple rules are carried out by—

1. Always presenting the United States in an unfavorable light. Every single copy of the newspapers must present new evidence of the rottenness of American capitalism, of the deep rift between the interests of Wall Street and reaction on the one hand, and the workers and the people on the other.

2. Always presenting the Soviet Union in a favorable light by giving examples of its domestic policy favorable to the people and for-

ign policy favorable to peace, and serving the interests of all mankind.

3. Commenting on all events and all problems so as to indict the United States and praise the Soviet Union.

4. Proving that there is no conflict of interests between the United States as a whole and the Soviet Union, but that the main conflict exists inside America itself; namely, between its ruling class and the broad masses of the people. As stated by George S. Wuchinich, of the American Slav Congress, in his column in the *Slobodna Rec* of May 14, 1949, page 2:

The time has come to look to battle fronts in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and New Orleans, not to the Yangtze, Athens, Berlin, Rome, Paris, or London.

5. Presenting all the Government's policies and activities which tend to strengthen America as militaristic, Fascist, and imperialistic, and recommending a policy of weakening America militarily, politically, and spiritually as being favorable to the cause of the American people and international peace and well-being.

There is no doubt that these simple rules of Communist propaganda have been very carefully applied by the *Slobodna Rec* and the *Narodni Glasnik*, although it might have appeared to readers not well enough acquainted with Marxist theory and tactics that they were sometimes deviating from the Communist line and assuming an unbiased or even patriotic attitude.

Such cases do by no means indicate a deviation from the party line but, on the contrary, are striking evidence of how closely and obediently the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* have been following every twist and turn of Communist tactics. All the propaganda of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* does not follow strictly and to the letter the theories of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. But that fact does not make it less communistic, since—

Propaganda habits alone, the mere repetition of the truths of pure communism, is of no avail (V. I. Lenin, *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*).

Communist action and propaganda, in order to be successful, require a wide range of tactical lines to be applied, some of which may seem not only inconsistent with Communist theory, but even contrary to it.

Our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action (Lenin, quoting Marx and Engels in *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*).

The very characteristic of the Communist propaganda is to conceal from enemies, and even more from those who sympathize with communism only on account of their deficient knowledge of Communist ends and means, its true aims.

This duality of action and propaganda, one for the Communists and one for the non-Communists, can be traced back to Lenin's duality of programs of action, as presented at the Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party in 1903 in Brussels and London:

This program consisted of two parts: the maximal and the minimal programs. The maximal program dealt with the principal aim of the working class party; namely, the Socialist revolution, the overthrow of the power of the capitalists, and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. The minimal program dealt with the immediate aims of the party, aims to be achieved before the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; namely, the overthrow of the Czarist autocracy, the establishment of a democratic republic, the introduction of an 8-hour working day for workers, the

abolition of all survivals of feudalism in the countryside, the restoration to the peasants of the cut-off lands (otrezki), of which they had been deprived by the landlords (History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Moscow, 1938, Serbian edition, pp. 41, 42).

Ever since, the Communists have been trying to work out for all countries a concrete, minimal program behind which to rally as many allies as possible, in order to realize the one and only important program, the maximal program: Communist dictatorship in the whole world.

With amazing frankness William Foster has, in his recent works, *The Twilight of World Capitalism*, and *In Defense of the Indicted Leaders*, admitted that the rise of fascism, or rather national socialism, gave birth to the idea of creating "people's fronts," which would unite, under the slogan of struggle against fascism, as many people and political groups as possible who could be used by the Communists to advance the Communist cause. The idea of people's fronts has been put into operation with greater or lesser success in many countries. On the whole, the experiment has been so successful that the people's fronts are still regarded as an indispensable instrument of Communist action.

The phenomenon of "people's frontism" is one of the most fascinating subjects for sociological and political studies. And though it is outside of the scope of this study to indulge in an analysis of all the phenomena and problems of the people's fronts, it is, nevertheless, indispensable in any study dealing today with Communism to consider the essentials of "people's frontism." The question, who is more instrumental in furthering the Communist cause, the Communists or the people's frontists, must here be left undiscussed. What matters here is to demonstrate how the Communists conceive the people's fronts and what importance they attach to them today.

The practical application of the idea of people's fronts has not been confined to the prewar period of Hitler's rise to power. On the contrary, "the new Communist anti-Fascist tactics, initiated at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern * * * actually got into effective, successful operation" after the U. S. S. R. got into the war, in June 1941 (Foster, *In Defense*, p. 45).

During the war, and immediately thereafter, the "new tactical orientation" (Foster, *In Defense*, p. 42) was put into practice with greatest success, since it brought about a "new type 'national unity' coalition government, with Communist participation and organized largely upon Communist initiative" (Foster, *In Defense*, p. 48) in a number of European countries.

Consequently, it is not surprising that when the Communist Information Bureau was organized in September 1947, the nine Communist Parties paid the greatest attention to the problem of people's-front tactics, and that "the substance of the decisions of the nine big European Communist Parties was * * * reaffirming and strengthening the basic anti-Fascist, people's front tactical line that had been initiated by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern" (Foster, *In Defense*, p. 62).

There have not been since then any signs of the Communists renouncing the people's front tactical line, but only reaffirming it. Characteristically the French Communist Party calls for the election of a "government of democratic union," supported by a broad united

front of "Socialists, Communists, Catholics, and Republicans," and the Italian Communist Party follows a similar policy" (Foster, *Twilight of World Capitalism*, p. 123).

As Joseph Starobin points out in his article, *The National Conference of French Communists*, *Daily Worker*, April 27, 1949, page 8:

Thorez * * * urges the Communists to go out among the people and reach Frenchmen "of all opinions, all tendencies, all beliefs" * * *.

In other words, the people's-front tactics, being of vital importance to the Communists, have become today one of the main weapons of Communist propaganda and action. "The present day party line follows the broad path towards the people's front and people's democracy types of government now to be found in eastern Europe" (Foster, *Twilight*, p. 124).

Foster readily admits that "the basic united front, anti-Fascist, antiwar line * * * had since [1935] played such a vital role in world affairs" (Foster, *Twilight*, p. 122).

And as for the United States, the Communist Party has established the "minimal program" and concretely defined its people's front policy, which

now, in this country, is that of building up a great anti-monopoly coalition of workers, farmers, Negroes, intellectuals, and other democratic forces to fight for the immediate interests of the people and for the ultimate establishment of socialism (Foster, *Twilight*, p. 124).

The policy of the Communists is to "support every popular progressive movement," but never unconditionally, or in the interest of human progress or the advancement of the people's welfare, but strictly, and solely, because they deem it profitable for the realization of socialism.

Mao Tse-tung of the Chinese Communist Party "compared Marxist theory to an arrow which 'must be shot at the target of the Chinese Revolution. We must shoot the arrow with an aim.'" (*The Worker*, January 9, 1949, magazine, p. 2, article on China by Anna Louise Strong.)

One of their main concerns in their participation in the people's front movements is to talk all non-Communists into believing that they have common interests with those of the Communist Party, and that it is thus profitable for all of them to cooperate for the defeat of Communist enemies.

According to V. Molotov, now Soviet Foreign Minister:

The task of our time is to unite all the anti-imperialistic and democratic forces of the nations into one mighty camp, welded together by the unity of their vital interests against the imperialist and antidemocratic camp and its policy of enslavement of the people and new adventures (Molotov, *Thirtieth Anniversary of the Revolution, the Strategy and Tactics of World Revolution, One Hundred Years of Communism*, edition of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, H. Doc. No. 619, p. 235.)

The New York State Committee of the Communist Party published a call to action in the *Daily Worker* on March 1, 1949, page 1, in which it said, "Defend your rights by defendings the rights of the Communists."

That is one of the most important points in the whole experience with the people's front movement. While other participants consider the people's front as an organization of compromise, where every single group has to sacrifice a smaller or greater part of its own

program for the sake of realizing a broad common goal, the Communists view it only as a means of harnessing as many people and political groups as possible for the realization of Communist ends. So, while being ready to accept anybody's help which in any way can promote their interests, they strongly resent any attempt of other groups to impose upon the people's fronts any ideas or courses of action which might, in the slightest, be detrimental to the Communist cause. Stalin specifically laid down this rule:

The Communist Party * * * does not and must not share leadership with any other party * * *. (Joseph Stalin, *Lenin's Contribution to Marxism. On the Theory of Marxism*, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V. I. Lenin, Joseph Stalin, International Publishers, New York, 1948, p. 31.)

The files of the *Daily Worker* of 1948 give ample material to corroborate this assertion. In the *Daily Worker* of April 7, 1948, Milton Howard examines Wallace's progressive capitalism. While paying tribute to Wallace for "one of his most trenchant attacks on the warminded financial interests running Washington" and urging "resolute unity of all groups, opposed to the criminal war which the bankers-generals are preparing," Howard decidedly rejects the very idea of the existence and possibility of "progressive capitalism" in the United States today. "To talk of progressive capitalism in the era of the Morgans, Rockefellers, Forrestals, du Ponts, Fords, and similar monopolists is to describe something that does not exist in present-day America." This criticism, however, does not imply, by any means, the rejection of the people's-front idea, or allies such as Henry Wallace, but it is used to stress the necessity of people's fronts following strictly the Communist conceptions:

If peace is to be won today it must be won, not by making the trustified capitalism of the United States of America progressive, which is utopian, but by the development of such powerful people's movements (of which the Wallace movement is one) that trusts will be effectively curbed, and their abolition, through national ownership, actively prepared.

"It is not by expecting the trusts to become progressive, but by decisive advance in democracy through a great increase in the economic and political power of the working class and its allies that these can be won." After putting Wallace in his right place, by making it clear that within the people's front anybody can help the Communists, but only one will must be obeyed, Howard concludes:

That we disagree with Wallace's non-Communist political philosophy of "progressive capitalism" does not, of course, diminish the accuracy of his challenge to big business war makers, nor its significance as a courageous champion of democratic progress.

A few weeks later Howard again takes issue (*Daily Worker*, May 19, 1948, p. 9) with Wallace, who, in a speech, referred to the "excesses of local Communists." Howard emphatically rejects any such remarks, since "excesses" imply "a philosophy of irresponsibility, of adventurism, and egotistical calculations," and warns Wallace that he "will fatally and inevitably weaken his own vital struggle against the "Red menace" hysteria * * * if he makes such accommodations to the slanders of his antidemocratic enemies."

And once more, in the *Daily Worker* of June 9, 1948, page 9, Howard rebukes Wallace on two counts: First, for holding the "foreign policy of the Soviet Union * * * equally guilty with the banker-dominated State Department for the cold war." And second, for defining

the nature of American Communists' interest in peace "because they want a successful Socialist experiment in Russia." The way Howard reacts to these two statements is also characteristic of the Communist concept of people's fronts. As regards the first count, he is very lenient since he realizes that whoever assails and puts the blame for the cold war on the United States, certainly helps the Soviet struggle against America. Besides, to abandon the people's front because of the "incorrect" views of some of its participants would amount "to abandon the people's movement to incorrect views, not to speak of * * * abandoning any serious mass struggle for peace whatsoever." Such a withdrawal would be the more objectionable since Wallace "slapped down the * * * cowardly effort to red-bait him into an admission that peace for the United States of America is exclusively a Communist aim," by making the "true and important statement" that "Communists are interested in peace."

But Wallace's second mistake is taken much more seriously. Well aware that one of the main obstacles for the success of communism in the United States is the fact that the Communist Party in America is considered, by most Americans, not as an American party, but as an organization receiving orders from abroad, and working for the interests of a foreign power, Howard emphatically stresses that, "for Communists, peace is an American interest" and "the success of socialism anywhere in the world is an American interest if by that is understood the American people and not the Wall Street minority." After stressing again that Communists desire peace "for the advancement of people's democracy and American socialism in our own country" Howard declares that "our desire for peace and American socialism coincides with the peace aims of socialism in the Soviet Union * * * since socialism is the greatest force for peace in the world today. That only proves that the socialist interest of the Soviet peoples coincides with the national interest of the American people."

Not less interesting are the considerations of the Daily Worker on people's front problems in connection with the Cominform-Tito clash. In his column of July 14, 1948, Milton Howard sharply assailed the New York Times for asserting that the Communist Information Bureau's criticism of the Yugoslav Communist Party's leadership "presages the new turn away from the people's front in all countries." Shocked by such an idea, Howard declares that the

criticism of the Yugoslavian Communists was exactly the contrary—that their inability to maintain a clearly defined Communist Party within the people's front presented a danger to the people's front itself, since without such a vanguard Communist Party such an alliance faced the danger of losing its effectiveness and its goal.

For a genuine people's front, the Communist Party is indispensable as the voice of the working class, the main class force within it. Without a clearly defined Communist Party, the less stable elements within the people's front (wealthier middle classes for example) tend to vacillate, and tend to move toward compromise with the reaction.

And then comes an admission by Howard whose true significance and bearing cannot be missed by anyone who is familiar with the Communist practice of using words such as "progress," "peace," "democracy," and so forth, when they mean Communist dictatorship:

The people's front is the political form which the Communists see as the most effective for uniting the greatest number of people on a commonly agreed upon platform for progress and peace. * * * The people's front is the path of democracy.

Needless to say that the same line can distinctly be observed in the columns of Joseph Starobin, who, in five articles, analyzes the Cominform-Tito clash, giving special attention to Tito's misconception of the people's front. What he rebukes him for in his column of July 15, 1948, is that "the front became a lasting organization, with a permanent program to quote Tito's famous speech of last September," which is obviously what the Communist Party did not intend and does not want the people's front to be. Starobin stresses the essential condition for a people's front, namely the necessity "to lead the peasants wisely under the firm guidance of the working class."

In his column on July 16, Starobin also assails those who contend that—

the Communists are abandoning the people's front. The people's front is * * * to be built on a long-term basis. But it has to be built with its base among the workers. As a middle-class phenomenon, it can be very important for a time, but it can't solve basic problems.

And finally it is interesting to review the official stand of the American Communist Party regarding people's front movements. The Worker magazine, July 18, 1948, page 3, reports on the Communist Party convention discussion and discusses the "Lessons of Elections in Steel Union Locals of the Indiana-Calumet Area":

The experience * * * shows: that the possibility of Communist participation in the united front, its form, character and extent, are determined in large degree, by the strength, support, following and prestige, which the Communists can bring to the united front. And it is impossible to achieve these without the independent work and activity of the Communist Party and the Communists.

In The Worker of July 25, 1948, Milton Howard presents "The Communist's Opinion of the New Progressive Party":

American Communists quite openly approve of its formation * * *. The American Marxists have always supported and taken their place within every people's democratic movement * * *. The traditional relationship of Marxism to all socially progressive movements is one of cooperation and constructive criticism, whether such movements were struggles for national liberation or the abolition of monarchies, etc., or now the curbing of the trusts.

The official stand of the American Communist Party on the New Party is carefully defined in the 1948 election platform of the Communist Party (The Worker, August 15, 1948, pp. 6-7):

The Progressive Party is by its very nature a great coalition of labor, farmers, the Negro people, youth, professional and small-business people. It is anti-monopoly, anti-Fascist, antiwar. * * * It is not a Socialist nor a Communist Party and we are not seeking to make it one. It is and should develop as a united front, broad mass people's party.

The Communists declare that they will "seek no special position in the movement," but at the same time reassure their followers and warn their allies that they "will, of course, oppose any special disabilities because of our socialist views." This concept of a "united front, broad mass people's party" in which the Communists would "oppose any special disabilities" because of their socialist views, seems rather to corroborate than to refute the "propaganda that the third party is a 'front' for the advocates of socialism," a contention indignantly rejected by Howard ("The Communists' Opinion of the New Party," The Worker, July 25, 1948, p. 7).

The success of the basic idea of the people's fronts to harness non-Communists for the realization of Communist ends was such that in

the course of a few years the Communists succeeded in appropriating a great part of the arsenal of democratic terms, theories, and slogans, thus mitigating their usefulness for democratic propaganda and making strong Communist inroads in the democratic front. At the same time, they were able to impose some of their own slogans on their democratic allies in the people's fronts. In such manner, words, terms, and ideas indispensable for successful democratic action and political education of the people, acquired a double meaning—one democratic, one communistic.

The situation was much clearer and to fight communism was much simpler when communism was admittedly opposed to democracy, when freedom, the rule of the law, the respect for the Nation, the will of the people, free elections, etc., were distinctly democratic concepts, assailed by Communists who considered them just "bourgeois prejudices" and rejected them as labels used for the protection of the interests of the ruling class. But today, after the people's-front tactics have been applied for a number of years, such a confusion between democratic and Communist ideas, slogans, and fronts has ensued, that it is not always easy to detect behind a democratic appearance a Communist essence.

However, in the case with which we are concerned, there are so many points of reliance that it is possible to reach a thoroughly substantiated conclusion. The editors of the *Narodni Glasnik* and *Slobodna Rec* have seen to it that all possible doubt as to their real political orientation should be dissipated. It is a favorite device of the Communists not only to claim all democratic rights for themselves in order to destroy democracy, but to pretend that any criticism they make is democratic by the very fact that the right to criticize is a democratic right. The right to criticize the government of one's own country or the existing social order is certainly a democratic right. But whether it is made use of democratically or it is misused communistically, depends on the critic. Democratic criticism presupposes at least some degree of fairness, of willingness to see and present both sides of a problem, to investigate before judging, to weigh the pros and cons before concluding. It requires a certain degree of readiness not only to assail sharply what is undoubtedly wrong, but to give credit to what is obviously right. When the critic does not meet these requirements, there is no democratic criticism.

If someone—like the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik*—keeps criticizing onesidely one's own country; if the United States is always wrong and the Soviet Union always right; if distinction is persistently made between the United States Government and the people, while the Soviet Government is always identified with the Soviet people; if there is never agreement with the policy of the United States Government, and, on the other side, not a single deviation from the official stand of the Soviet Government; if there is always identify of views with the *Daily Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party of America, if the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist line is adhered to, not only in principle, but in all changes of its tactics, if there is never any conflict between the views of the *Narodni Glasnik* and *Slobodna Rec* on the one side, and those of the Communist Party on the other side, then it seems clear that we have before us no naive and well-intentioned adherents of people's fronts, but Communists.

Besides the already quoted examples, one of the basic issues in which the true character of the *Narodni Glasnik* and the *Slobodna Rec* can be ascertained is the issue of national freedom and independence. This was, and is even today, a field where the Communists are most easily and successfully deceiving the public opinion. In his usual blunt and categorical way Lenin defined the "right of nations to self-determination" as the "right to secession." Lenin does not even try to pretend that such a view is taken for the sake of the nations concerned, but makes it clear that in this issue, as well as in any other one, the only determining factor are the interests of communism: "In the interests of the unity of the proletarians, in the interests of their class solidarity, we must recognize the right of nations to secession." (V. I. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1947, p. 61.) In other words, the Communists stand for national freedom and independence, or against it, according to the concrete political situation of the moment. They pose as champions of and say "yes" to national independence, national freedom, nationalism, only as long as the nations concerned are oppressed. That is, as long as they can be used for the purpose of destroying other nations, destroying organized forces able to oppose communism. But as soon as a nation is free and organized and thus able to oppose communism, the stand of the Communists changes completely. The nation is reduced to the working class and the national interest becomes a class interest.

It is thus quite understandable that the United States, being the strongest democratic nation in the world, is the main target of Communist propaganda and activities and that the Communists say "no" to all forces and factors which constitute the strength of America. They acknowledge the national traditions and history of the United States not as a cultural heritage of unremitting efforts and sacrifices to achieve freedom and independence from any foreign power and national unity and individual freedom within the country itself, but only as the preliminary stages of the final "socialist" revolution to come. They interpret the revolutionary past of America not as deeds and events which helped form the American Nation and made possible the unity of all Americans, but as alleged precedents for their disruptive activities, tending to create divisions, barriers, and conflicts among Americans.

The Communists deny the existence of any common links which would bind together all Americans. They insist on their division in two enemy camps, the one being the front of American people, whose interests are identical with the interests of the Soviet Union and all "progressive" forces in the world, and the front of a minority of "reactionaries," "Wall Street bankers-generals," and similar cliques whose interests are opposed to interests of the American people, as well as to the interests of all people in the world, but the Soviet Union foremost. "Patriotism consists in serving the interests of one's own working people," solemnly proclaims the *Daily Worker* (Joseph Starobin, in his column *Around the Globe*, of July 16, 1948, p. 8). "It is the highest patriotism today to fight for American Socialism" (*The Worker*, April 4, 1948, p. 9, article: "What Would Socialism in the USA Be Like"). The real meaning of this peculiar Communist patriotism can exactly be ascertained if one keeps in mind the official Soviet

stand on the problem of the position of the workers of all countries toward the government of those countries and toward the government of the Soviet Union:

But America's aspirations to world supremacy encounter an obstacle in the U. S. S. R., the stronghold of anti-imperialist and anti-Fascist policy, and its growing international influence, in the new democracies, which have escaped from the control of Britain and American imperialism, and in the workers of all countries, including America itself, who do not want a new war for the supremacy of their oppressors. Accordingly, the new expansionist and reactionary policy of the United States envisages a struggle against the U. S. S. R. against the labor movement in all countries, including the United States, and against the emancipationist anti-imperialist forces in all countries (A. Zhdanov on The International Situation, report made at the Conference of the Nine Communist Parties, held in Poland, September 1947).

Equally explicit is Mao Tse-tung, who, speaking of the irreconcilable opposition between the interests of the American imperialists and those of the American people, and the people of all nations, says,

The American reactionaries will one day find themselves opposed by the whole world. * * * In the postwar world a very great people's movement has been developing for peace and democratic liberties. This movement must, of necessity, move toward victory. Victory will come * * * through the cooperation of the peoples. The American people, themselves oppressed by reactionaries, should make common cause with the people of all the other lands against the attacks of American imperialists in their respective countries. (From an interview with Mao Tse-tung by Anna Louise Strong, *Daily Worker*, February 11, 1949, p. 5).

These quotations should suffice to make apparent that fundamental striving of the Communists to destroy any organized power in the world in order to subdue the peoples of all countries when they are disorganized and powerless. The Communists are well aware that as long as nations are protected by their organized governments, there is no chance for a power based on a doctrine of so deep contempt of man, freedom, and human dignity, as the Communist, to be accepted. Therefore, the tendency of the Communists is to undermine all organized governments and create a political vacuum which is to be filled by the utterly inhuman and ruthless Communist Party and state machine.

Thus the appeal to national freedom, national independence, and nationalism should not deceive anybody as to the real concepts of the Communists on those issues. Strictly adhering to the viewpoint that any means which leads to the goal is good, and that any ally who can be instrumental in furthering the Communist cause is welcome, the Communists are not reluctant to speak of national feelings to flatter national pride, even to pay respect to the histories of various nations, if they think that it can be used to produce desired effects.

For that reason, the "nationalist" elements in the propaganda of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* should not be misinterpreted. In his pamphlet *The Struggle in America for the New Yugoslavia* (Belgrade 1946, pp. 25-26), Mirko Markovich tells of the difficulties through which the movement of the "progressive" American Serbs and Croats had to go, and especially stressed that the success of the movement was hampered by the lack of understanding of the national feelings of those masses, because of "the lack of understanding of the Leninist-Stalinist basis of the national problem." What was wrong, asserts Markovich, was that "the national feelings of the national groups, the right to be proud of one's own nation, of one's traditions, and of the history of the people from whence the workers originated,

were disregarded in the practical realization" (p. 26). Markovich severely reprimands those who followed to the letter the theory that, "the workers have no nation except their workers' class" and that "the workers are citizens of the world" for their dogmatic rigidity. Such an "incorrect conception of the national problem, the incorrect understanding of the national feelings of our immigrants" were the reasons that the "workers' movement was not able successfully to fight the chauvinistic poison of reaction" (p. 27).

Thus the Communists do not hesitate to make appeals to national feelings, to history and tradition whenever they think that a Communist interpretation is possible. And in the same way as the Daily Worker speaks of Valley Forge in connection with the present civil war in Greece, the Slobodna Rec tries to establish a link between the exploits of the Serbs several centuries ago which represent for the Serbian people a national and moral value of the highest order,—with the action of the Communist partisans in the Second World War. Of course, after the Cominform-Tito clash it was not longer possible to glorify the leaders of Communist Yugoslavia, but until then, no opportunity was missed to compare Tito, Rankovic, Djilas, and others to the legendary heroes whose struggle for national and individual freedom is deeply rooted in the souls of the Serbs. The Narodni Glasnik followed in principle the same line, adapted to the peculiarities of Croatian history. In doing this, both newspapers were just following the Communist pattern which is built on the realization that the forces of tradition, history and national feelings are so strong that they cannot be fought successfully by frontal attack, but must be distorted in order to serve the Communist cause.

As regards the United States, the propaganda of the Slobodna Rec and the Narodni Glasnik applies the same principles and may thus give to uninformed people the impression that they stand for the American historical heritage. In fact, this represents only the special tactics to realize more easily the invariable Communist aims. President Franklin D. Roosevelt—who is now untiringly referred to, together with Jefferson and Lincoln (and sometimes Henry A. Wallace), as a champion of democracy and peace—is actually praised only insofar as they consider that the New Deal policy partly fits into the pattern of a "minimal program" for the United States, because it was weakening "Wall Street" in the internal policy and pursuing the policy of close alliance with the U. S. S. R. in international relations. In this connection it is interesting to cite a few examples of the Narodni Glasnik and the Slobodna Rec writings of President Roosevelt in 1940 and 1941; that is, before the Soviet Union entered the war:

Hungry people seek bread; Roosevelt gives them guns (Slobodna Rec, February 1, 1940).

President Roosevelt has adopted a policy of hunger for the people, for the reason that he has adopted a policy of war (March 21, 1940).

Roosevelt's national unity is in reality a unity of people's adversaries or an expansion of the war so as to produce greater profit for Wall Street (March 21, 1940).

The United States is arming but not for defense (January 14, 1941).

Roosevelt wants war; the people want peace (June 3, 1941).

The same applies to any American or other leading public figures. Today President Truman or other outstanding Americans, whose stand is unmistakably anticommunistic, are praised or criticized ac-

ording to the moment and to the possibility of twisting their statements for communistic use. The words and deeds of all outstanding Americans or any other people were and are measured, not with a yardstick of democratic and American interests, but with the yardstick of Socialist—that is, Communist—interests within the United States and Soviet interests in the field of international relations.

This is best exemplified in the insistence with which the Communists of the *Slobodna Rec* and the *Narodni Glasnik* underline the necessity for America to remain faithful to the struggle of the American people in the Second World War. This insistence is only apparently patriotic, since the *Slobodna Rec* and the *Narodni Glasnik*, in the same way as does the *Daily Worker*, always speak of the “anti-Fascist struggle,” and carefully avoid speaking of the struggle for America and American democracy. It is not by accident that George Pirinsky, executive secretary of the American Slav Congress, entitles his fiery “patriotic” article, published in the *Narodni Glasnik* and *Slobodna Rec* of December 18, 1948, “We Remain True to Our Wartime Pledge To Fight Fascism.”

This is a significant parallel to the appeal made by Mirko Markovich, editor of the *Slobodna Rec*, in the fall of 1941 to all American Serbs to rally under one single banner, but this was not to be the banner of America:

We say today that today the question is not, Are you a Republican or Democrat, Communist or Socialist, Monarchist or for the Soviets? The question is Are you for fascism or against fascism? And we want all American Serbs to rally under one single banner, the banner of the destruction of fascism, leaving aside all other banners until mankind is freed and saved from that most terrible enemy (Mirko Markovich, *The Struggle in America for the New Yugoslavia*, p. 39).

Such “patriotism” fits exactly into the Communist picture of the present world. Namely, in the views of the Communists, the Second World War was not waged against Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and autocratic Japan, nor was fascism wiped out through their defeat. Since fascism is regarded by the Communists as the political expression of capitalism in its last, imperialistic phase, they consider that in World War II only one part of the world-wide front of fascism was defeated. Fascism lives on and draws its strength from capitalism which strives to keep its threatened position in the world.

This is one of the main confusions created through the Communist people’s front tactical line. The democratic view is that World War II was fought in order to preserve basic human and cultural values, the respect of human freedom and dignity, and the right of self-determination of peoples foremost, which were threatened by the undemocratic and antidemocratic regimes in Germany, Italy, and Japan. According to that democratic view, fascism was defeated so thoroughly that there is no fascist danger in the world at the present moment. The present danger of war obviously arises from the existence of the aggressive social and political system of communism, which is utterly opposed to the values for the preservation of which the Second World War was fought.

The Communist view is quite different. The democrats classify political systems and governments in the world according to their respect or disrespect of traditional human values. The Communists classify political regimes and social systems according to a simple

criterion—Communist and non-Communist. All countries with Soviet-controlled Communist regimes constitute the “free” world, the world camp of “democracy.” The rest are “Fascists” who are blocking the way to “Socialism” and must, therefore, be destroyed.

Consequently, the reason that the Communists designated the United States as the main promoter and agent of “fascism” in the world is not that it is the country which has reached the highest degree of capitalist development but that it is militarily the strongest country in the world and thus the strongest hindrance to Communist world domination.

Fascism is certainly an enemy both of democracy and communism, but that does not make communism less opposed to democracy. During the war that fact was hidden by the common military struggle against the common enemy. The fact remained, however, that the democracies and the Soviet Union fought for different goals in World War II: the democracies for freedom, the Soviets for communism. And since, according to the official Communist stand, the main representatives of fascism today are the Government of the United States and the political, economic, social, and cultural leaders of this country, the so patriotically sounding “wartime pledge to fight fascism” amounts to a postwar pledge to fight the United States of America.

The very close connection and cooperation of the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* and affiliated organizations with other organizations which undoubtedly follow the Communist Party line, the identity of the propaganda of these two newspapers and the *Daily Worker*, or with the writings of William Z. Foster, the role which the *Narodni Glasnik* has admittedly played in the creation of the American Communist Party, the role which both the *Narodni Glasnik* and the *Slobodna Rec* have admittedly played in the creation of the American Slav Congress, their strong links with the All-Slav Committee in Moscow—all these facts point to the conclusion that these two newspapers and people gathered around them are neither American nor Yugoslav nor Serb nor Croat patriots but members of the world-wide organization of the Communist International.

As has been strikingly proven by the variations of their stand toward Yugoslavia in the course of the last 10 or 15 years, these people have no loyalty either toward America, whose citizens they are, or toward Yugoslavia, the country of their origin, but one single loyalty—the loyalty to the Communist International and the Soviet Union. These two newspapers are not independent and well-intentioned organs of American public opinion, but only links in a world-wide organization which sees in the United States, its present order, its democratic traditions and institutions, in all that this country stands for, its principal enemy which must be crushed at any price. Instead of objectively informing their readers, who comprise one part of the American people, and educating them to better citizenship, they are conditioning them mentally to become tools in the hands of a foreign power against their own country. They are preparing them for the “big undertaking of licking capitalism” (Foster, *Twilight*, p. 168) for the “ultimate emancipation” from capitalism (Weinstone).

In the present situation, where “Wall Street had divided the world into two camps—one of democracy and peace, the other of imperialism and war” (Foster, *Twilight*, p. 122), or the “imperialistic and anti-

democratic camp," and the "antiimperialistic and democratic camp" (Zhdanov, *International Situation*), this amounts to saying that these newspapers are preparing their readers to take a most active part in the fateful struggle between these two camps, not on the side of their own country, the United States, but on the side of "the mainstay of world democracy, the U. S. S. R."

No matter what form that struggle assumes, the irreconcilable enmity between the two camps remains an unchangeable fact for the Communists. And the transition from capitalism to socialism remains the supreme goal of all their activities. How that transition is expected to take place—by transforming an international war into a civil war, as they did in a number of countries in World War II ("World War II * * * was not only an international war, but also a civil war": Foster, *In Defense*, p. 48), or by seizing the opportunity of a severe economic crisis to strike the decisive blow, or in some other way—is thus a matter of secondary importance. In spite of their assertion that a "peaceful" transition would be "highly desirable" (*The Worker*: "A revolutionary party opposes force and violence conspiracies," Apr. 24, 1949, p. 7), the Communists know that communism can be established only through revolution. The important tactical change in the Communist policy, inaugurated at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935, was devised, not in order to effect a peaceful transition and avoid revolution, but to facilitate the transition, which in any case must be effected through a revolution.

The aim of Communist political action, propaganda, and education is to create dissatisfaction in the people and to lead to such actions of the broad masses of the people under the direction of the Communist Party as to paralyze the functioning of the existing state organization and social order. That, according to Lenin, is the necessary prerequisite for the revolution:

It is only when those at the bottom do not want any longer and those at the top cannot go on living in the old manner, it is only then that the revolution can triumph (Stalin, *Principles of Leninism*, French edition (editions sociales), Paris, 1945, pp. 30-31, quoting Lenin, from *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*).

This is why the Communists are doing their best to lull the non-Communist world into a sense of false security by pleading innocent at the charge of conspiracy for a forcible overthrow of the United States Government and insisting on their readiness to cooperate with any progressive and democratic people and groups for the realization of allegedly common aims.

But the forcible overthrow of the United States Government cannot be achieved either suddenly or by an openly and avowedly Communist policy. On the contrary it can only be the result of a long and persistent work of Communist indoctrination, organization, and awakening of revolutionary class-consciousness on the one side, and infiltration and disruption on the other, during which no means, no methods, and no forms of action should be left unused which could possibly confuse the enemy and hasten the revolution.

Revolutionaries who are unable to combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are very poor revolutionaries. It is not difficult to be a revolutionary when the revolution has already flared up and is raging. It is much more difficult to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct,

open, really mass and revolutionary struggle do not yet exist, to be able to defend the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation, and organization) in nonrevolutionary bodies and even downright reactionary bodies, in nonrevolutionary circumstances, among the masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need of revolutionary methods of action (Lenin, *Left Wing Communism an Infantile Disorder*).

And although Stalin repeats Lenin's statement that "imperialism is the eve of socialist revolution" (Stalin, *Principles of Leninism*, French edition, Paris, 1945, p. 32), the Communists do not rely on any spontaneity of social evolution leading necessarily to socialism, since the controversy between Marxian "evolutionists" and "revolutionists" has once for all time been decided by Lenin. Furthermore, the impossibility of "evolutionary" communism has amply been demonstrated by practical experience. Thus the revolution can come only if Communists work hard for the revolution, while successfully pretending to work for democracy and for the well-being of the people.

The strictest loyalty to the ideas of communism must be combined with the ability to make all the necessary practical compromises, to attack, to make agreements, zigzags, retreats, and so on, in order to accelerate the coming into power * * * (Lenin, *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*).

And there is no doubt that in all that immense work of propaganda, indoctrination, confusion, and deceit, one of the main roles has been assigned to the press. It is one of the basic tenets of communism today that capitalism—or rather the leaders of the United States, as the main representatives of world capitalism—will be forced to an ever-growing use of violence to maintain themselves in power, which will inevitably lead to the use of violence by—

the people. Violence in revolutionary situations originates at all times through the attempt of reactionaries, by the use of force in various forms, to thwart the will of the people. (William Z. Foster: *An Open Letter to John F. Dulles*, *Daily Worker*, July 30, 1948, p. 9).

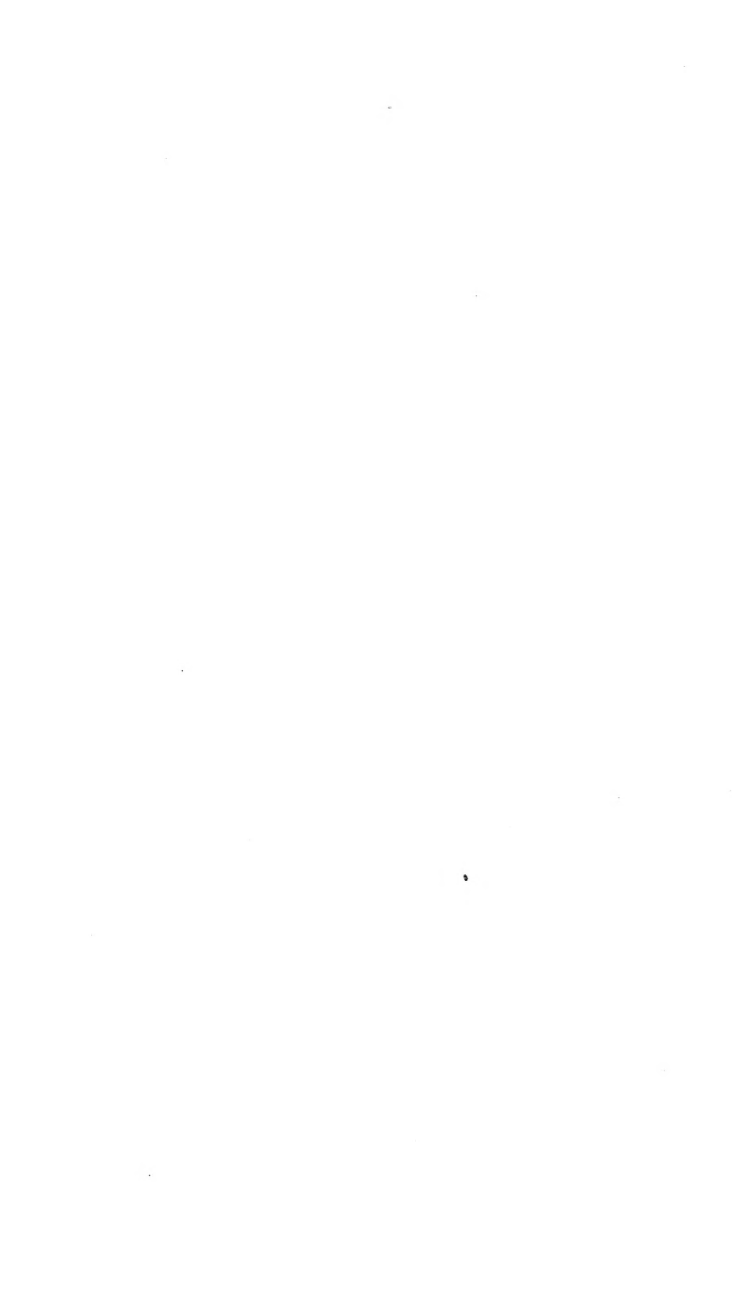
The implication is that the American people must be prepared to take an active part in striking a decisive blow at the United States at the moment chosen by the Communists.

In that preparatory action, the *Slobodna Rec* and *Narodni Glasnik* are playing an important part. They are preparing and conditioning their readers mentally and politically to be traitors to their own country.

Mr. DEKOM. Thank you very much for appearing today before this subcommittee.

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to testify.

(Whereupon, at 4:40 p. m. the hearing was closed.)



COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, in executive session, at 10:30 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Herbert R. O'Connor, presiding.

Present: Senator O'Connor (presiding).

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee, and Otto J. Dekom, professional staff member.

Senator O'CONNOR. Counsel, will you proceed?

TESTIMONY OF ANTHONY TRZECIESKI, FORMER PURCHASING AGENT, GDYNIA-AMERICA LINE, INC.

Mr. ARENS. The first witness this morning, Senator, is Mr. Trzecieski.

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you raise your right hand, please?

In the presence of Almighty God, do you swear that the testimony you shall give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I do.¹

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you please give your full name?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Anthony Trzecieski.

Senator O'CONNOR. And what is your address?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. 8425 One Hundred and Sixty-fifth Street, Jamaica, N. Y.

Senator O'CONNOR. Counsel, will you proceed?

Mr. ARENS. This is a continuation of the hearings on S. 1832, which provides for the exclusion and deportation of subversive aliens.

Will you kindly identify yourself by occupation and background?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. How far back do you want me to go?

Mr. ARENS. First of all, what are you doing at the present time?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. At the present time I am free lancing in the steamship supply business.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you located in that work?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. In four steamship supply houses.

Mr. ARENS. You were formerly associated with the Gdynia-America Line, were you not?

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes; for 11 years.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. October 1936 until December 31, 1947.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell us about yourself? What has been your background and your affiliation and your status so far as citizenship is concerned?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I came to this country in 1923 and I was naturalized on June 26, 1929. At that time I was employed by an American organization, the Equitable Trust Co. of New York. Subsequently I joined the American-Polish Chamber of Commerce, which was an American organization organized by a group of American businessmen with Mr. Samuel Vauclain of the Baldwin Locomotive Works as head, in which the Polish Government was interested at that time.

I remained there until 1933, when I had to go to Europe for the settlement of certain family affairs. Prior to my return to the United States in 1935, I spent about 7 or 8 months as an assistant to Mr. Clayton Lane, who, at that time, was our commercial attaché to the United States Embassy in Warsaw. In 1935 I returned to the United States and I was engaged in the business of importing and distributing Polish hams in Detroit. About a year later, 1936, in October, I joined the Gdynia-America Line, being offered the position there.

Mr. ARENS. How did you happen to leave the service of the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I resigned myself because of the communistic control. I could not continue there.

Senator O'CONNOR. Just specifically what pressures were brought upon you, or what other developments were there?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. There were no pressures brought on me.

Senator O'CONNOR. Just what manifestations were there?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I learned from one of the officers, the purser, of the *Batory*, Mr. Owsianowski,¹ who was at that time traveling between Gdynia and New York, that he heard from certain officials of the Gdynia-America Line in Gdynia that because of my very strong anti-communistic stand, they would try to get rid of me. They did not want to just fire me outright. They could not, because I was a member of the board of directors. They had to wait until my term expired. They did not want to fire me outright. They tried to create a certain atmosphere around me which would force me to get out by making my work very difficult; for instance, by depriving me of the necessary assistance and help, by piling up so much work that I could not carry it without assistance.

Mr. ARENS. I was interested in your observations respecting the importation of hams from Poland. Who has the right to sell these hams in the United States? Is it a financial or economical arrangement in regard to the disposition of these Polish hams?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I have no details on that. I know that Mr. Gutowski,² the publisher, was one of the men who tried to get the exclusive agency for the United States. He even went to Poland. He did not get it. Some other man whose name I do not know has it now; he is an importer or a jobber. However, I am not familiar yet with the financial setup nor with the activities of that man.

¹ Stanislaw Owsianowski.

² For the testimony of Stanley Gutowski, see p. 447.

Mr. ARENS. Would you identify the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Gdynia-America Line, Inc., in New York, is a subsidiary of the Gdynia-America Shipping Lines, Ltd., of Poland.

Mr. ARENS. Who owns the major portion of the stock and control of the line?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. The Gdynia-America Line, Inc., in New York, has its stock owned by the parent organization in Poland, Gdynia-America Shipping Lines, Ltd., while in turn, that company is owned by the Polish Government.

Mr. ARENS. What passenger vessels are operated by the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. At the present time the motor ship *Batory*, the motor ship *Sobieski*, and the motor ship *Jagiello*, but she is not in the North American run.

Mr. ARENS. Then, the *Batory* and the *Sobieski* are two passenger vessels?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Calling at United States ports.

Mr. ARENS. Between what ports do these two ships ply?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. The *Batory* is on the regular run between Gdynia, Copenhagen, Southampton, and New York.

The *Sobieski* runs between Genoa, Cannes, Naples, and New York.

Mr. ARENS. What were your duties as purchasing agent for the Gdynia-America Line over the period of time you have mentioned?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. My duties were to purchase all supplies for the vessels for the officers. That means all materials for the deck and engine departments; all foods, all equipment for the passenger accommodations, the galley, et cetera. The same thing applies in regard to stationery, furniture, and all the necessary materials for the operation of the office and officers in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your affiliation with the Gdynia-America Line, did you have occasion to become acquainted with the operation of the line and the passengers in general who were brought in by the line?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes; because in addition to my duties as purchasing agent, I was manager of the crew department, not all the time, but most of the time. I was manager of the insurance and claims department. I was handling part of the operating department, everything that concerned the husbanding of the vessel in port. I was an assistant to the president in the executive end of the management and in policy making. That is where I came in contact with the traffic end of the business, passengers mostly.

Mr. ARENS. May I just interpose this question as a matter of background?

Who are the present officers of the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. The present officers are Roman M. Kutylowski, president and treasurer.¹ Mr. Czeslaw Grzelak is the vice president.² Samuel Y. Smith is the secretary. At the same time, he is also general passenger traffic manager.

Mr. ARENS. You have previously indicated in your testimony that the Gdynia-America Line is controlled by the Communist Polish Government; is that right?

¹ The testimony of Roman M. Kutylowski appears on p. 745.

² The testimony of Czeslaw Grzelak appears on p. 728.

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. What evidence of operation or direction from the Communist Polish Government did you observe in the course of your service with the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Well, insofar as business is concerned, or—

Senator O'CONNOR. In the promulgation of policy and that sort of thing?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. It has always been the case that the board of directors of Gdynia-America Lines, Ltd., in Gdynia was composed of men who were government officials. The Ministry of Industry and Commerce had one representative on the board. The Ministry of Finance had another. I think that some of the Government banks, and I am not sure of this, were also represented on the board of directors of the head organization in Gdynia.

Senator O'CONNOR. You mean the Polish Communist Government?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That was the same thing ever since the line was organized prior to the Communist regime.

Senator O'CONNOR. But it continued after the assumption of control by the Communists?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Was there any change in the stock ownership with the assumption of control by the Communist Government?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. As far as I know, none.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you mean that the Polish Government owned as much stock prior as now?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Approximately how much is that?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Approximately 99 percent.

Senator O'CONNOR. Without interrupting your line of thought, but to have you develop this as fully as you can in response to counsel's questions as to what transpired at the time of the change in governmental control, what, if anything, was detected by you, either at that time or subsequently, to the change of policy?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Since the Communist government took over?

Senator O'CONNOR. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. When was that? When did the Communist government take over?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. In 1945.

The Gdynia-America Line during the war was in exile with its office in London. As soon as the Polish Communist Government, the present regime, was established and recognized by the world powers, which happened as far as the United States is concerned on July 5, 1945, the Gdynia Line office was reopened. Subsequently, by the end of 1945, the main office was transferred from London to Gdynia and it has been there ever since.

As far as influence of the present Government is concerned, first of all, the first sign was that the Gdynia-America Line in New York was asked to participate in propaganda here.

Mr. ARENS. Could you elaborate on that at this time, if you please?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I want to develop that. That is one point I did not speak to you about before.

Senator O'CONNOR. I had that in mind.

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That happened in 1946, when I was called by Mr. Kutylowski to look up the law concerning the duties of agents of

foreign principals. Ever since that law went into effect we had to fill out a statement with the State Department every 6 months.

Mr. ARENS. As an agent of a foreign government?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. As an agent of a foreign principal.

Mr. ARENS. For the purpose of engaging in propaganda activities?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Did the Gdynia-America Line so file with the State Department?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. The reports were filed regularly ever since the law went into effect. I think it was 1940 or 1941, if I am correct. I do not recall the date exactly because I was called in in 1946. It was the early part of 1946, and I was called by Mr. Kutylowski to establish the following fact: Whether or not the agent of a foreign principal in his publicity—the term publicity was used, propaganda is offensive—in his work in the publicity line in the United States, and particularly radio broadcasting, is supposed to file with the Federal Communications Commission all the transcripts of the programs.

I was then invited to go with Mr. Kutylowski to the office of Foreign Consul Galewicz,¹ and in his office also there was Mr. Litauer,² who was the chief of the Polish press department of the Embassy here. He was in the rank of Minister.

They told us they wanted the Gdynia-America Line to start a Polish-language radio program in New York for the benefit of the Polish-speaking population. I tried to convince them that it would be quite an embarrassing thing because we will have to file with the Federal Communications Commission, in advance of the program going on the air, the exact text of what we wanted to say. However, they were of the opinion that it was not so, that the only thing we had to do was to mention in our semiannual report to the State Department that we do engage in radio broadcasting as a means of advertisement.

Now, I have not listened to many of those programs. However, occasionally I had to go over the script before it went on the air. Mr. Kutylowski asked me to do that and I found it was not the advertisement or the promotion of passenger business of the line, which at that time was being planned to be reopened again, but it was propaganda.

Senator O'CONNOR. By whom was it prepared?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. It was prepared by a young man by the name of Mr. Szor.³ Mr. Szor at that time came from Poland as a delegate of the Polish Broadcasting Co. to study broadcasting technique methods and development in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. What affiliation did he have at the time of his admission into the United States? Did he come as a student?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. He was only an official of the Polish Broadcasting Co., which is also State-owned and controlled. He came here and made his headquarters at the consulate.

Senator O'CONNOR. Under what guise did he come?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Just officially to study the organization of radio broadcasting in the United States.

¹ Jan Galewicz, Polish consul in New York.

² Michael Litauer.

³ Leopold Szor.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to know also if you have the information, Mr. TRZECIESKI, as to whether he came as an affiliate of the Polish consulate?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I believe that if he came, he came under what is called a government official passport.

Mr. ARENS. A 3 (1)?¹

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That is right; not a diplomatic passport, but an official Government passport. He left the service, according to the latest information I received.

Senator O'CONNOR. Does that entitle him to certain immunities?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I do not think it does. It certainly does not entitle him to diplomatic immunity. He was the one who was preparing the script for the broadcast. I have not listened to many of those programs, but I distinctly recall one, to show you gentlemen how it was propaganda to belittle everything that is being done here.

This program which was put on the air sometime after the Bikini atomic bomb trial went off was something like this—If you will recall at that time a certain number of animals were put on board those warships and they survived the explosion; that was used by them to put into the minds of the Poles listening to those programs that atomic energy is nothing else but another American bluff. The program was on the air as sponsored by the Gdynia-America Line. Mr. Kutylowski was a little bit afraid of the reaction among the American Poles and he tried to get out of it, but he was told directly, "We want you to go ahead with that and that is the end of it."

Senator O'CONNOR. Who was that direction given by?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. By the Consul Galewicz and by Minister Litauer in my presence.

Mr. ARENS. They were officials of the Communist Polish Government in the United States?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes; Mr. Galewicz is the consul. At that time he was next to the consul general, Mr. Rozwadowski.²

Mr. ARENS. At the present time he is the consul general?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes; located at 151 East Sixty-seventh Street in New York.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when was this conversation which you overheard between the consul general and the individual who was to carry on this propaganda and work taking place?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. At the office of Mr. Galewicz in the consulate building, under the address I mentioned. It was sometime in the spring of 1946.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you recall more or less exactly what the conversation was, the exact words?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. The conversation was:

We do not see any obstacle in the American law on activities of agents of foreign principals to your sponsoring a radio program which would give general information on Poland, and we want you to go ahead with it.

Mr. DEKOM. That was the statement of Consul Galewicz?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes, that is right, and the program did go on the air. As far as I know it is still on the air. It used to be on Station WNYB in Brooklyn and is now on Station WHBI in Newark, N. J.

¹ Under sec. 3 (1) of the Immigration Act of 1924 (8 U. S. C. 203 (1)).

² Eugene J. Rozwadowski.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is it still continuing?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. Do you know whether they have been submitting the transcripts?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. No.

Mr. ARENS. How frequently is it on the air?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Once a week, on Sundays.

Mr. ARENS. For how long a period of time?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Half an hour.

Mr. ARENS. In what language?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. In Polish.

Mr. ARENS. You were discussing, Mr. Trzecieski, in your testimony a few minutes ago, the evidences of control of the Gdynia-America Line by the Communist Polish Government or its agents, and you have discussed thus far the propaganda phase of the work. Do you have other information which evidences or gives to your mind the conclusion which you apparently have reached that the Gdynia-America Line policy and activities and functions have been actively directed and controlled by the Communist government, or by the Communist government agents in this country?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. The most of the evidence that I noticed while I was still employed by the Gdynia-America Line was when Mr. Jerzy Panski arrived in the United States as one of the consuls of Poland, originally as marine attaché of the Polish Embassy and then it was changed to marine consul of the Polish Government's consulate in New York. He has been a frequent visitor in the office of the Gdynia-America Line and he has, more or less, directed matters of every nature concerning the operations and the management of the company, such as crew matters, questions of purchase of vessels, questions of charters in which were contemplated freight business—which, by the way, is nonexistent or just barely existing; also questions of purchase of vessels from the United States Government.

As a matter of fact, I went with him in 1947 here to Washington to the Maritime Commission when we were trying to buy two Victory ships. One was eventually bought. He was directing man in those matters.

Questions of publicity were cleared through his office; practically every important matter affecting the management and the policies of the company was cleared through his office.

There was another one before him who, however, decided to desert the communistic cause and was permitted to stay here. I cannot recall his name, however. He came in March 1947. At that time he was constantly supervising all our activities, and I know that they are controlling even the expenditures for the operation of the vessel. So reports have to go to the consulate for the perusal and approval or criticism.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting advertisements which have been placed by the Gdynia-America Line in newspapers, or the relationships between the Gdynia-America Line and certain foreign-language newspapers in this country?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Well, the Gdynia-America Line has lost, as far as I can say, most of their friendly contacts with the Polish-language press since the regime changed over there. Most of the Polish-language newspapers here are anti-Communist.

There is a certain group on the lunatic fringe who are supporting the new regime.

Mr. DEKOM. That is only a very small minority, is it not?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Gdynia-America Line advertise or has it in the past advertised in certain foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I do not know whether they advertise right now or not. Advertisements were generally not very much used since the passenger business was resumed, because without advertising anyone who had a berth to sell on the ship had anywhere from 10 to 25 candidates for it both ways.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know of any financial arrangements between the Gdynia-America Line and Communist foreign-language newspapers in this country?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I have found out that there is one being published at the present time, the so-called *Nowa Epoka*.¹ It is published by a lawyer, Mr. Stanislaw Gutowski.²

Mr. DEKOM. Does he go under the name of Stanley Gutowski?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes, sir. Stanislaw is the Polish equivalent of Stanley. I know that the Gdynia-America Line is not on the advertising, but to a great extent is financing the venture.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us about the paper itself, Mr. Trzecieski?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. It is a weekly, with circulation, paid circulation, around 600 copies, but with a much larger net distribution, about 6,000 copies, and that is about close enough.

Mr. ARENS. It has a paid circulation of about 500 or 600, and a net circulation of about 5,000 or 6,000; is that right?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

Of the Gdynia-America Line, it is contributing a certain amount of money. I understand it even has subscribed a certain amount of the stock.³

Senator O'CONNOR. Just what is done in respect to circulation of the additional amount of papers?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I think it is being put on the newsstands. I have seen it on newsstands in New York, those which carry foreign-language publications, like newsstands near Forty-second Street and Times Square, on newsstands in the heavily Polish sections of the city. Besides that, I think it is just being sent to a certain selective group.

Senator O'CONNOR. That is what I was driving at.

Mr. TRZECIESKI. In this respect, the Gdynia-America Line always wanted to do a little political work, and I may put in something very interesting regarding that. Their aim today is not to propagate so much the idea of starting communism here; it is of swinging the Polish element to the belief that communism is a very beneficial regime. The best proof of how Poland is now progressing politically, economically, culturally, how the church is being tolerated there, and in that respect, if you are interested to know, I may tell you a very characteristic point which shows the political activities of the Gdynia-America Line.

Shortly after the present Polish Ambassador came here, Ambassador Winiewicz,⁴ Mr. Kutylowski called me and told me: "You know Mr.

¹ Publication discontinued October 1, 1949.

² For the testimony of Stanley Gutowski, see p. 447.

³ Roman M. Kutylowski, president of the Gdynia-America Line, is listed as a stockholder of the *Nowa Epoka* Publishing Co. See p. 451.

⁴ Jozef Winiewicz.

Winiewicz is not a Communist, that he is a good Catholic, that he has always been strong to the right as a man—I may say, not reactionary, but to the right of the middle of the road—and he is very much interested in establishing contact with the Polish clergy and with certain Polish organizations such as the Polish Roman Catholic Union of Chicago, which is the second largest in this country, and with certain other smaller ones in different other Polish centers.”

He asked whether I could arrange for Ambassador Winiewicz to have an interview with Cardinal Spellman, the Catholic archbishop of New York.

Mr. ARENS. Did you arrange that interview?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I did not.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know of any interviews or contacts which Mr. Kutylowski had with organizations in the United States?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Pardon me, but do you mean the Polish Ambassador?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kutylowski.

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes, sir; he had contacts ever since before the war with practically every Polish organization here.

Mr. ARENS. What did he do in those contacts?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Any travel to Poland today, which hardly exists on a commercial basis, was to a great extent to keep the good will of the Poles so they would travel on Polish vessels.

Mr. ARENS. Did he speak to Polish groups?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is he doing so now?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. As far as I know, no; but chiefly because they don't invite him.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the immigration status of the officers of the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Mr. Kutylowski, until 1943, was here since 1932 on the so-called treaty visa. In other words, on the basis of the treaty of commerce and friendship which was concluded between the United States and Poland. In 1931, he, as an official of the Polish corporation that had a branch here, was allowed to stay here on that special visa which was good for as long as he occupied that position. In 1943, after he returned from a prolonged visit to England, he applied for an immigration visa and he went to Canada where, in one of the consulates, whether in Montreal or in Toronto, he obtained an immigration visa. As far as I remember, he also made a declaration of intention to become a citizen. However, I know that he did not follow up his declaration.

Senator O'CONNOR. Was it made in good faith, or otherwise, do you know?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I thought that it was not made out of patriotism.

Mr. ARENS. What is the immigration status of the vice president?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. He is a resident with an immigration visa. He obtained that after he married an American citizen.

Mr. ARENS. What is his status now? Are there deportation proceedings pending against him?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know the grounds for the deportation proceedings?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. As far as the immigration authorities informed me, because I was called in on a hearing in the New York office of the Immigration Department, on the ground that he is a member of the Communist Party. In other words, he is a member of a party that advocates the violent overthrow of the United States Government.

Mr. DEKOM. How many of your associates in the office there, to your knowledge, were Communists?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Actually one, that was Grzelak.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is he the vice president?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. Just specifically what knowledge do you have of his activities to indicate his party affiliations?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. He was a member of the crew of the motor ship *Pilsudski* before the war. He was either a bath steward or a cabin steward. The *Pilsudski* sailed on August 23, 1939, if I am correct, back to Europe, and it never reached Poland again because in the meantime the war broke out. She pulled in one of the English ports.

At that time the Polish Government, which was beginning to organize itself in London, had made arrangements for the charter of those vessels to the British. When the news came in about that ship going to serve the British Admiralty, Mr. Grzelak was one of the organizers of a mutiny of the crew in England and actually succeeded in provoking the trouble.

He came subsequently to the United States and I would not be able to say when. It was in 1940 or 1941.

Mr. DEKOM. Before you go on, was that mutiny organized during the period of the Commu-Nazi pact?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. At that time it was Soviet policy not to help the western democracies, but to help Hitler; is that right?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That is right. That was shortly before the *Pilsudski* arrived in New York from England.

Mr. DEKOM. Were you in the United States at that time?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I was.

Mr. DEKOM. Were there similar Communist demonstrations in this country against helping the western democracies?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. In the United States?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. TRZECIESKI. There was propaganda such as "The Yanks are not coming," etc. Some of the strikes were provoked for that purpose, like the Allis-Chalmers strike.

Mr. DEKOM. Did they also picket the White House?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That is right. Mr. Grzelak appeared again here. I think he came as a crew member of a foreign vessel, some Scandinavian vessel or British vessel. I am not sure of that.

Not very long after this experience with the *Pilsudski*, it was in England, that Grzelak was active among the Communists in arranging for transportation and smuggling out of this country of communistic literature to England. It was being printed here because of the paper shortage in England.

We all had to have the passes issued by the Coast Guard. Any way, it was prevented. He was not permitted to enter the Polish vessels.

Some of our freighters were in regular service between New York and Liverpool. At that time, also, I remember when Mr. Kutylowski told Mr. Sztam not to even talk to that Communist, meaning Grzelak.

He married an American girl. I would not be able to say what year it was. I know he left then for a foreign country, where he attained his immigration visa on the basis that he is married to an American citizen. He did make a declaration of intention to become a citizen.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that Mr. Stanislaw Sztam, who is now the landing agent?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Before we get into the proposition of illegal entries through the use of the Gdynia-America Line which you may have, may I ask you a word about your knowledge of the crew activities? Do you have information respecting members of the crew of the *Batory* or the *Sobieski* who have arrived as crew members and have failed to depart with the ship?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. No; I do not know any specific cases of activities of those men who have left the service, except those who have not been from the *Batory* and the *Sobieski*. There are a number of Polish captains, chief engineers, and junior officers who have been serving Polish merchant ships during the war and who refused to return to Poland. Some of them are now employed by Panamanian-flag ships, some of them are on the beach, some of them are out of the service and are working in some other occupation.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell us in your own words the information you have, if any, respecting illegal entries into the United States via the *Batory* or the *Sobieski*, the two vessels operated by the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. The one direct knowledge is the following: In 1947, either September or October, a number of men, including some officers, seven altogether, had been detained by the immigration inspector in charge of the inspection as soon as the examination of the crew began, which is usually after the passengers have been taken care of. When Mr. Kutylowski wanted to find out about those seven men who were being detained, even before their documents were examined, before medical examinations were made, he was told that on orders from the Commissioner of Immigration in Washington they were detained. Then I spoke about that to the purser of the ship who, as you know, is the administrative head and who has all the questions of immigration under his supervision on board. He told me that the seven men are all members of the executive committee of the Communist cell on the *Batory*. So, apparently, the Commissioner of Immigration must have received advice through official channels from the United States consulate in Danzig.

Mr. ARENS. Did the purser make any observations respecting his prior activities in smuggling people into the United States?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I told him, "You know, Purser, that there are rumors in New York that you are smuggling aliens."

He told me, "Yes; we are."

Mr. DEKOM. Did you describe the method they used?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I described it to him and he did not deny that I was wrong.

Senator O'CONNOR. Just how, by which method?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. By this process, that, let us say, a man by the name of John Doe was on the crew list in any capacity, mostly in the lower grade, as a steward, oiler, or a seaman. If he happened to be a man whom the party wanted to deposit in the United States, he just simply, after he was cleared by the immigration people, got shore leave. He walked off. Another man whom they wanted to have in his place was shipped in there under the same name. When the immigration inspector on departure was checking again, John Doe appeared.

Mr. DEKOM. They substituted one man for another; is that right?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Isn't that substantially the same method used by the Nazis to get their agents in the country?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes; it is.

Mr. ARENS. Under the immigration law, a bona fide crew member is entitled to 29 days shore leave, is he not?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. If he leaves the vessel. If he deserts; yes, he is.

Mr. ARENS. No; I mean upon the arrival of a ship from abroad into a United States port, a bona fide crew member is entitled to be absent from that ship for a maximum period of 29 days; is that right?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That is right. He has 29 days' leave. He has 29 days to "reship foreign." That is the term used by the immigration people.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a crew delegate named Franciszek Klusek?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I don't know that I know him personally, but I know from one of my friends that he is today a delegate of the union. At the same time, he is a Communist boss on board the vessel among the crew. In other words, his job is to keep them in line.

Mr. ARENS. Do you mean keep the crew members in line?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Keep the crew members in line. As such, he has even high authority over the officers.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the new technique of union organization of the Communist, where the delegate of the union is actually the boss rather than being the protector?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Trzecieski, would you recite the facts, of which you have knowledge, respecting the events which occurred on May 6, 1949, with reference of the alleged smuggling of Gerhart Eisler out of the country on the *Batory*?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I learned about that from the newspapers, about the fact that Eisler was stowed away on the *Batory*. The story was as follows:

Usually the purser of a passenger vessel has to make a check of the crew and passengers and starts to do it as soon as the pilot gets off. He must notify the office of the company in the port of departure of the figures, how many passengers, such and such class, how many crew members, and so forth. If there are any missing who are deserters, who are not noticed on departure, he gets his name so that the proper report may be made to the immigration authorities.

Also, whether there are any stowaways. He has to make a diligent search for stowaways. The practice was ever since I can remember that within 24 hours, such a radiogram should arrive. This time it

was 48 hours before the ship notified: "Total passengers, so many; one stowaway."¹

If I am correct, according to the law, he should have given the name of the stowaway. Mr. Smith, who is the passenger traffic manager, a very experienced man in all immigration matters and all duties of the steamship company under American law, on his own, sent a radiogram to the vessel ordering the captain to try to collect money from the stowaway if he had any money.

Mr. DEKOM. You mean for the fare?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes; for the fare, and to give his name and nationality. So, after a lapse, I think, of 1 day—in the meantime, he did notify the immigration people that there was a stowaway. The answer came: "Collected money, put him on the passenger manifest. Name, Gerhart Eisler. Nationality, German."

By the way, the original instruction of Mr. Smith was that if his papers are found in order, then to put him on the passenger list, which, obviously, could not be done, because his papers could not be found in order. He did not have a sailing permit which is necessary for a passenger, to be issued by the United States customhouse.

Then, that was reported to the immigration authorities. The immigration authorities wanted to have a check to identify him. It may have been another Eisler. They insisted on sending another radiogram, which Mr. Sztam sent to the ship from his home late in the evening on the insistence of one of the inspectors: "What are the dates of his birth?"

Then came the answer indicating the day, month, and year, which fitted Eisler's dates. I understand that Mr. Sztam was reprimanded by Mr. Kutylowski because of his sending the radiogram asking for the name of the stowaway.

Senator O'CONNOR. I was going to ask about that. What explanation do you have for the fact that there was that disclosure so early, and that detail?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Why they disclosed the name of Eisler instead of using some assumed name, we do not know. I mean, at least, I never could find that out. I presume that the reason why they could not conceal it was the fact that there was a correspondent of the Columbia Broadcasting System who was a passenger on board this ship, who, himself, as far as I can recall from the newspaper reports, radioed the news to his principals in New York.²

Mr. DEKOM. You said that Sztam was reprimanded for revealing the name?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Smith was, for asking the name.

Mr. DEKOM. So that actually from that it would appear that the disclosure was inadvertent, simply because Mr. Smith followed regular procedure, as he was not supposed to do.

Mr. TRZECIESKI. No; he was supposed to ask for the name, and he told Mr. Kutylowski, from what I understand, "Mr. Kutylowski, that was my duty, because I had to supply the name to the immigration authorities here."

Senator O'CONNOR. It still does not clear up why the ship's officers would disclose it.

¹The text of the communications concerning the case of Gerhart Eisler appear in appendix VII, p. A121.

²Richard Yaffe, special correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That is the point we are trying to figure out, why the Communists are using a dozen different names sometimes and why in this case they did not use a different name. That is my guess that there was someone, a correspondent, an American, who recognized him. I would have recognized him if I saw him, because I saw many pictures of him.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Dekom, did you have a few other questions?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes, I do. Can you tell us if any of the officials of the line were aboard the *Batory* on May 6, such as, for example, Mr. Kutylowski?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. He was there, and Mr. Smith was there.

Mr. DEKOM. How about Consul General Jan Galewicz?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I understand he was there.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you tell anything of that, what they did, or what went on?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Mr. Galewicz, before the ship actually sailed, before the gangplank was lifted, went back to the consulate. Mr. Kutylowski went as soon as the ship pulled out of the port.

Mr. ARENS. You mean left the ship and came back into the United States?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes, on the pier; and left the pier then. Then he immediately proceeded to the consul general, uptown.

Mr. ARENS. How frequently are the officials of the Gdynia Line in contact with the consul general?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Mr. Kutylowski, as far as I understand, is in daily contact. He was, at least, during the time when I was there, either with the consul general or with the consul in charge of the marine matters.

Mr. DEKOM. What transpired when Kutylowski left the pier? Where did he go?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. To the Polish consulate.

Mr. DEKOM. To whom?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. To the consul general, Galewicz.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any knowledge of what transpired?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes; I have knowledge, but I have no documentary proof for it, that he entered the office of the consul general, and he said, "We succeeded."

Mr. DEKOM. He said that to Galewicz?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know Zofia Wachtl?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I do.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you identify her?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. She is the private secretary of Mr. Kutylowski.

Mr. DEKOM. Was she aboard the *Batory* on May 6?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. She sailed as a passenger for Poland for a vacation.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any information as to whether or not she might have had any connection with the Eisler incident?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. That is what we suppose, that she did have.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any knowledge concerning Eisler's whereabouts in the 3 days prior to his departure on the *Batory*?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. There were strong suspicions that Eisler spent the 3 days prior to sailing in the consulate building.

Mr. DEKOM. Have any restrictions since that event been placed on the movement of Mr. Grzelak, the vice president, in his moving onto the vessel?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. As far as I understand, he is not permitted to board the vessel unless he is accompanied by a guard of the Immigration Service.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know, from your knowledge, about seamen carrying messages or notes off of the ships of the Gdynia-America Line to the Polish general staff for the Polish consul general?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I have no direct knowledge of any specific case.

Mr. DEKOM. Early this year the *Batory* put into Halifax. Is that a regular practice, or was that an unscheduled call?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. According to the schedules of the *Batory* since the service was resumed in 1947, it was not a regular call, regular scheduled call.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you have any knowledge as to why that call was made?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. According to my knowledge, the call was made in order to embark a number of residents of Canada, mostly of Ukrainian descent, many of them from the so-called western Ukraine which was a part of Poland in 1945 and then was annexed to the Soviet Union. They were people who could not obtain transit visas from the United States to board the vessel in New York. There were some people who suspected them of being pro-Communists sent for training as saboteurs and agents, etc.

Mr. DEKOM. Then they were to be returned to the United States?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Or Canada?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. To Canada.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any information concerning the shipment of Greek seamen, or the employment of Greek seamen on the Polish ships?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. I learned from the newspapers that 12 or 14 seamen, Greek seamen, were arrested by the immigration authorities on one of the recent sailings of the *Batory*, as passengers. That was not the first instance when such men were being shipped allegedly to Greece via Gdynia. Some of these even did not have sailing permits.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any information concerning the hiring of people as workaways?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. Yes; I do have one specific incident. That was in 1948, the early part, when Consul Panski¹ came and asked to engage for the sailing of the *Batory*—which at that time was in port preparing for the voyage back to Poland—in the capacity of work-away, an American citizen, a naturalized American citizen. Usually captains and experienced seafaring men do not like those workaways. That is more in the line of charitable work being done. So, then Mr. Panski said, "I order you to engage him in that capacity for Gdynia." That is one specific instance I know of where a workaway was hired; an American citizen, by the way.

Mr. DEKOM. Did he have any baggage?

Mr. TRZECIESKI. He had.

¹ Jerzy Panski, former Polish consul at New York.

MR. DEKOM. Isn't that unusual?

MR. TRZECIESKI. Unusual, because a workaway is usually a man who is more or less destitute and who has not got anything.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. The person who ordered the line to hire was Consul Panski?

MR. TRZECIESKI. Yes.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Isn't that unusual for the consul to come and tell the line whom to hire?

MR. TRZECIESKI. Yes; it is unusual, because usually a Government office will not influence whom the company, which is supposedly operating independently, will hire as a man supposed to perform certain duties on the vessel. The question of his qualifications enters here.

MR. DEKOM. That is all.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. We are very much obliged to you for your very frank statements. Thank you very much for coming.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF CZESLAW GRZELAK, VICE PRESIDENT, GDYNIA-AMERICA LINE, INC.¹

SENATOR O'CONNOR. The next witness is Mr. Grzelak.

MR. GRZELAK, will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

IN the presence of Almighty God, do you swear that the testimony you shall give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

MR. GRZELAK. I do.

MR. ARENS. Would you please give the reporter your full name?

MR. GRZELAK. Gzeslaw Grzelak.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Is 32 Pearl Street, New York, N. Y., your address?

MR. GRZELAK. That is the address of our office.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. How long have you been in the country?

MR. GRZELAK. In this country, I am since 1940.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Continuously?

MR. GRZELAK. I left in 1946, about 6 months, to go to Poland. In 1947, I was on one of our ships on the line to Italy.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. What is your official position with the steamship company?

MR. GRZELAK. I am vice president of the Gdynia-America Line, and purchasing agent and crew manager.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. For what period have you been vice president?

MR. GRZELAK. Since August or September 1948.

MR. ARENS. The subcommittee is considering the provisions of Senate bill 1832, and it is desired that certain questions be asked in respect to this proposed legislation.

MR. GRZELAK, would you tell us the scope of your duties as vice president of the Gdynia-America Lines?

MR. GRZELAK. My duties are as purchasing agent and crew manager, because Mr. Kutylowski² is usually in the office. He is taking care of the line as a whole. When he is out, I adjust and make decisions in his name.

¹The witness appeared under subpoena, accompanied by Isidore Englander, attorney.

²The testimony of Roman M. Kutylowski, president of the Gdynia-American Line, appears on p. 745.

Senator O'CONNOR. He is the president ?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What are your duties as crew manager ?

Mr. GRZELAK. As crew manager, taking care of the sick seamen in the cases that we have after arrival here, and just settle some of the small grievances on board and supply new crew members in case they need them.

Mr. ARENS. Do you employ the crew members ? Do you hire the new crew members ?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes; sometimes we hire here. Generally we do not, because they hire the crew on the outside, but in cases of necessity, we hire here.

Mr. ARENS. How often do you hire crew members on this side ?

Mr. GRZELAK. It is hard to tell. I don't remember that we hired anybody here.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been crew manager ?

Mr. GRZELAK. Crew manager I am since the 1st of January 1948.

Mr. ARENS. Who was crew manager prior to the time you took over the position ?

Mr. GRZELAK. Before, it was Mr. Trzeczieski.¹

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now ?

Mr. GRZELAK. He is no more with our line. He was discharged in December 1947.

Mr. ARENS. What are your other duties as purchasing agent ?

Mr. GRZELAK. As purchasing agent, I made all the purchases and deliveries to the ships; provisions, and purchases for the engine department, deck department, and all provisions for the ship.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have as part of your duties the purchasing of advertising for the Gdynia-America Line ?

Mr. GRZELAK. No.

Mr. ARENS. Who does that ?

Mr. GRZELAK. The passenger department, because we do not need advertising about the purchasing on our line.

Mr. ARENS. Who has charge of the purchasing of advertising ? What is the man's name ?

Mr. GRZELAK. Mr. Kutylowski himself, and the manager of the passenger department, Mr. Smith.²

Mr. ARENS. How many members of the crew of the *Batory* or the *Sobieski* have failed to depart with their vessels in the course of the last few years from this side ?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is hard to tell, but we have what we call mass desertions. It was from the *Batory* in January, I think, of this year, and from the *Sobieski* in February of 1948 that we had those.

Mr. ARENS. Do I understand that in January of this year there were a number of crew members of the *Batory* who failed to depart with their ship ?

Mr. GRZELAK. If I am correct, it was 19 at that time. From the *Sobieski* in February, it was over 16.

Mr. ARENS. Where are the 19 who failed to depart with the *Batory* ?

Mr. GRZELAK. I think they are here in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have an explanation as to why they failed to depart with their ship ?

¹ Anthony Trzeczieski. For the testimony of Mr. Trzeczieski, see p. 713.

² Samuel Y. Smith.

Mr. GRZELAK. No, because I did not see them.

Senator O'CONNOR. Had you any warning of the fact that there was any possible desertion coming up?

Mr. GRZELAK. On the *Batory*, I did not know.

Mr. ARENS. How about the *Sobieski*?

Mr. GRZELAK. I knew that on arrival that some of the crew intended to desert in the United States, and they claim that was because they got a message that the ship was supposed to be sold out and they were afraid that they would not get a job on the ship in case they were transported to Poland. They preferred to stay in this country. That is what I got, because I spoke to them when they were talking of mass desertions.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have frequent contact with the crews of the *Batory* and of the *Sobieski*?

Mr. GRZELAK. Do you mean the crew now on the ship?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes; just not during the 3 months, because I was not allowed to go on board.¹ I saw the crew on the last trip of the *Batory*.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us about the activities of the crew members of the *Batory* and the *Sobieski* after their arrival in the United States and during their 29-day leave period, insofar as putting on shows or plays, or appearing before groups in the United States is concerned?

Mr. GRZELAK. I remember that it was 1948. I even got an invitation to some kind of a floor show they have here, but I don't remember any speeches at that time.

Mr. DEKOM. Does the name Wanda Skarzynska mean anything to you?

Mr. GRZELAK. Wanda Skarzynska? I think, in 1947, she was a crew member on the *Batory*. I remember in 1947, or even in the beginning of 1948, there was a crew member with such a name.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it not a fact that she made a number of speeches in the United States when she came over here on the ship?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't remember, because I never was—I didn't hear her.

Mr. ARENS. What is the nature of these plays or performances that the crew members have been putting on in the United States during their 29-day leave periods?

Mr. GRZELAK. I remember they made a collection when they performed this floor show, a collection for the orphans of the seamen.

Mr. ARENS. Where were these meetings or performances held?

Mr. GRZELAK. I think in the Yugoslav Dom² on Forty-first Street in New York.

Mr. ARENS. As a matter of fact, you were in charge of those performances and meetings; were you not?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; at that time I got an invitation and was there.

Mr. DEKOM. Who was in charge?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know who was in charge, because they have their own contacts here in the United States with some groups.

Mr. ARENS. What are the groups they have contacts with in the United States?

¹ Czeslaw Grzelak was barred by the immigration authorities following the escape of Gerhart Eisler.

² Yugoslavenski-Americki Dom, or Yugoslav-American Home.

Mr. GRZELAK. I heard that they have contacts with the Polonia Society.

Mr. ARENS. Will you identify it?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is a fraternal organization.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the Polonia Society of the International Workers Order?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that listed as Communist and subversive by the Attorney General of the United States?¹

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Where does this Polonia Society meet?

Mr. GRZELAK. They have a local on Fifth Avenue.

Mr. ARENS. Did you say a local?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How do you know they hold meetings at that place which you have just designated?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know, because I don't belong to this Polonia Society and I am not familiar with it.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been to any of the meetings?

Mr. GRZELAK. Of the meetings, they have Workers Club in New York, which I don't know exactly what its connection is with the Polonia Society. But they have meetings in this club, and sometimes I was there.

Mr. ARENS. How often have you been to the meetings, let us say, in the course of the last year?

Mr. GRZELAK. Maybe two or three times.

Mr. ARENS. What do you do at the meetings?

Mr. GRZELAK. I just drop in to see some of the old friends.

Mr. ARENS. Are there seamen at the meetings?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; they have no seamen there.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know Wladislaw Tysh or Walter Tysh?²

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes; I know him.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you tell us what he does, to your knowledge?

Mr. GRZELAK. I think he is an employee, he is an office worker of the Polonia Society.

Mr. DEKOM. What is your connection with him?

Mr. GRZELAK. I knew him, I think, about 6 years ago. During the war I met him, and also in this Workers Club.

Mr. ARENS. Where were these meetings in which the crewmen participated in the meeting, crewmen of the *Batory* and the *Sobieski*, that you have previously told us about?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't remember when they had those meetings.

Mr. ARENS. Were those meetings at the Yugoslav Dom?

Mr. GRZELAK. It was not a meeting at that time. They had some dancing there, and they have a floor show. It was no meeting.

Mr. ARENS. That was at the Yugoslav Dom?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And the seamen were there?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes; the seamen from the *Batory*.

Mr. ARENS. How many from the *Batory* were there?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't remember the exact number, but I saw a lot of them.

¹ For the Attorney General's list, see appendix II, p. A7.

² For the testimony of Walter Tysh, see p. 425.

Mr. ARENS. The Yugoslav Dom is generally regarded as a Communist-front organization; is it not?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been to the Yugoslav Dom?

Mr. GRZELAK. Just at that time, in 1948, but maybe I am mistaken. I don't remember exactly the date.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Crew Delegate Franciszek Klusek?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes, sir; at present he is a crew delegate on the *Batory*.

Mr. ARENS. What is the duty or what are the responsibilities of the crew delegate on the ship?

Mr. GRZELAK. The duty of the crew delegate is to act as representative of the union, and he represents those crew members on this ship if they have any small grievances. If they have grievances, he will settle them, and he represents the crew to the captain.

Mr. ARENS. Who selects him?

Mr. GRZELAK. The crew members elect him.

Senator O'CONNOR. Does he have any other duties, other than the representation of the crew members in that way?

Mr. GRZELAK. According to the collective agreement on the ship on which they have more crew members than 150, the delegate is purely representing the crew members and the union. On the smaller ship, he performs his normal duties and just gets additional compensation in the way of overtime.

Mr. ARENS. What contacts have you had with the Polish consulate in New York City?

Mr. GRZELAK. Our representatives of the line have had some official contacts, because I am crew manager, and many times when they come in I am supposed to report an arrival and also the sailing. Sometimes a misunderstanding comes up and I go there and clarify it.

Mr. ARENS. How often have you been in contact with the Polish consulate in New York City in the course of the last month?

Mr. GRZELAK. I think that I was in contact two or three times.

Mr. ARENS. How many times have you been in contact with the Polish consulate in the course of the last year?

Mr. GRZELAK. I must say every month I am in the Polish consulate.

Mr. ARENS. You are physically in the building?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. How far is the consulate from the offices of the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. GRZELAK. The Gdynia-America Line is located downtown, Manhattan, and the consulate is on Sixty-seventh Street.

Mr. ARENS. How often are representatives of the consulate in the offices of the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. GRZELAK. Maybe once or twice a month.

Mr. ARENS. Who generally comes over?

Mr. GRZELAK. Mostly I go to the consulate.

Mr. ARENS. Who comes from the consulate to the Gdynia-America Line headquarters?

Mr. GRZELAK. From the consulate to the Gdynia-America Line, a couple of times I saw the consul general there.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is that unusual, you having been connected with the line over the period of years you have described? Did the same

procedure follow prior to the assumption of the present government authority in Poland?

Mr. GRZELAK. It is hard to tell. I do not know how it was before the war, because before the war I was a seaman on the ship. I cannot tell.

Senator O'CONNOR. Were you only placed in your present position since the new government has been in control?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Who hired you?

Mr. GRZELAK. In 1946, I went to Poland to see my mother and my family, and I was engaged by the Gdynia-America Line in Gdynia. After my 5 or 6 months' stay there, I returned here and I got a job here in New York.

Senator O'CONNOR. The Gdynia-America Line is controlled by the Gdynia Line in Poland; is it not? Is all the stock owned by them?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes. We are the general agent of the Gdynia-America Line, Ltd., in Gdynia.

Senator O'CONNOR. In return, the Gdynia-America Line is controlled by the Gdynia Line in Poland?

Mr. GRZELAK. I do not know about the control. Mr. Kutylowski is more acquainted with those things.

Mr. ARENS. You are here in answer to a subpoena served on you, a document which was handed to you, ordering your presence here at this hearing here today; were you not?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. With whom did you discuss your appearance here?

Mr. GRZELAK. Of course, affairs are discussed with our directors or with Mr. Kutylowski, and Mr. Sztam¹ also got a subpoena to be present. I also discussed it with my attorney.

Mr. ARENS. Have you discussed it with any representative of the Polish consulate in New York?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; I didn't.

Mr. ARENS. Have you discussed your appearance here today with a representative of the Polish Government in Washington?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; I didn't.

Mr. DEKOM. Was Jan Galewicz, the consul general, informed of the fact that you or other members of the Gdynia-America Line had been subpoenaed?

Mr. GRZELAK. I think Mr. Galewicz was informed, but I am not sure. I don't know. I did not speak with Mr. Galewicz or anybody about the subpoena.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell us where you were in the years 1939-40? Where were you?

Mr. GRZELAK. 1939 and 1940?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Let us say from approximately the time of the outbreak in the war in Europe?

Mr. GRZELAK. When the war broke out, I was on the Polish ship, the sister ship of the *Batory*, the *Pilsudski*. I was on the way to Gdynia and they stopped us in England. I was, in the beginning of the war, in England, and came to the United States in May of 1940, which means that I was at that time, from the beginning of the war, in England.

¹ The testimony of Stanislaw C. Sztam appears on p. 770.

Mr. DEKOM. You went as a crew member of the *Pilsudski*?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. In what activities did you take part aboard the ship on the way to, or in, England?

Mr. GRZELAK. At that time, I was vice president of the Polish union and delegate of the crew on this ship *Pilsudski*. We have a lot of grievances with our company, and I would consult over there with them. It was a strike. I was a member of the strike committee, but later they discharged us and I got an immigration visa to come here.

Senator O'CONNOR. Was there mutiny aboard the ship or a riot on it?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; it was not a mutiny, because it was in the port and mutiny only can happen when the ship is at sea.

Senator O'CONNOR. There was a general resistance by a great number of the crew, was there not?

Mr. GRZELAK. All the crew members.

Mr. DEKOM. What political consideration motivated you in participating, or leading, this so-called strike?

Mr. GRZELAK. It was not a political motivation, but we have a different opinion of our services during the war. The Polish merchant mission in England mobilized us. It meant that we should serve on the same ship as soldiers. We said, "No; we are still merchant marine men; and if you will make a collective agreement with us, taking into consideration the wartime and the war conditions, we still would be happy to work and take the ship back to Poland after the war regardless of what the outcome of the political situation would be."

Mr. DEKOM. Was Poland at war with any country?

Mr. GRZELAK. With Germany.

Mr. DEKOM. Were you at that time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRZELAK. At that time I was a member of the Communist Party; no.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRZELAK. Just a minute. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you a member of the Polish Workers Party, the so-called PZPR?¹

Mr. ENGLANDER. My name is Isidore Englander. I happened to represent Mr. Grzelak in his deportation proceedings.

Senator O'CONNOR. Would you just first identify yourself?

Mr. ENGLANDER. I am an attorney with offices at 205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that a firm?

Mr. ENGLANDER. It is a firm, Englander & Englander. My brother is with me. I represent Mr. Grzelak in his deportation proceedings. We have been attempting to speed it up, and I have been constantly in touch with the Immigration Service asking for hearings. We only had one hearing so far.

Senator O'CONNOR. When was that?

Mr. ENGLANDER. That was January 25. Since then I have had telephone calls with the Immigration Service asking for hearings. This

¹ Polish United Workers Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partja Robotnicza).

is a part of our defense as to whether or not he is, and we feel we would like to reserve that answer for that tribunal. As late as June 10, 1949, I wrote to the Immigration Service, and this is a copy of the letter I wrote. We have been trying to get the hearings, as I say.

Mr. ARENS. He has signed the testimony, Senator, and denied that he is a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Dekom's question relates not to the membership in the Communist Party, but with his affiliation in other organizations.

Mr. ENGLANDER. That is precisely the charge in the deportation proceedings, of membership in the Polish Workers Party.

Mr. DEKOM. Is the Polish Workers Party the same thing as the Communist Party? Is it the Communist Party of Poland?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know.

Senator O'CONNOR. What, specifically, are the allegations in connection with the deportation proceeding?

Mr. ENGLANDER. Generally, it is what we call the 1918 political charge, but at the first hearing—and I have the minutes here before me—the inspector says that the charge against Mr. Grzelak is that he belonged to the Polish Workers Party. We have not put in any defense as yet, because the Government has not put in its case. We want to reserve the right.

Senator O'CONNOR. When was the charge first instituted?

Mr. ENGLANDER. In December 8, 1948. There was one hearing held. Since then I have been in touch with the Immigration Service almost every single week until finally I put myself on record, asking them for hearings.

Senator O'CONNOR. Was there any reply to this letter?

Mr. ENGLANDER. Yes. I shall be glad to show it to you.

Senator O'CONNOR. Your letter of June 10 was replied to by the acting assistant enforcement officer under date of June 16, in which he says that the office is making every effort to bring the expulsion hearing to an early conclusion; is that right?

Mr. ENGLANDER. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. Thus far, have you been advised at all of anything?

Mr. ENGLANDER. No. As a matter of fact, only last week I spoke to an assistant enforcement officer, and he said it would only be speculative if I told you any date. We are very anxious to put on our defense and conclude the hearing, but we have not been given the opportunity. I think it is only fair that our defense be put in there rather than at any other place.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask this question: When did you receive your visa to immigrate to the United States?

Mr. GRZELAK. In London in 1940.

Senator O'CONNOR. What type of visa was that?

Mr. GRZELAK. It was an immigration visa.

Mr. ENGLANDER. It was permanent residence.

Mr. ARENS. When did you arrive in the United States under that visa?

Mr. GRZELAK. In May of the same year, 1940.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you make a declaration of intention to become an American citizen?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; I did not.

Mr. ENGLANDER. I would like to go off the record for a few minutes.
(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. GRZELAK. When I came, it was 4 or 6 weeks later. I still don't know if there was a declaration of intention of becoming a United States citizen or whether it was another declaration. I filled out some papers.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you ever taken any steps, to your knowledge, to acquire American citizenship?

Mr. GRZELAK. No.

Mr. DEKOM. You came here on an immigration visa, but you made no efforts to become an American citizen?

Mr. GRZELAK. During the war, I was too busy with work in a factory and doing other things. I did not consider it. My country was under occupation, and at such a moment I considered that I was too busy, and I had no feeling to change my citizenship.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell the committee your movements on May 6, 1949? What did you do on that day?

Mr. GRZELAK. May 6?

Mr. ARENS. We might identify that day as the day on which it is alleged that Gerhart Eisler left the country aboard the *Batory*.

Senator O'CONNOR. You can identify it by the departure of the *Batory*?

Mr. GRZELAK. I can only recall my routine job on the day of sailing of the ship. I am on the ship at least 10 minutes before the ship sails in order to finish with the invoices of the supplies and straighten out other things. I left with Mr. Kutylowski and other employees of the line, leaving the ship and waiting until the ship sailed. We have a passenger boat. I cannot recall exactly what went on this same day, but I am sure that it was the same routine work like the other days, the days of sailing.

Mr. DEKOM. Did Mr. Galewicz appear on board that day? Was he with you on board?

Mr. GRZELAK. Really, I can't recall.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know there was any person aboard ship illegally?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; I did not know.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know there was going to be any person aboard ship illegally?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; I did not know.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you find out there was a stowaway aboard?

Mr. GRZELAK. When our passenger department received a telegram from the ship that a stowaway by the name of Gerhart Eisler was on board.¹

Mr. ARENS. When was that telegram received with reference to the time of departure of the *Batory*?

Mr. GRZELAK. I think it was 2 or 3 days, but I don't remember exactly.

Mr. ARENS. Under the practice and under the regulations governing the operation of vessels on the high seas, is it not the duty of the captain of the vessel to report within a few hours after the departure of the vessel the passenger list and crew list back to the States?

¹ For the text of messages, radiograms and correspondence of the Gdynia-America Line concerning the case of Gerhart Eisler, see appendix VII, p. A121.

Mr. GRZELAK. I am not acquainted with the procedure, because this belonged to the passenger department and I never even see the telegrams from the ships on which people say they have a stowaway. This telegram to me about Gerhart Eisler was only mentioned because our passenger manager and landing agent, more or less, was acquainted with the Gerhart Eisler incident from the press. In the office everybody asked what happened that we have such a passenger. That is why it came to my knowledge that we had a stowaway.

Mr. ARENS. What are the rules and regulations respecting the time in which the captain of a vessel must report back to the line the passenger list and the crew list after departure of the vessel?

Mr. GRZELAK. Under the regulation the captain is obliged to, immediately before sailing, prepare a crew list and all the changes in the crew which occur during the stay in port. The same day or the next day he leaves this list in our office and we take the list.

Mr. ARENS. It was 2 or 3 days after the departure of the ship that you received the cablegram from the captain respecting the stowaway Gerhart Eisler, was it not?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is right. I don't remember exactly how many days, but anyway it was after 2 or 3 days after the departure of the vessel.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you go after you left the *Batory* on May 6?

Mr. GRZELAK. To the routine work in the office.

Mr. ARENS. Did you go to the Polish consulate?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; I don't remember ever going to the consulate right after the ship sailed. Usually I come to the office because I have a lot of work which is connected with the sailing, like the captain's report about the changes in the crew, which we finish and send the reports to our head office. Usually, I come to the office, and I cannot recall.

Mr. ARENS. Did you contact any representative of the Polish consulate on that same day after you had left the boat?

Mr. GRZELAK. I can't recall.

Senator O'CONNOR. This was quite an unusual departure, not necessarily identified as such that day, but by the developments a day or two afterward, when, of course, the word came as to Gerhart Eisler's departure; so that, recalling that particular departure, did you have any business with the consulate that took you there or for which you went there and talked with them?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't remember having any contact with the consulate about this departure.

Senator O'CONNOR. But a day or two afterward it became quite out of the ordinary?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes; a couple of days later.

Senator O'CONNOR. Remembering that particular departure or anything else which would have been outstanding in your mind, do you remember anything at all that took you to the consulate?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes, the consul called me and Mr. Kutylowski about this case of Eisler.

Mr. ARENS. When was that?

Mr. GRZELAK. A couple of days after we received this telegram about him being on board.

Senator O'CONNOR. What was the conversation with the consul?

Mr. GRZELAK. The consul wanted to know if someone in the office helped him. We said that, as far as we knew, there was no one who helped from the office. That was our statement.

Mr. ARENS. Who was the captain?

Mr. GRZELAK. Mr. Cwiklinski.¹ He is still on the same boat.

Mr. ARENS. Did the captain receive a decoration from the Polish Government subsequent to the departure of Mr. Eisler?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know anything about this decoration, because at that time I was not allowed to go on the ship. I just read in the papers and heard from Mr. Kutylowski that the captain received a decoration. I don't know for what.

Mr. ARENS. When was the last time you were in contact with him?

Mr. GRZELAK. On the last arrival. The ship sailed on September 9. I saw the captain on the 6th, the 7th, 8th, and 9th.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any conversation respecting the decoration?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; I didn't.

Mr. DEKOM. The subject never came up?

Mr. GRZELAK. Never.

Mr. ARENS. In the latter part of 1948 or early 1949, did you employ as crew members certain Greek seamen?

Mr. GRZELAK. In 1948?

Mr. ARENS. In the latter part of 1948 or early this year, did you employ certain Greek seamen for discharge of duties on the *Batory* or the *Sobieski*?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes; I remember we engaged some of the Greek seamen.

Mr. ARENS. How many, when was that, and for what vessel?

Mr. GRZELAK. I have a list of all of those which we signed on here in New York. Mr. Kutylowski in his subpoena has such a request.² I have a list of all of the men whom we engaged. You are interested in 1948?

Mr. ARENS. The latter part of 1948 or early 1949, did you engage some Greek seamen?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes. February 3, 1949, we engaged three Greek seamen as work-away men to Gdynia.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information whether or not they worked on the boat?

Mr. GRZELAK. I do not know.

Mr. ARENS. As a matter of fact, just man to man, those were Communist agents you were sending abroad; were they not?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know. They came to the office. We have a lot of seamen who are unemployed. They apply in the office for a job, and I don't know them.

Mr. DEKOM. Why did you select these particular Greeks? Because they were Communists?

Mr. GRZELAK. If I need a seaman, if someone wants to work his passage to Gdynia, I prefer him rather than the others.

Mr. ARENS. Why do these go first class?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know. We engaged them as work-away passengers, and they should work on the ship according to the agreement which we made with them.

¹ Captain Jan Cwiklinski.

² The list appears in appendix VII, p. A111, as "Kutylowski Exhibit 1."

Mr. ARENS. Where was their destination on the voyage?

Mr. GRZELAK. They were going to Gdynia.

Mr. DEKOM. They were Greeks. Why did they want to go there to Gdynia?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. They did not tell you?

Mr. GRZELAK. You see, we do not have so many experienced seamen in Poland. They think that maybe they will get a job over there. I say, "All right; if you want to go there, go."

Mr. DEKOM. Did they ever come back, to your knowledge, as crew members?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; I didn't find them.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it not a fact that they were shipped over to Greece to take part in the Greek Communist army?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know anything about them.

Mr. ARENS. Did they speak Polish?

Mr. GRZELAK. No.

Mr. ARENS. Does the captain of the vessel speak Polish?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Can the rest of the vessel speak Greek?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; but those Greeks speak English.

Mr. DEKOM. All of them?

Mr. GRZELAK. One of them spoke, because I still have difficulty with their documents in reading them. I was reading in English.

Mr. DEKOM. Did the consul general or any member of the staff ever instruct the employees of the line to hire any work-aways or crew members?

Mr. GRZELAK. Sometimes we have a request from the consul for a repatriation of some of the Polish seamen or Polish citizens that we have.

Mr. ARENS. What do you mean by repatriation?

Mr. GRZELAK. It means that we take them for free to Gdynia.

Mr. ARENS. From the United States to Gdynia?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Free?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a request from the consul?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How many do you have of those requests?

Mr. GRZELAK. On the *Batory*, May 6, we had a request to take Stanislaw Wilga, a man about 56.

Mr. ARENS. As a crew member or just as a free passenger?

Mr. GRZELAK. Usually they send us a letter asking us to repatriate him to Poland, and we usually put him on as a work-away passenger to Poland.

Mr. ARENS. Does he work?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What does he do?

Mr. GRZELAK. As a boy, just peeling potatoes. Anything that he can do like that, as a galley boy.

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. In this particular case you sent him free?

Mr. GRZELAK. The consul asked, and it was an old man. Of course, it was impossible to put him on to do any work, but the younger men are able to do something, and we usually take them for work.

Mr. ARENS. Did the consul ever ask you to take an American citizen as a work-away?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes; I remember an old man, an American citizen, and the Polish consul asked us to take him to Gdynia. His name was Walter Kolowski. It was on the *Batory*, December 10, 1948.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever denied a request of the Polish consulate to take a work-away?

Mr. GRZELAK. No.

Mr. ARENS. Do you regard a request from the consulate as an order?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; but we would prefer to maintain good relations with the consulate, and we usually did take them.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of the last year how many of these work-aways have you taken on the request of the Polish consulate?

Mr. GRZELAK. In 1948?

Mr. ARENS. The last year?

Mr. GRZELAK. On the request of the Polish consulate?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRZELAK. October 11, 1948, we repatriated to Poland Lucjan Pieta.

Mr. ARENS. Does your entry say "repatriated to Poland—request Polish consulate"?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes. That was October 1948 to Gdynia. I mentioned before, May 6, 1949, Stanislaw Blachowski.

Mr. ARENS. Was that individual repatriated at the request of the Polish consulate?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Was that individual, in addition to the individual by the name of Pieta, repatriated to Poland at the request of the Polish consulate?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Were those individuals given free passage?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Have you taken people as work-aways to other countries, other than to Poland?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes; sometime to England, Denmark, and Italy.

Mr. ARENS. Are those at the request of the Polish consulate?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; they are work-away passengers who are applying in the office. I have a list of those who are anxious to go. In case I have deserters and they request from the ship for replacement, I take them.

Mr. DEKOM. Were you ever instructed to take people on when you did not have any place for them?

Mr. GRZELAK. When this request from the Polish consulate to take repatriated people, regardless of the need for them, I took them.

Senator O'CONNOR. At the time of such requests, and having in mind particularly the cases of the several Greek seamen, you say that you did not know of their party affiliations? Did you not inquire to find out whether they might be hostile to the ruling Polish Government or friendly?

Mr. GRZELAK. I did not inquire. I don't inquire of anybody whom I engage here.

Senator O'CONNOR. You are a vice president of the line, and three men come in to you and ask to go there. They are not Polish citizens, and you mean to tell us that you did not inquire to find out whether they were friendly or hostile to the Polish Government?

Mr. GRZELAK. I know I didn't inquire. I am not afraid, because they have order on the ship if they are hostile. What can they do on the ships?

Senator O'CONNOR. Sending them into the country not knowing that they might be hostile——

Mr. GRZELAK. If I need a replacement and I have seamen anxious to go, I take them.

Mr. ARENS. How many work-away passengers would you estimate you have had on both boats in the course of the last year?

Mr. GRZELAK. On March 1949, on the *Batory*, I have a United States citizen as a work-away whose name is Stanislaw Stala.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Is he a young man?

Mr. GRZELAK. I think about 30 years old. On the *Batory*, No. 55, July 1949, United States citizen Boleslaw Levinski.

Senator O'CONNOR. How would the consul know you were in need of replacements and thus recommend anybody to you to take?

Mr. GRZELAK. Of course, the consul does not know about that.

Mr. DEKOM. You take them anyway?

Mr. GRZELAK. When there is a request, we do not refuse.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know Boleslaw Gebert?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. What is your connection with him?

Mr. GRZELAK. He was a secretary or president of this Polonia Society. I met him a couple of times in this workers club. I have no other connection, just a friend.

Mr. DEKOM. Where is he now?

Mr. GRZELAK. He left on our ship in 1947 or 1948.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the English Polish Workers' Club?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; I am not.

Mr. DEKOM. How did Gebert leave? As a passenger or as a stow-away or crew member?

Mr. GRZELAK. As a passenger.

Mr. DEKOM. Where is he now?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know what he was doing here?

Mr. GRZELAK. Besides that, he was the secretary or president, even I don't know in which capacity he was in this society. I don't know.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did his name appear on the passenger list?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. You knew that he was the head of the Communist organization among Poles in this country, did you not? You knew that?

Mr. GRZELAK. I didn't know.

Mr. DEKOM. You never found out about that?

Mr. GRZELAK. I never found out. From the Polish press I read something about him. It is hard to believe that information which they have because you cannot take it seriously.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know what happened to him when he got back?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Let us assume that the Polish consulate would send a request to you to let a person work his way over who had never been on a boat and did not know anything about the boat. Would you put him on?

Mr. GRZELAK. As a boy or a junior steward, because that is not a hard job. When I have a request from the Polish consulate, I would not refuse.

Mr. ARENS. You always accept it?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. As the vice president of the company, you are familiar with the various activities of the lines over here, particularly in regard to publicity and advertising?

Mr. GRZELAK. Really, I am not much acquainted, because that is the passenger department, and Mr. Kutylowski takes care of that.

Senator O'CONNOR. Your being in daily contact with the lines' activities, you know about the radio program; do you not?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. To what extent is that publicity or advertising indulged in?

Mr. GRZELAK. We are advertising the sailing of the ships, our ships, in the press. Also in the English press and even other languages, Polish, Czechoslovak, Ukrainian, Italian, and Jewish, and others.

Mr. ARENS. What paper do you advertise in, or papers?

Mr. GRZELAK. The English paper you mean?

Mr. DEKOM. Polish?

Mr. GRZELAK. In Nowi Swiat; that is in New York. In Detroit, in the Dziennik Polski. Also in the Nowa Epoka. I think there are about six or seven.

Senator O'CONNOR. In Newark?

Mr. GRZELAK. I am sure there is some advertising in Newark.

Senator O'CONNOR. What paper?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't remember which paper. We considered it as a lot of Polish organizations there.

Mr. DEKOM. The Nowa Epoka?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is that in New York?

Mr. DEKOM. Is not that newspaper supported to a large extent by the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. GRZELAK. No.

Mr. DEKOM. You make no financial contributions?

Mr. GRZELAK. No.

Mr. DEKOM. You own none of the stock? ¹

Mr. GRZELAK. No.

Mr. DEKOM. You have never paid any money to Stanislaw Gutowski? ²

Mr. GRZELAK. Just for our advertisements.

Senator O'CONNOR. Do you know him?

Mr. GRZELAK. Mr. Gutowski?

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. GRZELAK. I met him a couple of times.

¹ Roman Kutylowski, president of the Gdynia-America Line, is listed as a stockholder of Nowa Epoka, see p. 451.

² For the testimony of Stanislaw Gutowski, see p. 447.

Mr. DEKOM. How about the paper in Detroit, the *Glos Ludowy*; did you advertise in that?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Is not that a Communist paper in Detroit?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make inquiry respecting the nature of the publication in which you put your advertisements?

Mr. GRZELAK. You see we, as a line, would try to reach all the Poles here because we are counting on them as passengers; and, regardless on which side of the population the papers represent, we would like to reach them.

Senator O'CONNOR. Referring again to the president of *Nowa Epoka*, have you ever met him in the office of the consul in New York?

Mr. GRZELAK. I think that I was invited for an official reception last year, or this year. I met Mr. Gutowski over there, too.

Senator O'CONNOR. With respect to the radio, what programs are sponsored by the steamship line?

Mr. GRZELAK. That is the Gdynia Line. We have 1 hour in the Polish language on one of the Newark radio stations.¹

Senator O'CONNOR. What is the nature of the program?

Mr. GRZELAK. Just to give music. Polish music and news from Poland.

Senator O'CONNOR. Who prepares the script?

Mr. GRZELAK. I even don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Leopold Szor?

Mr. GRZELAK. He was before, but no more.

Senator O'CONNOR. Where is he now?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't remember the name. I met this gentleman who was preparing this program now.

Mr. ARENS. Is the fact that you don't remember much about it indicative of the conclusion that the direction of what goes on in the publicity is not in your hands, or in the hands of persons other than the officials of the Gdynia Lines?

Mr. GRZELAK. Those matters Mr. Kutylowski handles, and Mr. Smith.

Mr. ARENS. Do other steamship lines have radio broadcasts?

Mr. GRZELAK. Really, I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Who instructed you to have that radio program? At whose suggestion or instruction was that radio program started?

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know how it happened. When I came here, the program was already on the air. Maybe not, but I don't remember.

Mr. DEKOM. Did the consul general in New York ever, in your presence, instruct you to keep the radio hour going?

Mr. GRZELAK. Never in my presence.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you discuss it with him?

Mr. GRZELAK. No; never.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you ever hear him talk about it?

Mr. GRZELAK. No.

Mr. DEKOM. About December of last year, there were two Greek so-called stowaways, on the *Batory*, one was apparently a captain and the other a chief engineer, or one who had been an officer on a Greek ship. Do you know anything about that?

¹ Station WHBI, Newark, N. J.

Mr. GRZELAK. It was in 1948?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes; toward the end, probably the last trip. Approximately the last trip of 1948?

Mr. GRZELAK. Stowaways?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes; supposedly as stowaways.

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know anything about that.

Mr. ARENS. What is the nature of this radio program other than the music you told us about? What do they say to the people on the program?

Mr. GRZELAK. They have Polish news from Poland.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is it a Government-inspired program? You must listen to it; you are the vice president of the company. It is the one program of the week that pertains to your line.

Mr. GRZELAK. I listen to the program, because it seems to me in comparison with the other Polish programs here it is pretty good.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the other program that you are talking about?

Mr. GRZELAK. Jarzemblowski¹ in New York, and Kencki.² That program seems to me to be very stupid.

Mr. ARENS. Is that program written and delivered in the Polish language?

Mr. GRZELAK. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is the script gone over by any official of the line in your offices?

Mr. GRZELAK. Mr. Kutylowski is seeing those transcripts.

Senator O'CONNOR. From whom does he receive them?

Mr. GRZELAK. From Mr. Koszidowski.³

Senator O'CONNOR. It is not prepared in your office?

Mr. GRZELAK. He prepares it in his home.

Senator O'CONNOR. When did he come here?

Mr. GRZELAK. To the United States?

Senator O'CONNOR. That is right.

Mr. GRZELAK. I don't know. I met this gentleman, but—

Senator O'CONNOR. Is he an American citizen?

Mr. GRZELAK. Really, I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Who hired him?

Mr. GRZELAK. The Gdynia-America Line.

Mr. ARENS. Who gives you your orders? From whom do you get your orders in regard to your duties and functions?

Mr. GRZELAK. As purchasing agent?

Mr. ARENS. As the vice president of the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. GRZELAK. From Mr. Kutylowski.

Mr. ARENS. Who gives him his orders?

Mr. GRZELAK. The head office in Gdynia.

Mr. ARENS. Those are all the questions we have.

Mr. DEKOM. We would like to keep the witness under subpoena, but excuse him temporarily.

Senator O'CONNOR. That concludes the testimony at this time. We would, however, like to have the witness consider himself under subpoena henceforth, but we will not desire to question him further at this time.

¹ Casimir Jarzembowski, whose program is broadcast over station WHOM, New York.

² Michal Kencki, whose program is broadcast over WLIB, New York.

³ Zenon Koszidowski.

We will recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day).

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:15 p. m. pursuant to recess.)
 Senator O'CONNOR. The subcommittee will come to order, please.

**TESTIMONY OF ROMAN M. KUTYLOWSKI, PRESIDENT,
 GDYNIA-AMERICA LINE, INC.**

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to present our witness, Mr. Kutylowski.

Senator O'CONNOR. Mr. Kutylowski, will you raise your right hand, please. Do you swear in the presence of Almighty God that the evidence you shall give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I so swear.

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, your full name is Roman M. Kutylowski?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. You are president of the Gdynia-America Line, Inc.?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. What is your home address?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. 214 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Senator O'CONNOR. What is the address of your company?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. It is located at 32 Pearl Street, New York.

Senator O'CONNOR. For what period of time have you been president of the company?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Seventeen years.

Senator O'CONNOR. Prior to that, what was your occupation?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I was for 2 years with the company as a member of the board of directors of the company. The company started in 1930, and I was then a member of the board of directors for almost 2 years. Then I came here.

Senator O'CONNOR. When did you first arrive in the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. In 1932 in this position. Of course, I was here before.

Senator O'CONNOR. How long had you been here prior to that time?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Only passing.

Senator O'CONNOR. All right, will you proceed, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to have received for the record a subpoena duces tecum issued to Mr. Kutylowski.

Senator O'CONNOR. The subpoena duces tecum will be received for the record as requested.

(The subpoena duces tecum referred to is in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kutylowski, the subpoena which was served on you was a subpoena duces tecum; namely, one in which you are requested or ordered to bring with you certain material.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Have you brought with you the material that was requested in the subpoena?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. That is correct; I have brought the material.

MR. ARENS. Would you kindly bring that material forth at this time and please identify each of the documents which you presently have in your possession?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. One is a list of all of the changes in the crew. That means all of the crew that was engaged here, whether it was the employed crew, hospitalized crew, or any other member of the crew. There is a complete list for the period that was requested, January 1, 1947.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, we would like to have this submitted in the evidence as exhibit 1.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. It may be marked.

(The documents referred to were marked "Kutylovski Exhibit 1" and appear in appendix VII, p. A111.)

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Mr. Kutylovski, would you kindly identify each of the documents which you now have in your possession?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. The second is the exchange of cables and correspondence.

MR. ARENS. Exchange of cables and correspondence over what period of time and with reference to what case?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. With reference to the case of Gerhart Eisler, since we were notified by the vessel that there was a stowaway aboard and until now.

MR. ARENS. Were those photostats which you have before you prepared at your direction?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

MR. ARENS. Who prepared those?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. The firm of Miller.

MR. ARENS. And they were prepared from the original documents?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. They are exact copies, of course?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes; exact copies.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Of the original documents?

MR. ARENS. Could you kindly answer the question of the Senator? I do not think we have the response in the record. Mr. Kutylovski, are these photostats in this folder, designated as exhibit 2, exact copies of the original documents?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. That is correct.

MR. ARENS. Pertaining to the case of Mr. Gerhart Eisler?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. That is correct.

MR. ARENS. If the chairman please, we should like to mark the second packet as "Exhibit 2" and offer it for incorporation in the record.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. It will be so marked.

(The documents referred to were marked "Kutylovski Exhibit 2" and appear in appendix VII, p. A121.)

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. I have next a packet of memoranda to which this correspondence refers.

MR. ARENS. Are these original documents, or are they copies?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. They are copies.

MR. ARENS. Are these exact copies of the memoranda pertaining to the Gerhart Eisler case which were in the files of the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is correct. The reason I brought them in that there is reference in the correspondence to them. They were attached to some of the letters.

Mr. ARENS. If the chairman please, we should like to mark this group of memoranda as "Exhibit 3" and ask that it be incorporated in the record.

Senator O'CONNOR. That request is granted, and the memoranda will be so marked.

(The documents referred to were marked "Kutyłowski Exhibit 3" and appear in appendix VII, p. A 131.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, who is it that hired you or employed you or designated you as the president of the steamship line?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I was designated in 1932 by the chairman of our board in Poland.

Mr. ARENS. Who is he?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. His name was Michal Benislawski.

Mr. ARENS. Was he at that time located in Poland?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Is he presently in Poland?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He died long ago.

Mr. ARENS. Who is presently chairman of the board of the corporation?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. We have now a little different system. We have a general manager since August 22. Up to August 22 we had Mr. Mariusz Plinius, who was with the company for 20 years.

Mr. ARENS. Is the gentleman whom you have just named presently chairman of the board?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No. Since August 22 it is Mr. Stanislaw Darski.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Mr. Stanislaw Darski?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He is the general manager of the company in Poland.

Mr. ARENS. Is he located in Poland?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are the headquarters of the Gdynia Lines in Poland?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes; in Poland.

Mr. ARENS. From whom did you receive your instructions on the operation of the line's office here in the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. From the head office which is located in Gdynia, Poland.

Mr. ARENS. Does Mr. Darski give you your orders?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Either he or his subordinates, because we have an operational director and a financial director.

Mr. ARENS. Who in the organization in the United States has charge of the publicity of the line within the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I and Mrs. Malec.¹

Mr. ARENS. Who is Mrs. Malec; what is her position or office?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I will say that she is publicity clerk; let's put it that way.

Mr. ARENS. Is she under your direction?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. She is under the manager's direction.

Mr. ARENS. Are all of the officials of the Gdynia Lines' office under your direction?

¹ Mrs. Chester Malec.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. All of them are under my direction.

Mr. ARENS. Do the orders from the Gdynia office in Poland all channel through you?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. And you then give the orders to your subordinates?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. And everyone in the office is a subordinate of yours?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Absolutely.

Mr. ARENS. Have you given the orders to Mrs. Malec respecting the publicity for the line in the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Between her and me, there is still the passenger traffic manager, Mr. Smith.¹

Mr. ARENS. Is he under you?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You have general direction and supervision of the affairs of the Gdynia line in the United States; is that correct?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, would you tell us what newspapers are advertised in by the Gdynia line in the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. We have so-called Polish advertising, Danish advertising, Swedish advertising, Norwegian advertising, and Italian advertising.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly list for us the names of the Polish papers? I presume you mean, by Polish papers, foreign-language papers?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. In which the Gdynia Line advertises in the United States.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I will try to, but I would not be able to mention all of them.

Mr. ARENS. Will you mention those that you can recall.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. There is the Nowy Swiat, Zgoda, Dziennik Dla Wszystkich, Buffalo, Nowa Epoka, and Dziennik Chicagoski—the Chicago Daily.

Mr. ARENS. How many of those papers, to your knowledge, are Communist papers?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Only one, I think.

Mr. ARENS. Which is that?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I did not mention it.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the Glos Ludowy?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. In what city is that published?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I think it is Detroit.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is not the Nowa Epoka a Communist newspaper?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I would not call it Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Who is in charge of that?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Mr. Gutowski.²

Senator O'CONNOR. Are you on close terms with him, or have you been in frequent contact with him?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes; I know him very well. During the wartime we were together on the Pulaski Foundation, on the board of directors for many years.

¹ Samuel Y. Smith.

² The testimony of Stanley Gutowski appears on p. 447. Roman M. Kutylowski is listed as a stockholder of the Nowa Epoka Corp. See p. 451.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you read the Nowa Epoka?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Sometimes: very seldom.

Mr. DEKOM. To your knowledge, does it follow the Communist Party line?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Frankly speaking, it is difficult for me to say because I don't know exactly what is the Communist line.

Mr. DEKOM. Has it ever been, to your knowledge, critical of the Polish Communist government or any Communist government?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. It is difficult for me to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Does your corporation contribute any money to any papers other than for advertising which is inserted in the paper?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. ARENS. Does your company pay rates for advertising in excess of those rates which are charged other purchases of advertising?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. ARENS. Now, would you tell us, if you please, about the radio advertising of the Gdynia Line in the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes. We have radio advertising on Station WHBI in Newark, N. J. We have 1 hour every Sunday from 8 o'clock.

Mr. ARENS. Is that an hour or a half hour?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. One hour.

Mr. DEKOM. Who writes the scripts for that program?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Mr. Kosidowski.

Mr. ARENS. What is the nature of the program?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. The nature of the program is cultural. I see every program myself.

Mr. ARENS. You see the script for every program yourself?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes; every program.

Mr. DEKOM. Did the program ever discuss the atom-bomb test at Bikini?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Never. It may have, but I don't like to remember something that I don't remember.

Mr. DEKOM. If it had, would you consider that cultural?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No; but I am sure that it cannot be.

Mr. DEKOM. Who is this Mr. Kosidowski? Will you identify him further and state his full name?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I am sure of one thing, that we never discussed that at that time. Of that I am sure. This program never discussed the atom-bomb test at Bikini. Of that I am 100 percent sure.

Mr. ARENS. Could you identify Mr. Kosidowski?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. His first name is Zenon. He is a Polish writer. He was one of the Polish refugees that came here during the war. I wouldn't be able to tell you the time of his arrival exactly.

Mr. ARENS. Is he employed by the Gdynia line?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Is he a full-time employee?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. He devotes all of his time, so far as you know, to preparing these scripts?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What is his compensation or remuneration for his work?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. \$450.

Mr. ARENS. A month?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. Do you go over the script?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Every single script.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you retain copies of that script?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Does the radio station retain copies?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes. They are all delivered to the radio station.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know that they keep them?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Honestly speaking, I don't know. I know that we have to deliver a copy of the script and a translation of the script.

Senator O'CONNOR. Generally, what is the nature of the script?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Well, it always starts with a siren identifying our line. Then it starts with a talk. Today, for example, we want to talk to you about the anniversary of this or that famous Polish writer or famous Polish composer. Then it will generally give a short version of Sienkiewicz or Zeromski or some other short story. And then there is Polish music or Polish folk dances. Then there is always a comical included such as a famous comical writer, Wiech. There is always a little short story by him related by two people or by one person. Then there is again some music. Then there is news from Poland regarding the reconstruction or regarding some festivity or regarding some new electric plants somewhere or regarding the line and the ships or the ports.

Senator O'CONNOR. Generally speaking, are the references to the present Government commendatory or critical?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. They are rather commendatory, but they never speak about that, because there is no propaganda in this script. But, of course, they have never been critical; we can put it that way.

Senator O'CONNOR. Would you say that the primary purpose is to publicize and advertise the steamship line?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. The primary purpose is this: When the Polish Government was recognized by the United States Government as it was reconstructed in 1945, the Polish people here and the press here took the attitude of completely condemning the deal and completely condemning the Polish Government that undertook to conduct the affairs of Poland at that time. So that the idea of the program was to have the people understand that everything is not bad in Poland and they shouldn't take the attitude of condemning everything.

Senator O'CONNOR. The radio programs did definitely then stem from the new Polish Government; that is to say, they were begun after the new government came into control?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right, because the line started to work again only after that.

Mr. ARENS. What discussions, if any, have you had with representatives of the Polish consulate in New York City respecting the radio broadcasts?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I had conversations, but what do you really refer to?

Mr. ARENS. When was the last time that you conferred with representatives of the Polish Government in the consulate respecting the broadcasts?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Two weeks ago.

Mr. ARENS. What was the nature of the conversation?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I think it was more than 2 weeks ago.

Mr. ARENS. Was it as much as a month ago?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes, maybe.

Mr. ARENS. Was it as much as 2 months ago?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No; I think it was about a month ago. I simply mentioned the fact that when my secretary came back from Poland—

Mr. DEKOM. Is that Zofia Wachtl?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right. I thought it would be a good idea to have an interview with her.

Mr. ARENS. An interview with her?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes; that is right.

Mr. DEKOM. You mean on the radio?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Respecting what?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Respecting what she saw, what streets she recognized, what rebuilding was done, what people had to eat, and what people wore.

Senator O'CONNOR. How did the consulate react to that suggestion?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Well, very favorably.

Senator O'CONNOR. Very what?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Favorably.

Mr. ARENS. Who was the gentleman with whom you were speaking?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Consul Galewicz.¹

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you pursue that plan then?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No. It was not really a discussion as to whether we should or should not do it. I mean that I simply told him that that was what I intended to do. I thought it would be good because she came back very pleased with her trip.

Mr. ARENS. How often have you been in conversation with the consul with reference to the program? How frequently have you conversed with him?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. It was not at any regular intervals or anything.

Mr. ARENS. How many times would you say you have conversed with him on the program in the course of the last year?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. About six times.

Mr. ARENS. Where does the author of the program get his information?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He gets it from the Polish Research Information and from the public library.

Mr. ARENS. The Polish Research Information Service?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the official Polish Government, Communist Government, agency in this country?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the head of that?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Mr. Szymanowski.²

Mr. ARENS. Where is that organization or association headquartered?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I can tell you approximately. It is at the corner of Broadway and Fifty-seventh Street.

¹ Jan Galewicz, consul general.

² Antoni Szymanowski.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been there?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When was the last time you were there?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. On the 27th of July.

Mr. ARENS. What was the occasion for your visit?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. The Polish Research arranged a sort of a meeting there on the fifth anniversary of the resurrection of Poland.

Mr. ARENS. You mean the fifth anniversary of the taking over of the Polish Government by the Communists?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No; because, don't forget, in 1945 when the Government was formed it was not a Communist government.

Mr. ARENS. When did the Communists take over the Polish Government?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I honestly don't remember really what time.

Mr. ARENS. Has it been in the course of the last 5 years?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Definitely so.

Mr. ARENS. Has it been so long ago as 3 years?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I am afraid I really can't answer you exactly on that question because I don't remember. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Now, in this Polish Information Service, which I understand you have identified as the information service in this country of the Communist government of Poland, who is it that supplies the information to the author of the broadcasts?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Let's say that we are going to discuss the Chopin anniversary because this is Chopin's year. So Mr. Kosidowski goes to the public library which is by far the best supplier institution in New York. Then, if he doesn't find something or if he wants any additional information, he goes to the Polish Research Information Center, to Mr. Szymanowski, and says, "Don't you have this information about the date of birth or when this composition was written?" or something like that.

Mr. ARENS. You know as a fact that the Communists are in control of the Polish Government at this time, do you not?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I presume so.

Senator O'CONNOR. Your previous answers certainly indicated that you believe, as everybody else, as any well-informed person does, that that is the situation?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Well, you see, it is difficult to say, because the situation is not so simple as it seems. The Prime Minister, Cyrankiewicz,¹ is not Communist. I mean to say that to say who is dominating and who is controlling is a very difficult thing.

Mr. ARENS. Would you say that the Communists do or do not control the Polish Government at this time?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I would say "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. Your answer is "Yes," that the Communists do control the Polish Government?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Excuse me, please, but my whole life has really been social work and business. I am not so good at politics. To define who is doing what, and what is the situation, and why they did certain things, and why they combined, I really couldn't answer, because my answer would be, to a certain extent speculation.

Mr. ARENS. Do you yourself think that the Communists control the Polish Government?

¹ Jozef Cyrankiewicz.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I would put it another way, if you will permit me. I would say that under the present geographical position Poland is in such a situation that there is a definite, important Communist influence. That is the way I want to put it.

Mr. ARENS. Did it occur to you, when your employee, Mr. Kosidowski, who writes the script for the radio, was going to the Polish Information Center that he might get information there which was being disseminated by representatives of the Comintern?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. What does the Comintern have to do with this, please?

Mr. ARENS. A few moments ago you expressed your belief that the Polish Government was at least under the influence of the Communists; is that true?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Did you at any time have queries in your mind as to whether or not the Polish Information Center in the United States was under the influence of the Communists? It is an official Government agency, is it not?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes. I know Mr. Szymanowski. I know he is a very brilliant and very intelligent person. I mean that the information we seek is not of any political character.

Mr. DEKOM. Is Mr. Szymanowski a Communist Party member?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether he is a member of the Communist Party or the Polish Workers Party, the PZPR?¹

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. ARENS. Who pays the salaries of the persons employed in the Polish Information Center?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. The Polish Government.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the same Government that you have just identified as being, to your way of thinking, a government which is under Communist control or domination or influence?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now, you have testified that the author of these broadcasts gets his information from the Polish Information Center?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Part of his information.

Mr. ARENS. How frequently is he in contact with the Polish Information Center for the purpose of getting information?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Probably once a week.

Mr. ARENS. Does he go there personally?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Whom does he see when he is there?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Whom did you see when you were there?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I saw Mr. Szymanowski.

Mr. ARENS. Is he the man that runs it?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. How frequently are you in contact with the consulate officers in the Polish consulate in New York City?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I would say that on the average I see them once a month; once in 2 weeks. It depends. I don't see them regularly. I don't go there regularly.

¹ Polish United Workers Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partja Robotnicza).

Mr. ARENS. Do the conferences or conversations take place in your office, in the consulate, or in both places?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. Sometimes. They take place in the consular office, not in my office.

Mr. ARENS. Have you in the course of the last year had conversations within your own office with the consular representatives?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. I think the consul was only once, in 1949.

Mr. ARENS. How long ago was that, if you please?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. That was when we were preparing ourselves to board the *Batory* on June 6, I think.

Mr. ARENS. What was the occasion for his visit?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. He wanted to go on the ship.

Mr. DEKOM. Was that June 6 or May 6?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. I think it was June 6.

Mr. ARENS. Did you take him then to the *Batory*?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. That is right; we went together.

Mr. ARENS. How frequently have you then, in the course of the last year, been in consultation in the consul general's office as distinguished from your office?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. I couldn't answer that, I mean truthfully as to knowing how many times I was there.

Mr. ARENS. What is the nature of the business which you talk over with the consul general when you go to his office?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. It varies. I mean that I don't go to report to him. It may be this occasion or that occasion. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. How often have you been in communication with him by telephone?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. I would say probably once a week or twice a week.

Mr. ARENS. What is the nature of the business which prompts you to be in conversation with him once a week or twice a week?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. Let's say that he calls me up and tells me that there is a possibility that a sister of Ira Hirschman going on one of our ships, asking me if I can do anything to get her better accommodations.

Mr. DEKOM. Who is that person?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. He is a writer; he wrote a book. I know that the consul is interested in whether I could help his sister get good accommodations on the ship.

Mr. DEKOM. Why was the consul interested?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. I don't know. He perhaps called me because Mr. Hirschman called him up.

Mr. ARENS. Has the consul ever contacted your office respecting workaways?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. Never spoke to me about it.

Mr. ARENS. Who would he speak to about workaways?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. He would speak to Mr. Grzelak or Mr. Szczerbinski.¹

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether he has spoken to either of those two gentlemen respecting workaways?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How frequently does he communicate with them respecting workaways?

Mr. KUTYŁOWSKI. That I don't know.

¹ For the testimony of George Szczerbinski, see p. 413.

MR. ARENS. Would you say that he communicates with them as frequently as once a month respecting work-aways?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. I don't know; I really don't know.

MR. ARENS. You know that he communicated with them respecting work-aways?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

MR. ARENS. Do you know whether or not any request of the consul general regarding work-aways at any time has been declined?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. I presume there have been instances where it was declined, but I can't tell you exactly.¹

Senator O'CONNOR. As a matter of fact, are not the requests from the consul in that regard recognized almost as an order?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. I wouldn't say so.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is it not understood that they have a controlling voice in the decision on matters of policy in the conduct and in the operation of the line?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Senator O'CONNOR. You deny that?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Senator O'CONNOR. You say that is not so?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

MR. DEKOM. When were you in Poland last time?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Last Christmas.

MR. DEKOM. Were you in Poland in 1947?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes; also for Christmas.

MR. DEKOM. You were there for Christmas?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

MR. DEKOM. What places did you go to?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. In 1947 I went via Genoa, where I had some business in Genoa, to Warsaw. I went from Warsaw to Gdynia, and then I came back here.

MR. DEKOM. In which of the places in Poland that you had been to did you join the Polish Workers' Party?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. I?

MR. DEKOM. Yes.

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. I never joined any party.

MR. DEKOM. You have never been a member of any political party?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. No political party in all of my life.

MR. DEKOM. Either here or in Poland?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Never in my life.

MR. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not Mr. Grzelak is a member of the Polish Workers' Party?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. I don't know.

MR. DEKOM. Has he ever indicated to you that he was?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

MR. DEKOM. Have you any reason to believe that he was?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

MR. ARENS. From whom did you receive the orders to commence the broadcasts on the radio?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. I didn't receive any orders.

¹ Czeslaw Grzelak, vice president of the Gdynia-America Line, testified under oath that no request of the consul general had ever been turned down; see p. 740.

Mr. ARENS. Who is it that made the decision that there would be broadcasts on the radio?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. There was no decision made. I mean that the consul told me that he thought it would be a good idea. I agreed with him.

Mr. ARENS. The consul told you it would be a good idea to do what?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. To have radio broadcasts.

Mr. ARENS. When did he tell you that?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I believe it was in 1946.

Mr. DEKOM. Why did you want to discontinue the programs?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I never wanted to discontinue them.

Mr. DEKOM. You never objected to carrying on the programs?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. You never said in the presence of any person that you thought they should not go on or should be stopped?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. In 1946, I think it was, the consul said to me that he thought that it would be a good idea to have broadcasts. I said that I thought at that time that the idea may be good but that I was afraid I might not be able to do a good job, because I don't like to do anything in a way which won't satisfy me. But I don't remember saying to anyone that I would like to discontinue them.

Mr. ARENS. Did the consul participate in an advisory capacity in setting up the broadcasts?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. The consul told me only that he thought that one station would have a half hour at that time.

Mr. ARENS. Did the consul recommend the man who is writing the scripts?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No. As a matter of fact, the Ambassador recommended him.

Mr. ARENS. The Polish Ambassador?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that Mr. Jozef Winiewicz?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. He is the current Ambassador from Poland to the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And he recommended whom?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He said to me that he thought Mr. Kosidowski would be a very good man.

Mr. ARENS. Is he the man who now writes the script?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When did the Ambassador tell you that?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He told me that about 3 months ago.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you when he told you that?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That I don't remember. I don't remember whether I was here or in New York.

Mr. ARENS. You don't remember whether this conversation with the Ambassador took place in Washington or in New York?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. But you know that you had a conversation with the Ambassador in which he recommended the man who presently writes the radio scripts for the Gdynia Line?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. How frequently do you confer or have conversations with the Ambassador on anything?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Twice a year.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been at the Ambassador's residence here in Washington?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I have been.

Mr. ARENS. When was the last time you were in the Ambassador's residence in Washington?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Now you put me on the spot.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been in his residence within the last year?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I am sure; yes. I think so.

Mr. ARENS. Can you account for the fact that you don't remember whether this conversation with the Ambassador with respect to the script writer took place in Washington or New York?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I really don't remember. What can I do?

Mr. ARENS. When did it take place, how long ago?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I think it was some time in May.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of the last 6 months?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When was the last time you were here in Washington?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I really don't remember. I think it was in June.

Mr. ARENS. You were in Washington in June?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Did you confer with the Ambassador at that time?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What did you confer with him about?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. We conferred about the situation created by the Eisler case.

Mr. ARENS. What transpired in the conversation?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. The Ambassador thought that Mr. Littell should be engaged.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. who?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Mr. Littell, Attorney Littell.

Mr. ARENS. He thought that Mr. Littell should be engaged?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. For what purpose?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. In case of an emergency, to defend the line's interests.

Mr. ARENS. Did you confer with the Ambassador with respect to any other subject matter in that conversation?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I don't think so.

Mr. ARENS. When did you arrive in Washington for the purpose of testifying before this subcommittee?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I arrived yesterday at 10 o'clock.

Mr. ARENS. When did you confer with the Ambassador on this visit?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I never conferred with him.

Mr. ARENS. Have you talked with him on the telephone?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that attorney to whom you refer Norman M. Littell of Washington?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And the Ambassador suggested that he ought to be employed?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he employed?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now, is a copy of the radio script sent to the Gdynia Line headquarters in Poland?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. ARENS. Is a copy of that script sent to the Ambassador?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. ARENS. Is a copy of the script sent to the consul in New York City?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. ARENS. How much does it cost for this hour or half-hour broadcast?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I beg your pardon?

Mr. ARENS. How much does it cost for this hour broadcast a week?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. \$300.

Mr. ARENS. \$300 a week?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is the Gdynia Line a relatively large or a relatively small line?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Well, I would say medium.

Mr. DEKOM. How many vessels do they operate?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Altogether, about 34.

Mr. ARENS. When the Ambassador told you to engage Mr. Littell, did you regard that as a binding order?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No, but I thought that he knows the situation better than I possibly could.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Littell is a Washington lawyer or a New York lawyer?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. A Washington lawyer.

Mr. ARENS. Gdynia Line is located in New York City; is it not?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. At the time when the Ambassador suggested to you that this present writer would be a good man to engage for the radio script writing, where was the individual at that time?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He was in California.

Senator O'CONNOR. How long had he been in this country?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That I don't remember exactly. I believe he arrived here in 1940 or 1941, but I really don't know.

Senator O'CONNOR. What was he doing in California?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He had a store. Again I am not sure, but I think he had a store.

Senator O'CONNOR. Following the Ambassador's suggestion, what did you do?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I engaged him because I needed someone who was really good to write, and he is very good.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you interview him or confer with him?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes. I knew him before. He is a writer of certain repute, so that I knew him before when he was here in 1941.

Senator O'CONNOR. Had you been in touch with him between 1941 and May or June of 1949?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Senator O'CONNOR. So that you were not advised as to just what his abilities were in 1949 other than by recalling what you knew of him in 1941?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. Well now, did you do anything else to familiarize yourself with any developments in his case or as to his abilities or as to what he had been doing and as to what experience he had acquired?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Before the war he was a director of a radio station in Poland.

Mr. DEKOM. Where?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. In Poland.

Senator O'CONNOR. Since then he operated a store in California?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He left Poland forcibly, not of his own accord, in 1939.

Senator O'CONNOR. What I am getting at is this: What did you do following the Ambassador's suggestion to convince yourself that he was the man for whom you were looking?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I had a discussion with him before I engaged him.

Senator O'CONNOR. Where?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. In my office.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you bring him from California for that purpose?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He came here on his own volition.

Senator O'CONNOR. Who invited him here; who made arrangements; or who told him that the position was to be filled?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I think the Ambassador told him there was such a possibility.

Senator O'CONNOR. Upon his arrival from California to New York, did you engage his services right then?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I had a discussion with him.

Senator O'CONNOR. At that time you engaged his services?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. Well, is it not fair to assume that you really did that upon the Ambassador's suggestion? Certainly, from what you have said, not having seen him between 1941 and 1949, he having operated a store in the meantime, you really did follow the Ambassador's suggestion and engaged him. Is that a fair statement?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No; I was convinced myself that the man could do it.

Senator O'CONNOR. You saw him and talked with him for a short time, but it was primarily at the Ambassador's suggestion that you engaged his services. That is a correct statement, is it not?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Well, you can say it that way.

Senator O'CONNOR. Do you not say so? Is it not a fair statement to say that it was really the Ambassador who had the final say in the matter?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No; I wouldn't say so.

Senator O'CONNOR. In point of time, you saw the man, but the Ambassador was the one who was instrumental in getting him the position?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I wouldn't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Who did the writing before you got this man Kosidowski?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Mr. Szor.¹

Mr. ARENS. Who recommended him?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. The consul general.

Mr. ARENS. The consul general in New York?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What were his years of service?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I am sorry, I didn't get that question.

Mr. ARENS. I will ask you a new question. When was he employed and when did his services terminate?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He was employed from 1946, when we started, to the end of May 1949.

Mr. ARENS. And he was engaged upon the recommendation of the Polish consul general in New York City?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right. Before that we had Mr. Cieplak.²

Mr. ARENS. Before we get to Mr. Cieplak, why did Mr. Szor leave the service of the Gdynia Line in the writing of this radio script?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I cannot tell you that exactly. I don't know his motivation.

Mr. ARENS. Did he resign, or was he discharged?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He resigned.

Mr. ARENS. Where was his office while he worked for you? Where did he have an office?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He had an office in the consulate.

Mr. DEKOM. What was his position? What was he doing there? How did he get here?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He came here as a delegate of the Polish radio to study the radio technique.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you pay him while he was here?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. For this work?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No; he was paid by the Polish Government.

Mr. DEKOM. He came here to study radio technique, but he spent the time writing scripts for you?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes; he studied them; I think he had some special courses in Westinghouse or Western Electric or any one of them—I don't want to tell which one—to study especially on this sort of thing for radios.

Mr. ARENS. Are you clear that this gentleman concerning whom you are speaking was sent here to study radio technique and, in the course of his period in studying radio technique, he was writing the script for these broadcasts?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Now, from where was he receiving the money with which he sustained himself during the time that he was writing these broadcasts?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He received it from the Polish radio to the Embassy or the consulate; I don't know which.

Mr. DEKOM. The Polish radio is owned by the Polish Government?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. He was in the pay of the Polish Embassy or consulate at the time he was writing these broadcasts?

¹ Leopold Szor.

² Marijan Cieplak.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know that at the time?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know at that time that the Polish Government was under Communist control and domination?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. You are putting in my mouth things that I never said about that sort of thing.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you at that time feel in your heart that the Polish Government was under the control and domination of the Communists?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I told you that I felt that, and there was quite an inference that the Communists had the Polish Government; that is what I said.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know it at the time that this gentleman was writing the script who was in the employ of the Polish Government?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He was employed directly or indirectly.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you regard the suggestion of the consul general of the Polish Government in the United States that this particular person be employed as being binding on you?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. You followed his recommendation.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I followed his recommendation, but I did not consider it binding because he would not do it the way I would want him to; if that was so, I would not accept him.

Mr. DEKOM. Where did he go when he resigned from the service of Gdynia Lines?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I don't know.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did he remain in this country?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. He remained here.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is he here now or within this country as far as you know?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Oh, yes.

Mr. DEKOM. How about Mr. Cieplak, the predecessor of Mr. Szor? How did you find him?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Also through the Polish consul.

Mr. ARENS. Did you communicate with your office in Gdynia, the main office, before you instituted these broadcasts?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you tell them after you had done it?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And what was the nature of your communication to them?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Simply in my budget I provided for that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you correspond with them respecting the broadcasts?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you inform the parent organization of the retention of the services of the present writer whom you employed following the discussion with the Ambassador?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I sent them every month the list of employees.

Senator O'CONNOR. I do not mean just the listing, but I mean make specific reference to the retaining of the services of him.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. I asked you with reference to Mr. Cieplak. You hired him also on the recommendation of the consulate?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. What particular person in the consulate made that recommendation? Was it Mr. Jan Galewicz?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. You then employed him to do that job?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right, for a very short period.

Mr. ARENS. How many script writers have you had altogether?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Mr. Cieplak, Mr. Szor, and Mr. Kosidowski.

Mr. ARENS. You had three.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you employed two of them on the recommendation of the consul general in New York and one of them on the recommendation, or at least following the recommendation, of the Polish Ambassador in Washington; is that true?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did the Ambassador recommend anyone else to you for employment in any other capacity?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. How about the consul?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Kutylowski, can you recall at this time your movements on May 6, 1949?

Senator O'CONNOR. For purposes of identification, that is the day on which the *Batory* left. I just want to give you that so that you will know the date that we are referring to.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I was, as far as I can remember, I spent May 6—I came at the usual time to the office, about 9:15; and at about 9 or 9:30 or 10 o'clock I left for the ship.

Mr. DEKOM. Go on, please. Then what did you do? What did you do aboard the ship?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I just went to see the captain, and I found out how the embarkation of passage was proceeding, and said good-by to my secretary, who was leaving then.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the same woman, Miss Wachtl?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Why was she aboard the ship? She was the one you were going to interview on your radio hour?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. What was she doing aboard the ship?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. She left for her vacation.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you leave the ship? How close to sailing time?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I left about 10 minutes of her departure, or 5 minutes.

Mr. DEKOM. Was consul general Jan Galewicz aboard with you?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I did not see him.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he aboard the ship at all that day?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I could not tell you.

Mr. DEKOM. You got off the ship. Where did you go?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. To my office.

Mr. DEKOM. You did not go to the consulate on that day?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you go to the consulate on that day? You did not see Consul Galewicz on that day?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. I really don't remember what I did after that.

MR. DEKOM. Did you go to his office?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. If you will tell me what you are after, I can tell you more, but I really don't remember what I did.

MR. ARENS. Are you familiar with the provision of the law, the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

MR. ARENS. Is the Gdynia line registered as an agent of a foreign power?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

MR. ARENS. With the Justice Department?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

MR. ARENS. Is the broadcast registered as a propaganda broadcast under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes. We mention all of the broadcasts and we mention who are the speakers and everything.

MR. DEKOM. Do you identify yourself as an agent of the Polish Government?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

MR. DEKOM. What percentage of the stock of the line is owned by the Polish Government?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. 98½, I think.

MR. DEKOM. Who owns the remainder?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. East Asiatic Co.

MR. DEKOM. Where is that located?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Copenhagen, Denmark.

MR. DEKOM. On May 6, to come back to that date, did you go to the office of the consul general? As a matter of fact, you did; didn't you?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. I don't know. I really cannot tell you. Excuse me, please, but there is nothing that I can say that I can remember that would indicate that I went.

Senator O'CONNOR. That was an important day, regardless of anything else that you may have known. The fact is that shortly thereafter it became known to the world that Gerhart Eisler had escaped on the vessel. That is correct; is it not?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. That being so, and which everybody knew within a very short time after the departure, you would undoubtedly have reason to know what you did on that day.

Now, we are not trying to put words in your mouth or anything else, but it is quite difficult for me, at least, to believe that you would not know precisely what you did when so shortly thereafter you had reason to refer back to that day.

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Senator, to me that day was a very ordinary day, unless it became later an important date, but on this day it was nothing. It was just a routine day.

Senator O'CONNOR. Let us assume for the sake of discussion that it was not important as of that day. It was an ordinary sailing day, but shortly thereafter a development occurred which related back to that sailing and made it quite an important day.

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. What do you want me to tell you, the truth or not?

Senator O'CONNOR. I certainly do.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I am telling you the truth.

Mr. DEKOM. You do not remember?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I do not remember and I had no occasion to go.

Mr. ARENS. Well, when did you first become aware of the fact that Eisler had stowed away or had left this country aboard the *Batory*?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. When I saw the cable from the ship.

Mr. ARENS. When was that received?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I think that you have it.

Mr. DEKOM. When the ship goes out or puts out of New York, within what period of time do you usually get a report from the master or from the purser detailing the crew and passengers aboard?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Two or three days.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that normal?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. It is not customary to get it any earlier?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Don't you usually get it within 2 or 3 days?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that true of all sailings?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. How many telegrams were sent from the office in New York to the master of the vessel before you finally got the full details on Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. We sent one cable to which we got a reply, and we sent one cable asking to give us the name and nationality of the stowaway.

Mr. DEKOM. I have the cables that you submitted in evidence here.¹ Now, on the 9th of May you received a report from the purser stating, among other things, that one stowaway was aboard.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. And the person was not named.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Isn't it customary to name the person who was the stowaway?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. You see, there are so few stowaways that, to tell you what is customary, it is difficult. He informed us about a stowaway.

Mr. DEKOM. On the 9th, a radiogram was sent to the purser of the *Batory*, requesting or making the statement: "Presume stowaway has proper documents."

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right, and asking the name and nationality of the stowaway.

Mr. DEKOM. "Full name, nationality, port of debarkation" and so on.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Then the next radiogram that came through identifies him as "Gerhart Eisler, German, disembarking Gdynia; ticket issued aboard."

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

¹The cables, correspondence, and memoranda concerning the Eisler case appear in appendix VII, p. A 121.

MR. DEKOM. Now, on the 11th, there is another telegram, a radiogram to the purser, "Telegraph date and place of birth stowaway" and so on.

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

MR. DEKOM. Then on the 11th there is a second cable stating, "Demand immediate reply to our last message concerning stowaway."

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

MR. DEKOM. Why was it necessary to send such a demand? Was there some reason for not receiving that information?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Pardon me?

MR. DEKOM. Why was the second radiogram sent?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Because the immigration authorities were impatient to get the reply and they were calling our office, "Do you have the reply or don't you have the reply, and please advise us as soon as possible why you don't have the reply," and so we simply sent another message to the master to send quicker the reply.

MR. ARENS. Was there not a press representative or radio representative of the Columbia Broadcasting Co. aboard the *Batory*, who had previously dispatched a message to the United States to the effect that Eisler had escaped on the *Batory*?

MR. DEKOM. A man by the name of Richard Yaffe.

MR. ARENS. Was he not aboard?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. He was aboard.

MR. ARENS. Did he dispatch a message regarding Eisler prior to the time that the information was secured by the Gdynia Lines?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

MR. ARENS. How long have you been in the steamship-operating business?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Since 1930.

MR. ARENS. Is it not difficult for an individual to stow away on a vessel without cooperation of the crew?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. It is the most easy thing in the world.

Senator O'CONNOR. The captain was decorated in this case. Did he not receive official recognition from the Government?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. Not for this case, Senator. You see, it was the fifth anniversary, as I told you, of the resurrection of Poland, and the fifth anniversary on the 2d of July he was decorated.

MR. DEKOM. Why was Mr. Smith of your line called down and reprimanded for sending a radiogram to the boat demanding the name of the stowaway?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. He was never reprimanded.

MR. DEKOM. There never was any question brought up because he sent that?

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. No. Why do you put the question this way? I mean, after all, we are all grown-up people, and you say to me that he was reprimanded when he wasn't reprimanded, and Senator, I don't think—

Senator O'CONNOR. You are a very intelligent man, and you are well capable of answering.

MR. KUTYLOWSKI. But I mean you feel that somehow, why should I want to give you all of the information, and I know I want to give you that information, and why should I be put into a situation—and you are a very nice young man—but he wants to put something into

my mouth that I never said and which never happened. And it is so unpleasant because then, instead of the friendly atmosphere, you come into something that you feel like a person that for no good reason whatsoever—I was some years ago associated with the American matters, and I was the general manager of the Polish American Children's Committee in Poland, founded by the American Relief Administration after the other war, and I was with the YMCA for many years, and I have really the greatest admiration for you people and what you did after the other war and all of the calamities in Poland, and I would like to retain this relationship as it is, without being subjected to something that I may by myself say something which is not true.

Senator O'CONNOR. Had you attended the banquet on the evening prior to the sailing of the *Batory*?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Banquet?

Senator O'CONNOR. A dinner.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No. Well, I was trying to go back and help my secretary packing the things she was taking for my family in Poland, and reminding her what she should do and what she should tell my children.

Senator O'CONNOR. Was there not a party or some certain festivities the day before for the ship's officers at which the captain and others attended?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever meet Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Never.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever see him?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever talk to him?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I saw a picture only.

Mr. DEKOM. Where were you born?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. In St. Petersburg.

Mr. ARENS. In Russia?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When did you immigrate to the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. When I got the immigration visa; you want to ask me?

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I came here in 1932, and I got my immigration visa in 1942.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. ARENS. Have you filed your declaration of intention?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When did you file your declaration?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. In 1944.

Mr. ARENS. Have you filed your petition for naturalization?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. ARENS. Why have you not filed your petition for naturalization?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Because I thought that it would not be nice at that very period when there are these differences, and so on, for that period, to do it.

Senator O'CONNOR. Do you intend to pursue your efforts to establish American citizenship or have you modified your declaration in that respect?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I don't know, Senator. It all depends. Now I am in a very difficult situation, because, you see, you may not understand me, and now can I speak unofficially, so to speak?

Mr. DEKOM. When you applied for an immigration visa, wasn't it implicit that you were going to settle down in this country and become a national of the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No, because I applied for my visa in 1942.

Mr. DEKOM. When you applied for an immigration visa, doesn't that imply that you want to settle down and become a national of this country?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. At that time, I did not know what would happen.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the vice president of the Gdynia Lines?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. You know it very well, Mr. Grzelak.

Mr. ARENS. Has he traveled on the *Batory* or *Sobieski*?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Has he traveled on the manifest of either boat as a crew member?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I think he traveled as an assistant purser on the entry permit.

Mr. ARENS. Why did he travel as an assistant purser?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Because he was very much dissatisfied with the way the ship was run and they wanted him to check up on that, and as a result of his trip we had a few changes made in the crew.

Mr. ARENS. What were you dissatisfied with about the operation of the boats?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. The service to the passengers wasn't good. The food was not properly served.

Mr. ARENS. Did the crew members know he was vice president of the lines when he was traveling?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I presume so.

Mr. ARENS. Why did you sign him on as an assistant purser?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Because they wanted him to perform the actual functions. I didn't want him to just sit in a cabin. We wanted him to perform the functions.

Mr. ARENS. Couldn't he walk around over the boat and watch what was going on without being signed on as a crew member, the vice president of the lines?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. It is not the same.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you have any voice in his selection as vice president?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Pardon me? Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. You did?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Who recommended him to you?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Mr. Plinius. He was the chairman of the board.

Mr. ARENS. Had you known him before?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. The vice president, yes. I knew him when he was here the delegate of the Polish Seamen's Union during the war.

Mr. ARENS. Had you ever very much contact with him?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No; not very much, but the crew listened to him and I saw he was a reasonable man.

Mr. ARENS. Did you engage him as vice president or did the board engage him as vice president?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I first engaged him as assistant purchasing agent and crew department manager, and then we promoted him.

Senator O'CONNOR. How long after his engagement in the lower capacity was he elevated to the vice presidency?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. More than a year. I think, anyhow.

Mr. DEKOM. Were you aware of his participation in the mutiny or strike that was led in London in 1940 aboard the *Pilsudski*?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know about it now?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. From what I hear from you, I know that when the *Pilsudski* came there in 1939—

Mr. DEKOM. Perhaps it was 1939.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. There was some difficulties with the crew.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know that he was one of the leaders of that difficulty?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No; I didn't know.

Mr. ARENS. Who recommended him for the position with the line here in the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. The head office.

Mr. ARENS. In Poland?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And does the head office in Poland recommend from time to time the various officers and employees of the line here in the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Very seldom.

Mr. ARENS. How many employees or officers are there in the line's head office in the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Only Mr. Grzelak. You mean, how many employees we have now? or—what was the question again?

Mr. ARENS. How many officers or employees are engaged by the line who are in the United States at the present time?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I still could not get it. You want to know how many were engaged by the head office?

Mr. ARENS. Oh, no. How many are on the pay roll at the present time in the United States?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I think 55 or 56. I am not quite sure.

Mr. ARENS. Of those 55 or 56, how many of those persons have been recommended by the home office in Poland?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Only Mr. Grzelak.

Senator O'CONNOR. Could you explain why, or is there any explanation to offer as to why the recommendation came in regard to him? Was that not an extraordinary and a singular thing and did it occasion any wonderment on your part?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No; it didn't cause any wonderment on my part, because I know that he was living here and I know that he went temporarily to Poland, and I had always trouble with the crew matters and purchasing matters that were always subject to greatest criticism, and that was frankly—I was very happy that they would recommend someone, and then the whole blame falls on them. And so it is purely practical on my side, because, I mean, if these matters are in the hands of the person commanded by the head office, then, of course, it is easier for me.

Senator O'CONNOR. While you have stated that you do not know that he is a member of the Communist Party or the Polish Workers Party,

have you not had some suspicion that he has been a member of the party or just some reason to think possibly that he is?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Senator, I really don't like to speculate in these matters, and I don't like it.

Senator O'CONNOR. I was not asking you to state that you knew it, but I am just wondering whether you have not entertained that thought that he might be.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I knew one thing, that he is a persona grata with the seamen's union.

Mr. ARENS. Persona grata?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. Persona grata of the seamen's union.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that a Communist-controlled union?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I don't know. At that time, anyhow, you see, you shoot at me whether it is Communist controlled.

Mr. ARENS. As president of this line, you have a familiarity with the various unions operating in the steamship field, do you not?

Mr. KUTLOWSKI. Generally, in Poland, all of the unions before the war and during the war were really under the influence of the Socialist Party. That is really what it is. It is my last knowledge of these things.

Mr. ARENS. Since the war, haven't the Communists pretty well taken over the unions?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I think the Socialists are trying to keep their own; that is what I feel, and how well they succeed, I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you investigate the background of people? If someone comes to your office and says, "I want a job; I used to be captain of three or four ships, or first officer," do you just take his word for it or do you check on him?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. If it is a captain or first officer, I certainly will check on him.

Mr. DEKOM. Any employee who comes and claims certain experience or comes to get a job, do you check on his background to see that he is qualified or do you just hire him without looking into his background?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I generally always look into their background.

Mr. DEKOM. How did it happen that you did not look into the background of Mr. Grzelak and discover in his background such an important event as being leader of a strike aboard a vessel in wartime, to which he himself testified this morning?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. When he was recommended to me by the head office—

Mr. DEKOM. You just hired him.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. I knew him as a very sensible man from my previous acquaintance with him, and my life experience is always to deal with as much with responsible people—and I know he is a responsible chap.

Mr. ARENS. A recommendation from the head office is an order, is it not?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. It was not in the form of an order.

Senator O'CONNOR. He has for the better part of the last year been under charge of being a member of the Polish Workers Party with deportation proceedings pending.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. Under that state of affairs, have you not made inquiries so as to satisfy yourself as to whether he was or is a member of the party?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No; I did not.

Senator O'CONNOR. Just because of your other statement, commenting on the way in which the question was asked, you do not feel that you have been treated unfairly here today?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No, Senator, but frankly speaking, you asked me and the gentleman asked me about conditions in Poland, and I am not very familiar with that and I don't want to say something that I don't know for sure, or for that, and as I explained to you what my position is, that on my general line of activity.

Senator O'CONNOR. I wanted to make it clear as to whether you didn't feel that you were accorded every consideration.

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. No; I know that you are all gentlemen, and I know that they have to have a job and I hope the gentleman does not feel bad about my remark.

Senator O'CONNOR. You have been treated fairly and given every opportunity to express yourself; is that right?

Mr. KUTYLOWSKI. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. Many thanks to you for your statement.

TESTIMONY OF STANISLAW C. SZTAM, LANDING AGENT, THE GDYNIA-AMERICA LINE

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Sztam, will you kindly stand.

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you raise your right hand? In the presence of Almighty God, do you swear that the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. SZTAM. I do.¹

Senator O'CONNOR. Your full name is Stanislaw C. Sztam?

Mr. SZTAM. Yes, sir.

Senator O'CONNOR. And your position is what?

Mr. SZTAM. Landing agent for the line.

Senator O'CONNOR. The Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. SZTAM. Yes, sir.

Senator O'CONNOR. What is your address?

Mr. SZTAM. 561 First Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Senator O'CONNOR. For what period of time have you been employed by the steamship company?

Mr. SZTAM. Slightly over 13 years.

Senator O'CONNOR. What are your duties as landing agent for the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. SZTAM. My duties are primarily of a liaison between the steamship line and the Government agencies such as immigration, customs, arriving of ships, handling of the passengers, assisting them, and if some passengers are detained by immigration to the island, I try and see what can be done to help them out, and if the papers are insufficient or anything pertaining to bringing passengers to the country.

Senator O'CONNOR. Do you have occasion to meet the boats as they arrive?

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

Mr. SZTAM. I always go down on the boat to quarantine with Immigration and Public Health and Customs.

Senator O'CONNOR. How frequently do the *Batory* and the *Sobieski* arrive in the United States?

Mr. SZTAM. Once a month, each ship.

Senator O'CONNOR. What are their routes?

Mr. SZTAM. The *Batory* goes between Poland, Copenhagen, Southampton, and New York; and the *Sobieski* between Naples, Genoa, Cannes, Gibraltar, and New York, and sometimes stops in Halifax, but not any more. It used to.

Senator O'CONNOR. What is the passenger load of each of the vessels?

Mr. SZTAM. The *Batory*, I believe, is 832, both classes; and the *Sobieski* is slightly over 900.

Senator O'CONNOR. What is the crew complement of each of them?

Mr. SZTAM. The *Batory* is 350 to 354, and the *Sobieski* is 287 up to 300. I am not positive of the *Sobieski*, exactly how many. I know in recent voyages, the *Sobieski* had about 80 Poles; it dropped down to 66, and the remainder is about 217 or 220 of the Italian crew.

Senator O'CONNOR. In the course of the discharge of your duties, do you have occasion to come in contact with the representatives of the Polish Government in the Polish consulate in New York?

Mr. SZTAM. That is right. The Polish consulate usually have some representatives, such as the consul, or people to pick up mail, but usually one of the consuls is always on the boat, meeting somebody or attending to something.

Senator O'CONNOR. What does he do?

Mr. SZTAM. He goes to the master's quarters with the president, and I have no dealings with them whatsoever.

Senator O'CONNOR. Let us get this a little bit more particularly clear. Is it your testimony that upon the arrival of the *Batory* and the *Sobieski*, which you always board, that there is invariably a representative of the Polish Government who appears on the vessel?

Mr. SZTAM. That is right. He may not come immediately upon the docking of the vessel. He comes in sometimes half an hour later, usually not much more than half an hour later.

Senator O'CONNOR. And what does he do?

Mr. SZTAM. He picks up the diplomatic pouch and does other things. I never have any reason for knowing all his movements, because I am busy with the passengers and handling the immigration, the boarding division, and I assist them in delivering it and handling it, and I have two assistants who work with me.

Senator O'CONNOR. How long has this practice been engaged in?

Mr. SZTAM. Which one, may I ask?

Senator O'CONNOR. Of the representative of the Polish Government going aboard each vessel?

Mr. SZTAM. Well, I would say since we resumed service, since the war ended in 1947, when the *Batory* made the maiden voyage in 1947.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is that a customary practice for a representative of a government to board vessels regularly?

Mr. SZTAM. Well, the other lines, I had seen that occasionally. I know on the Cunard Line, the consul will go there once in a while for some special meeting but I don't say they always go.

Senator O'CONNOR. Have you had occasion to become acquainted with the captain of the *Batory* or the *Sobieski*?

Mr. SZTAM. Yes; I know the captain of the *Batory* better than the captain of the *Sobieski*. He is a comparatively new man.

Senator O'CONNOR. Have you had conversations with the captain of the *Batory* respecting the Eisler case?

Mr. SZTAM. No. I didn't, particularly, because the only thing I went upstairs to tell him was about the examinations. I was the only one permitted to go down with immigration and customs, down the bay. Nobody else from the line went down on the return trip in June. Immigration was along with us and from the customs was Mr. Flynn, the assistant surveyor for the port of New York. We went down the bay, and I went to the captain and I told him that there was to be an examination of the crew and the crew would get no shore leave and no visitors will be allowed within an enclosure, because that is what Mr. Flynn informed me. It is all the conversation that I had with him.

Senator O'CONNOR. What is the nature of your contacts with the Polish consulate in New York?

Mr. SZTAM. Practically nil.

Senator O'CONNOR. What other officials of the line do have contact?

Mr. SZTAM. I would say mostly Mr. Kutylowski, more than Mr. Grzelak.

Senator O'CONNOR. What is the nature of his contacts with the officials in the Polish consulate?

Mr. SZTAM. I really don't know.

Senator O'CONNOR. Were you consulted on the Eisler case?

Mr. SZTAM. After the Eisler case, I was called upstairs when we found out really that he was the man on board. I was called up and asked what the procedure was, and I said to inform immigration, giving the name. They went into a discussion and I was not consulted any more.

Mr. DEKOM. Please recite the events of that date of May 6 when Mr. Eisler left. Do you remember the things that happened that day that would shed any light on this subject?

Mr. SZTAM. I don't think it would shed very much light, sir, but I can more or less recall. I believe the ship sailed at 12 noon sharp, and I went down the bay, because Immigration was checking out the crew and the ones that were detained. Then we left the vessel on the tugboat, and it was somewhere between quarantine and the Statue of Liberty, or somewhere along there, that we came back and the ship proceeded to sea. Then I believe 3 days afterward we received a notice that there was a stowaway on board.

Mr. DEKOM. How long does it usually take to get the report from the purser as to the number of passengers and stowaways, and so forth, the crew members?

Mr. SZTAM. Well, it is the practice of all lines coming to America, east- or west-bound voyage, if a stowaway is found, the master or the purser is supposed to report to the port to which they are going and the port which they left that they have a stowaway, and his name, nationality, and age, and whatever particulars they can give.

Mr. DEKOM. How long does that usually take? Within how many hours normally do you get your report?

Mr. SZTAM. Immediately after the man is discovered on board the vessel.

Mr. DEKOM. How long after the ship puts out to sea does the purser report back the number of passengers and crew members that are aboard?

Mr. SZTAM. It should take about—a correct check—close to a day, because the best check is when the evening meal is served and they start giving seating cards. Then you have a better check. Sometimes someone boards a ship and doesn't go through the embarkation booth and we find out that so many passengers are supposed to be on, and we report to the embarkation, and then the passenger department sends in and gives the purser a list of those missing names, and then they radio back as soon as they can check.

Mr. DEKOM. How long does it usually take for that report to get back?

Mr. SZTAM. Usually you would say the next day, and sometimes in the morning and sometimes in the afternoon.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that customarily followed in case of your line, too?

Mr. SZTAM. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. So that if a report came in 3 days later, it would be unusual?

Mr. SZTAM. Well, I would venture to say it was unusual, a little bit long.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Kutylowski submitted to this committee a photostatic copy of all communications with the liner, and the first telegram which was sent back from the purser of the ship giving the number of crew members and passengers is dated May 9, 1948.

Mr. SZTAM. And the vessel sailed on the 6th.

Mr. DEKOM. It was 3 days later. Would you consider that an unusual length of time to elapse between the sailing time and the time of the report?

Mr. SZTAM. It seems a long time.

Mr. DEKOM. And to your knowledge it is not usual?

Mr. SZTAM. It could be faster.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it usual that they wait that long?

Mr. SZTAM. No. The usual is 24 hours to 36 hours, we will say, give them a leeway of a holiday; and I forget now, May 6, what date it was, the day of the week, which is important, because sometimes if it is a week end, naturally—

Mr. DEKOM. It was Friday.

Mr. SZTAM. It was the 6th. Well, then it is possible that they sent it. It depends upon when it was sent by the ship and not when we received it.

Mr. DEKOM. Here is the copy. Perhaps you can read it better than I can.

Mr. SZTAM. I forget the date. There is a 9 here, and this would be the time here, 0154, which would be on the 9th, 1:54 a. m., because they use the same time. The clock is 24 hours. The ships and radio especially use that. The 9th at 1:54, that would be shortly after Sunday midnight.

Mr. DEKOM. The telegram merely says one stowaway, and now would it not be customary for them to say one stowaway by the name of So-and-So, rather than just report one stowaway?

Mr. SZTAM. The normal procedure is to give whatever information they have on a person immediately. Especially the nationality is important, because for east-bound and west-bound, if it is an alien,

we notify immigration; and, if it is an American citizen, the immigration turns the information over to the FBI, because they are interested in it.

Mr. DEKOM. If you will look through those things, you will see that a number of demands were made and several radiograms sent before the complete information was available. Why was all that?

Mr. SZTAM. This telegram was sent at my request.

Mr. DEKOM. To ask the name?

Mr. SZTAM. Yes; asking the name. Here are my initials on it, and I got a copy of it. The time can be checked, when it was sent, with Mackay Radio. I sent it immediately upon receiving news that there is a stowaway. We have to find out his name and nationality and so on.

Mr. DEKOM. Then what happened?

Mr. SZTAM. Then the next telegram came in.

Mr. DEKOM. And the name came.

Mr. SZTAM. That is the one, and this was received on the 11th.

Mr. DEKOM. Which is 2 days again. And then the next radiogram is a further request for additional information, and I think the date—

Mr. SZTAM. This one; yes. This was after receiving this telegram, having the name. I called Mr. Manley, the chief of the entry and departure section, and he called Mr. Doser¹ at 70 Columbus Avenue, and they called me back and to ascertain definitely the date, place of birth and nationality to verify that it was the same Gerhart Eisler.

Mr. DEKOM. And you then proceeded.

Mr. SZTAM. Yes. We sent the telegram here asking for the details and telling them, and this is my number here, of how to manifest them, which is I-434.

Mr. DEKOM. Right next to that there is a radiogram demanding an answer to the prior radiogram. Why was that sent? Was there a delay?

Mr. SZTAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. How do you explain this series of unusual delays; what is your explanation as an employee who knows what the situation is?

Mr. SZTAM. I think when they realized on the ship that it was Gerhart Eisler, some of the American passengers must have known what the name meant, and maybe the officers were afraid or tried to communicate with the other side and get instructions from the home office. After all, we are only agents; the home office is in Gdynia. But we are incorporated in the State of New York as agents, like the Norwegian American Line. But this was sent from my home at the request of Mr. Avery² again, assistant to Mr. Doser, and he asked me why no answer. I said, "If you want me to, I will send another message from home." Since I could not get hold of Mr. Kutylowski anywhere, I took it upon myself to send the message.

Mr. DEKOM. Are there any other events connected with this incident which you have omitted?

Mr. SZTAM. Nothing particularly that would throw any more light on it.

Mr. DEKOM. Were you connected in any way with the establishment of a radio program on behalf of the Gdynia line?

¹ Harold S. Manley and Trent Doser, district enforcement officer.

² Thorold Avery.

Mr. SZTAM. No.

Senator O'CONNOR. Do you know anything about the inauguration of that service?

Mr. SZTAM. No, Senator; I don't. I listened to it once because Mr. Kutylowski's secretary was running this particular program or was the commentator on it.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is that Miss Zofia Wachtl?

Mr. SZTAM. Yes; and she said to listen to it, and I listened to it. My wife is Irish and doesn't speak Polish, and she said, "Would you please change it," and so I did.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you see Mr. Galewicz or any representative of the consulate aboard on the day that Eisler sailed?

Mr. SZTAM. I wouldn't swear to it, but I think Consul Galewicz was there.

Senator O'CONNOR. You think he was there?

Mr. SZTAM. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. Do you know whether anyone from the Gdynia-American Line went to his office that day?

Mr. SZTAM. I was on the ship at 7 o'clock in the morning.

Senator O'CONNOR. When you got off the ship, where did you go?

Mr. SZTAM. Straight back to the office.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did anyone go with you?

Mr. SZTAM. The immigration man who checked the crew out.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did any official of the line go out?

Mr. SZTAM. Nobody ever goes down the bay.

Senator O'CONNOR. Do you know whether or not the officials were in their offices when you got back, Mr. Kutylowski and Grzelak?

Mr. SZTAM. That is hard to say. I don't remember.

Senator O'CONNOR. You do not know whether or not any one of them was missing that day?

Mr. SZTAM. Their offices are upstairs and mine is downstairs together with the passenger department, and so I returned to my desk.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you recall a passenger sailing aboard the ship by the name of Katherine Gluszak?

Mr. SZTAM. No; I don't. I was asked that, I believe, by immigration, whether they sailed, and I looked to see if I had them on the list. I said "No."

Mr. DEKOM. Does the Polish consulate in New York issue seamen's papers?

Mr. SZTAM. The seamen's papers are issued in Gdynia by the seamen's commission or whatever it is, but they issue the seamen's books, and the seamen's books are not held by the seamen individually. They are held by the paymaster, even when they go ashore or when they are going ashore.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that customary?

Mr. SZTAM. Yes. It was before the war, and even now, because before the war if a seaman deserted, the seaman's book was returned by the paymaster through the purser's office to our office in New York. Then we in turn gave it to the Polish consulate, shipping division, who send it to Poland.

Mr. DEKOM. You were about to comment on the issuance of papers in New York.

Mr. SZTAM. Well, they don't issue, but they could issue the papers in New York, because they have the books.

Mr. DEKOM. They have blank books?

Mr. SZTAM. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. How do you know that?

Mr. SZTAM. They always had them, sir, before the war, so I don't see why they shouldn't.

Mr. ARENS. Is that unusual for the consulate to have blank seamen's books for issuance?

Mr. SZTAM. I think the British have it, too. No; they don't have it, because during the war I handled things for the British Ministry of War and I used British seamen. If they lost their book, they got a document in lieu of the book until they got to England and then, at Liverpool or Manchester or whatever the home port was, they issued a book.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you elaborate on just what these books are, which are in the possession of the consulate in New York City, the Polish consulate?

Mr. SZTAM. Well, there is only one seaman's book of every country which is issued in lieu of an actual passport. The passport is used by civilian travelers, and seamen of every nationality have a seaman's book which has a photograph, and during the war with the fingerprint. It is document identifying who he is.

Senator O'CONNOR. Without that book the seaman can't be shipped?

Mr. SZTAM. No; unless the consulate in an emergency, in agreement with the Immigration Service during the war, and even now, issues some document that is satisfactory to the Immigration Service.

Senator O'CONNOR. What changes were there when the present vice president came over and came into the company?

Mr. SZTAM. Well, the stock was always owned by the Polish Government and when it switched to London, the London government controlled. When it went back again, naturally, whatever government we have today in Poland, they are controlling it, and Mr. Kutylowski was president of the line when I joined it in 1936.

Senator O'CONNOR. That is true, but I want you to state whether there was any noticeable change in policy or in method of administration from and after the assumption of office by Mr. Grzelak.

Mr. SZTAM. No; because Mr. Grzelak handles mostly two things. One is purchasing, part of the seamen and the seamen's affairs, and he doesn't mix very much in operation of the line as such. That is done by Mr. Kutylowski and Mr. Corbett,¹ who is the operating manager.

Senator O'CONNOR. In Mr. Kutylowski's operations and his work—did you observe any change at all at or about the time that the new government came into control?

Mr. SZTAM. No; I could not say that I noticed that. I deal with them strictly on business, because my department is directly responsible to him.

Senator O'CONNOR. Were any new policies inaugurated?

Mr. SZTAM. No; I wouldn't say that. For us in New York, no.

Mr. DEKOM. What has happened in the control end of it, on the part of Grzelak? What is his real position there?

Mr. SZTAM. Outside of the official purchasing agent and crew manager, officially nothing else.

¹ Ralph E. Corbett.

Mr. DEKOM. Unofficially?

Mr. SZTAM. Unofficially he doesn't mix with me, and he doesn't tell me anything, and he doesn't discuss any politics or anything.

Mr. DEKOM. How did it happen he was selected to be vice president when he was merely a seaman?

Mr. SZTAM. A steward.

Mr. DEKOM. Isn't that rather a remarkable rise?

Mr. SZTAM. In America people also come from small positions.

Mr. DEKOM. In one jump? How do you explain that?

Mr. SZTAM. Well, he must be very well seen by the Polish Government, I would say.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you think that he is sent here as their eyes and ears in the Gdynia Line?

Mr. SZTAM. It is possible.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not he is a member of the PZPR?

Mr. SZTAM. No; I do not.

Mr. DEKOM. You know what PZPR is, of course, the Polish Workers Party.

Mr. SZTAM. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. How about yourself, have you ever joined the PZPR?

Mr. SZTAM. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SZTAM. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Was Grzelak assistant purser at one time?

Mr. SZTAM. Yes. He had the title of assistant purser and he was checking inventories and so on.

Mr. DEKOM. What was he doing there as assistant purser?

Mr. SZTAM. Supposedly checking the inventory.

Mr. DEKOM. What was he really doing?

Mr. SZTAM. I wasn't on the ship.

Mr. DEKOM. And he came back and resumed his job as vice president of the line?

Mr. SZTAM. Oh, no. Then he came back to our office and resumed the position of assistant to Mr. Trzeciecki.¹ Then Mr. Trzeciecki left on January 1, 1948, of his own accord, and Mr. Grzelak assumed the position of purchasing agent, and I believe shortly afterward he was made vice president. I didn't pay much attention, and it didn't concern me particularly whether he was vice president or not.

Senator O'CONNOR. We are very much obliged to you.

(Thereupon at 4:30 p. m., the committee recessed subject to call.)

¹ For the testimony of Anthony Trzeciecki, see p. 713.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Herbert R. O'Connor presiding.

Present: Senator O'Connor.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee, and Otto J. Dekom, professional staff member.

Senator O'CONNOR. The committee will come to order.

Mr. RUSHMORE, will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you swear in the presence of Almighty God that the evidence you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I do.¹

TESTIMONY OF HOWARD C. RUSHMORE, EDITORIAL STAFF, NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, will you give your full name, please?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Howard C. Rushmore.

Senator O'CONNOR. And your address?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I live in Huntington, Long Island, N. Y.

Senator O'CONNOR. And your present occupation?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I am a reporter for the New York Journal-American, New York City.

Senator O'CONNOR. For what period of time have you been associated with the newspaper in question?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I have been with the New York Journal American for 9 years.

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, prior to that, Mr. Rushmore, what business or profession or calling did you follow?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, I have been in newspaper work since I was 15 years old. Prior to my work on the Journal-American I had been on the staff of the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist Party in New York City.

Senator O'CONNOR. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

Mr. RUSHMORE. Yes, for 3 years.

Senator O'CONNOR. And over what 3 years were you a member of the party?

Mr. RUSHMORE. From 1937 until 1939, the latter part.

Senator O'CONNOR. The latter part of 1939?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Yes, sir.

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, prior to your membership in the party proper, were you affiliated with any organization which is identified with the Communist movement?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Yes; I was a member of the Young Communist League during the years 1935 and 1936.

Senator O'CONNOR. During those 2 years, 1935 and 1936, as a member of the Young Communist League, what if any activities did you engage in?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, I was managing editor of their publication, known as the Young Worker, for a year, and did a considerable amount of writing for a number of publications such as Young Pioneer and others, which are organs either of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League.

Senator O'CONNOR. From that opportunity for observation that you had, what did you observe with respect to the concentration of effort on the national groups, on minority groups?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, I would say throughout that period that I noticed that the leadership, particularly of the party, was alien, and on several occasions I had meetings with representatives of the Communist International. The emphasis of the party leadership was always directed toward what the party called the national or minority groups. I might cite the example of Mrs. Earl Browder, if I may, at this time.

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, if you would let me pursue this for a short while, I would like to come up to a specific case, but I would like to get in general the concentration of effort toward the groups, whether or not any orders were issued or whether any general policy was adopted and followed in that regard.

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, I might say that as a Communist newspaperman, I soon became aware of the fact that the backbone of the Communist Party was the national groups of the Communist Party throughout the country, in the sense that in Pittsburgh—I had been there on several assignments—the main backbone of the party in Pittsburgh would be the Slavs, and in Wisconsin, for instance, the Finnish people. No matter where I went on any assignment for the Worker or the Young Worker, I would notice immediately the people who seemed to be in the leadership and the people who were directing the activities of the party or the Young Communist League were obviously foreign-born or alien.

Senator O'CONNOR. Was there any particular effort devoted toward religion or in educational circles, or in similar activities?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, the party propaganda on religion you might divide into two sections: Their open propaganda, which has been over the past 10 or 12 years claiming collaboration with religious groups—you might remember the party policy of the outstretched hand to the Catholics, their collaboration with certain Protestant youth groups, and also with Jewish organizations—but the actual

policy of the party was that the party was completely against religion. I might quote from a pamphlet issued by the Young Communist League which gives, I will say, the complete and accurate picture of the stand of the Communists on religion. I will quote from this pamphlet which was issued in 1933:

The Young Communist League pays special attention to the struggle against the church and religion by means of educational work. Religion is the opium of the people.

I think that phrase pretty well sums up the attitude of the American Communist Party toward religion; that religion is "the opium of the people" and that in actual practice the party's goal has always been the destruction of religion. In 1932 William Z. Foster, in his book,¹ said that the churches would be destroyed, and that line of philosophy still holds good today, no matter what the Daily Worker may say of what the Communists may say outwardly in propaganda. That is their basic aim.

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, following your work and your duties on the Young Worker, and after becoming a member of the Communist Party and maintaining that membership throughout the period from 1937 to 1939, what were your chief activities?

Mr. RUSHMORE. My chief activities were in the newspaper field. I was managing editor of the Young Worker, and in 1937 I was put on the Daily Worker staff by Clarence Hathaway, at that time editor of the Daily Worker and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. I was feature editor, and did movie reviews and general assignments. I became assistant city editor of the Daily Worker, and later on the assistant managing editor of the Sunday Worker's magazine section.

Senator O'CONNOR. What can you advise the committee as to the instructions or orders or policies that were given and followed in connection with the publication?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, the instructions came directly from the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In turn, they were advised, ordered, and instructed by the Politburo of the Communist Party, who were in turn under the direction of the Communist International representative in this country.

Senator O'CONNOR. And what information, if any, did you have then or have you since acquired with regard to any foreign domination or control?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, I might go back, say, to the Young Worker days, when my first knowledge of this foreign control was a meeting with a fellow called Max. I knew him only as Max, and I was told not to ask any questions about him. He was rather a secret visitor, shall I say, to our offices, and I was told that he was a representative of the Young Communist International. He was obviously a foreigner, with a very heavy accent, and also obviously the fellow who gave the orders to the Young Communist League. I ascertained that from seeing him around the office of the Young Communist League. Then later, as a member of the Communist Party, I attended meetings at which Fred Brown, known as Alpi,² presided. He was one of the Communist International representatives. His

¹ Toward a Soviet America.

² F. Marini, who used the aliases F. Brown and Mario Alpi.

orders were definite and final, particularly in regard to Daily Worker activities. I also met on one occasion with the chairman of the Control Commission of the Communist Party, a fellow by the name of Charles Dirba, who was an alien. Dirba had the power of expelling any member of the Communist Party.

Senator O'CONNOR. What information did you have, if any, as to the source of the instructions that either Max or Alpi or Charles Dirba issued and forced to be carried out?

Mr. RUSHMORE. The source was Moscow, naturally, either direct orders which they brought back with them from Moscow or through the courier service maintained by the Communist Party. You are probably familiar with the courier service. So, their orders and all important decisions regarding the publications of the Communist Party would necessarily come from Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Rushmore, you have made the observation that aliens control the party. Now, on the basis of your experience and observation, are the aliens who control the party principally aliens of recent arrival or aliens who have been in the country for some time and are what we would generally term Americans?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, I would say there are more of fairly recent arrival, although in the party there are aliens whom I know of who have been here for 20 years, who entered the country illegally and are still here. But the leadership, the actual leadership, was never, I would say, native American, if that is what you mean.

Senator O'CONNOR. To what do you attribute the fact that the party is under the control and domination of aliens? How do you explain that?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, I might explain it on the basis of some experiences that I had, that Moscow does not trust the native Americans in leadership or responsible positions of the Communist Party. I often heard, in the Daily Worker staff meetings and in conversations with certain Communists, the expression: "Oh, he is just an American", or, "He is just a dumb American," and on one or two occasions I myself had been called that.

Mr. ARENS. That was with reference to American Communists?

Mr. RUSHMORE. No; being of American background. The alien Communists regard a Communist of American background with definite suspicion, I would say, in the majority of cases.

Mr. ARENS. Now, is it actually true that the real leadership of the party, the individual or individuals who give the orders and are what might be called the bosses, are they persons who have been sent into the country from Moscow, from abroad, or are they people who have worked themselves up from the ranks in the local Communist apparatus in the United States?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I would say, on the basis of my experience and knowledge, that all responsible leading positions of the Communist Party are occupied by alien Communists sent in by Moscow, that persons like Browder and Dennis—referring to Earl Browder who was formerly secretary of the Communist Party and Eugene Dennis, the present secretary—are merely figureheads.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information, Mr. Rushmore, respecting the manner in which the leaders of the Communist Party in the United States gain admission into the United States? Are they sent in? To

prompt your thinking, are they sent in as affiliates of international organizations, as affiliates of consuls and embassies, as visitors or treaty traders, or what is the pattern by which the leadership of the party gains admission into the United States?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, for instance, there have been Communists or Russian spies who have come to this country to head up a spy ring, who entered the United States as members of a Russian purchasing commission, or members connected with the Russian Embassy or consulates. I think in that category you would find most of your espionage leaders.

However, I know that in conversations I had while in the Communist Party, certain maritime unions at that time under Communist control would aid in smuggling in CI representatives, as we called them—Communist International representatives. There would be comrades stationed at the Mexican border and the Canadian border who would aid in smuggling the alien Communists over from these two areas into this country. Soviet ships were another method; a ship would be anchored and a boat would be put out, as the Nazi saboteurs were landed. There are a number of methods which I heard of while in the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent does the success of the Communist apparatus in the United States depend upon the maintenance of this pipe line between the United States and Moscow for direction and control?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, I would say it is all-important. Without that, the Communist Party would flounder badly, both financially and politically.

Mr. ARENS. Would you say, conversely, that if this pipe line were severed that there would be a detrimental effect from the standpoint of the interests of the Communist function in this country?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Definitely. I think that if we had proper immigration laws to prevent these Communists entering, and once they did enter, to deport them promptly, the effectiveness of the American Communist Party would be diminished 75 percent.

Senator O'CONNOR. Was the strength or weakness of the United States immigration laws ever the subject of discussion or of conversation among the Communists?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I frequently heard discussions involving immigration laws. Naturally, the Communist Party has always been in favor of liberalizing the laws, for obvious reasons, and I have heard warnings issued in party meetings for comrades to become naturalized. However, the paradox there is that the leadership apparently made no effort to do that, because when I was making up the *Daily Worker*, as was my job part of the time, I was instructed never to use photographs of Jack Stachel, who is now the national educational director of the Communist Party and on trial for conspiracy in New York; of Alexander Bittelman, presently up for deportation; and of several other very prominent party leaders.

Senator O'CONNOR. From whom did you receive such instructions?

Mr. RUSHMORE. On one occasion I remember from Clarence Hathaway, the editor of the *Daily Worker*, who apparently had been told by his superiors.

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, just in line with the series of questions that have been propounded to you: Were you aware at any time of any financial assistance that had been given from abroad?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I have no direct knowledge of that except what I was told by my various comrades. The courier system is one method of bringing in money or jewelry. Jewelry is a favorite item of exchange for international Communists. Much of that was brought in through Mexico. Other couriers, I was told, operated as members of Communist-controlled maritime unions, who bought in money, jewelry, or whatever might be negotiable in the form of money for the American Communist Party.

I might add that the Communists are rather clever in that. In the Daily Worker, for instance, they will always have a drive for funds to maintain the Daily Worker, or a drive to help the 12 defendants in the present conspiracy trial. However, the money contributed by gullible liberals and Communists themselves would never be sufficient to put these drives over. Most of that money is available before the drive starts. This is more or less, I would say, a camouflage to make not only the rank and file of the party, but the average American think that the Communist Party is self-sustaining. I know of one occasion where Communist leaders were arrested and high bail was set, that money was procured immediately; whereas on the Daily Worker, where I got \$20 a week at the time, often we would skip pay days for 6 or 8 weeks at a time, which was nothing unusual on the staff. They made claims they could not meet the pay roll and at the same time, when Browder was arrested, and the bail was \$20,000, it was obtained within about 3 hours. So the money was there, but they use that maneuver of appealing to the American working class to help, to contribute dimes and pennies, when the money is already in the bank or some place where they can get to it.

Senator O'CONNOR. Previously, you mentioned the case of Mrs. Browder. Will you take that up and state what is your knowledge in regard to any activity by the Communist Party in that connection?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I heard Mrs. Browder in 1938. We had a meeting of the Daily Worker staff in the national headquarters of the Communist Party, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City. Mrs. Browder, whom I had seen on the elevator and about the building with her husband, Earl, was introduced to us by Jack Stachel. Stachel said that comrade represents the Central Committee of the Communist Party, who has been assigned by the Central Committee to work with the national groups. She then gave us, not so much a lecture as, I would say, detailed orders on how to present news, features, and general coverage of the national groups. She was stressing their importance, and in this particular talk which she gave to the Daily Worker staff, she said that she had just returned from a national tour in which she had visited most of the States and had met with leaders of the national groups.

Mr. DEKOM. When you say "national groups," you mean various minority groups?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I mean foreign-language groups or minority groups; yes. And she commented, to the best of my recollection, on the growing success of the party with these foreign-language groups and that we needed to support them even more. All of us understood without having to be told that when Mrs. Browder gave the orders, we were to obey them. So the Daily Worker speeded up its coverage of foreign-language groups and a lot of mail stories and

some wire stories came in from all over the United States which we featured, and we arranged feature stories and picture lay-outs in which the foreign-language groups were the main subject.

On another occasion a few months later she again talked to the Worker staff and complained that the foreign-language division of the central committee needed even more space and attention. Those were the two occasions on which I heard her speak.

Senator O'CONNOR. What location was that?

Mr. RUSHMORE. At the headquarters of the Communist Party.

Senator O'CONNOR. At 35 East Twelfth Street?

Mr. RUSHMORE. That is right; the meeting was closed to all but Communist Party members.

Senator O'CONNOR. And about what number were in attendance?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I would say about 40 at each meeting.

Senator O'CONNOR. What did you learn as to developments in her case?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, in 1940, she was arrested and ordered deported, and she swore at the time that she knew only two Communists, her husband and Robert Minor, another member of the central committee. This particular case was kicked around and, with the war, pretty well forgotten at the time. Then in 1944 she suddenly went to Canada, reentered the United States from Canada, and became a citizen. I happen to have worked on the story at the time and I did quite a bit of investigating. The State Department and Immigration Service officials told me that even though they objected to what they called an illegal procedure in view of her Communist Party membership, they were ordered by such people as Cordell Hull, then Secretary of State, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to grant this reentry permit. At that time, 1944, Earl Browder was the national secretary of the Communist Party, and I might add, from other sources I learned that about that time Browder was also meeting secretly on occasion with President Roosevelt in the White House.

Senator O'CONNOR. What knowledge did you have as to the passport that had been issued in the case?

Mr. RUSHMORE. In which case?

Senator O'CONNOR. In her case.

Mr. RUSHMORE. This testimony, I will say, comes from Benjamin Gitlow, whom I know well. Gitlow was, before 1929, the national secretary of the American Communist Party, a member of the executive committee of the Communist International. Gitlow says that Mrs. Browder entered this country illegally in 1933, using a passport of a Boston Communist who was deported by the Government. The Boston Communist was a woman by the name of Berkman,¹ and Mrs. Browder used this passport obtained through the Moscow passport mill, as it is known, to enter this country.

Mr. DEKOM. Was there any irregularity in this Berkman case that you know of, in connection with the Berkman file?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I heard that the Berkman file had disappeared from Immigration or the Department of Labor at the time. It went from the Labor Department files. There are several occasions, by the way, of files of alien Communists disappearing mysteriously from the

¹ Edith Berkman.

Immigration Service records, but I had only heard that, and I had no knowledge of it personally.

Senator O'CONNOR. You have indicated, of course, Mr. Rushmore, the close contacts that you had during the period from 1935 to 1939. Did you cease your interest in the Communist Party and its activities from and after 1939? What knowledge have you had or what source of information did you have during the past 10 years?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I have maintained whatever contacts I could, not only with former Communists, but also with people within the Communist Party who are anti-Communists and who maintain their connections to supply persons like myself and the Government with information. I have not only maintained those contacts, but I have written extensively on the subject for the *Journal American* and for a number of magazines, the *Reader's Digest*, the *American Magazine*, and others. I have testified before a number of Government bodies, and have gone to Alaska and other places, checking on subversive activities. I would say, frankly, I probably have learned more about the American Communist Party since I have been out than I did while I was in.

About a month ago, at the request of the Immigration Service, I signed a statement in which I told Immigration practically what I have told your committee just now about my personal knowledge of Mrs. Browder. It is my understanding that they are making another attempt to deport her, and I think wisely so, because her husband, although expelled by the Communist Party 3 years ago, is still official book agent for the Soviet Government. After his expulsion, he was allowed to go to Moscow and was greeted with open arms there. It is my feeling that Earl Browder is being kept in reserve in case Russia changes its line and he is put back representing the appeasement policy of the Communist Party.

This renewed attempt to deport Mrs. Browder is rather interesting in contrast to the 1944 attitude of Immigration, in which they said the case was closed. I can quote from a *United Press* story of September 27, 1948, which quotes an unnamed Immigration official as saying,

We have closed our books on this case until it can be shown to us that Mrs. Browder is a menace to the internal security of this country. We have nothing in our records, and I know of no information elsewhere which shows that she is such a threat.

Now, I personally know that not only my own statements but statements of other former Communists were in the hands of Government authorities before 1944. The statement that she knew only two Communists was outright perjury, from my own knowledge, and the statement of this official does not compare with the facts in the Browder case. On this attempt, I think it shows a weakness of our immigration laws. I will not go into the political aspects of the case. In 1940, she was ordered deported. The Russian Embassy said when first contacted by Immigration, "Yes; we will give her a visa," and 3 days later they sent a letter withdrawing that approval, saying they would not give her a visa. That case kicked around until 1944, when, through political pressure, she got back into the country and became a temporary citizen, but not enough of one that she cannot be deported. Now, again in 1949, Immigration is again working on her case. The amount of taxpayers' money spent on this case

and the amount of time involved by, I would say, very loyal and very faithful investigators of the Immigration Service is lamentable.

I would like to say, in view of my knowledge of this Browder case, that the bill of your committee is certainly very much needed, even if there were no other case on record.

Senator O'CONNOR. You refer to S. 1832?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. Introduced by Senator McCarran?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You have spoken of the "Moscow passport mill" and about agents who have been sent into the country. Do you have knowledge respecting the procedure which is used by Moscow to get their agents into the country? How do they do it?

Mr. RUSHMORE. As I said, the illegal method is one; the diplomatic method is another, and also through forged passports.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us about that? What do you know about that and the extent of that practice, and how it is used?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I never went to Russia and I have no personal knowledge of that, except from Communists who have been there and who have told me that they themselves have taken old passports there, even passports which they obtained from relatives or persons who are dead. They took these to Moscow, where signatures and photographs were forged, and in many cases the forgery was wholesale, sometimes just copies. But at the Lenin School in Moscow, which is maintained for the educational development of Communists from all over the world, the students were instructed at times, according to people who have gone there, in the art of passport forgery.

Mr. ARENS. Now, on the basis of your experience and study of Communist infiltration since you left the party, do you have information as to whether or not the passport fraud and the infiltration of Communist agents, ostensibly as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments, is still in existence? Is this practice current?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I would say "Yes"; it definitely is.

Mr. ARENS. What do you base that on?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Knowledge of the operations of Soviet espionage rings which I have acquired. Certain of these people, one the head of a Soviet espionage ring, used such forged passports. This Soviet spy, trained by the NKVD and the GPU in the art of spying, used a forged passport during the war in this country. This spy, I might add, was called by the FBI the most dangerous spy in the history of this country. He operated here under a forged passport, forged in Moscow, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us, in conjunction with the entry into the United States of agents with forged documents or by other means, also about the transmission of vital information from the United States to Moscow, espionage information?

Mr. RUSHMORE. In many cases, that is done through the diplomatic pouch. In one particular espionage ring of which I have knowledge, the American contacts and the American members of the ring passed the information ultimately and eventually to the Russian consulate there in New York, while it was still open. That data, of course, went to Moscow with the diplomatic pouch, which is immune to seizure and inspection.

Senator O'CONNOR. I asked you previously as to what your knowledge was regarding the policies of the party and of any activities in respect to educational systems. Could you amplify on that? Is there any further information that you might give, for example, as to what their endeavors have been and what their policies are with respect to the public schools?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I think that the threat to education is one of the gravest threats presented by communism in this country. Because of the completely alien nature—not only alien ideologically but individually—of communism to American education, we find that Marxism and Leninism present a very subtle and a very dangerous poison in the classroom. The Communist magazine, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party in 1937, contains an article in which Communist teachers are ordered to teach their pupils the fundamentals of Marxism and Leninism, which of course is basically the idea of overthrowing the Government by force and violence. In the New York public schools we have 33,000 public-school teachers; and although we do not have a majority of Communists, we have a small minority. I would say that there are 300 or 400 loyal, disciplined Communist Party members who control a periphery or supporting group of around 3,000 or 4,000 in the CIO Teachers' Union, which is completely Communist-controlled and in which the Communists, of course, are the leaders. With this basis and with the teachers who are Communists and follow the Communist Party line under direct orders to inject Communist philosophy into the classroom, very subtly and very skillfully, I think you can see the obvious threat there of this completely alien propaganda to our children.

Senator O'CONNOR. Just on that point, there have been public statements made by well-known educators in the country which would seem to indicate that they feel that a person can be a Communist and yet can pursue teaching under the regular school system without impairment to the system as such. What have you to say in regard to that?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I would say that is completely untrue. As I have said, every Communist teacher has her or his instructions to, at all times, in the classroom or among other teachers or wherever they can, inject the philosophy of communism. That is their main job. If they do not do it, they will either be expelled or dropped from the party.

Mr. DEKOM. Does their loyalty to the party transcend their loyalty to the educational system and the society which employs them?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Oh, at all times. Their oath, which they have to sign in New York and I imagine in most States, to defend the Constitution, means nothing to them. To a Communist, that oath means nothing; their only oath is to the Communist International and the principle of world communism.

I might add, in connection with this alien philosophy of Marxism and Leninism in the classroom, that we have a few examples in New York. For instance, we have a teacher at Public School 108, in the Bronx, by the name of Mary Hartman Siskind, who has been in the public-school system now for many years. We have presented to the Board of Education in New York signed statements by former Communists identifying her as a dues-paying member of the Communist Party. She has been active in Communist work, which basically means overthrowing our Government by force and violence, even

while under oath to the Board of Education of the State of New York to defend our Constitution and be loyal to it.

Mr. DEKOM. Is she any relation to Beatrice Siskind?

Mr. RUSHMORE. She is a sister-in-law, and her name is also known as Shields. She was formerly promotion manager, I believe, of the New Masses. I believe that was her title.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you identify that periodical?

Mr. RUSHMORE. The New Masses was one of the Communist Party magazines, more or less official organ, and it is now defunct. Beatrice Shields Siskind is now under deportation warrant, and I might add that the teacher just named, Mary Hartman Siskind, is the wife of George Siskind, who is also under deportation warrant. Here we have a public-school teacher who, I believe, has been in the system for around 20 years, and who is the wife and sister-in-law of two alien Communists now up for deportation. The question that strikes me there, of course, is what does she present to her pupils in the classroom, with her known background? Can she present Americanism to them, as she is sworn to do, or does she present them the alien philosophy of Marxism and Leninism?

We have another example of a school teacher who, incidentally, was born in Russia. Her name is Sarah Gordon Bachman. She also has been identified by former Communists, and we have presented their statements to the board of education for action. She joined the Communist Party in the early thirties' and she is now on sabbatical leave from the New York public-school system, teaching German children for the United States Government in Munich. Her husband, Robert E. Bachman, is or was a United States Army officer attached to the war-crimes trials in Munich. There is an example, I think, of highly successful Communist maneuvering: a Russian-born teacher in the public-school system for 20 years and in the Communist Party for that length of time, then obtains a leave, and is coming back next year to our public schools of New York. I hope we can keep her out, but she intends to come back. She is now working for Uncle Sam, teaching Americanism to the children in Germany. We have a number of others. Sarah Bachman, incidentally, was naturalized in 1923.

Mr. ARENS. Could I interpose a question there? How do the Communists become naturalized when the present law requires an oath of fidelity of attachment to the Constitution?

Mr. RUSHMORE. The oath means nothing to them, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Do they have any means of circumventing the present requisites to naturalization, from the standpoint of attachment to the Constitution?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, you see, you have to look upon the Communist Party in what it says and what it really does. In the constitution of the Communist Party, I believe, there is a clause, or was a clause, to the effect that all party members have to be citizens. This is a very great joke within the inner circle of the party, because they know that the party was formed in 1919 with a 90-percent alien membership, and I would say it is now 60-percent alien.

Mr. ARENS. How do the Communists become naturalized? How do they evade our laws?

Mr. RUSHMORE. By lying, if that is what you mean. They do not hesitate. In fact, Lenin, with whom you are familiar, of course, issued

one famous statement in which he says that the Communists will not hesitate to lie if it is for the sake of the party.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting Harry Bridges' naturalization?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I testified in 1941 in the second hearing, and, until I see him off on the boat, I am very skeptical about the possibility of Mr. Bridges ever being deported. There has been much outright sabotage of the work of the FBI in the Bridges case by political persons and individuals, and so forth and so on.

Mr. ARENS. If you will kindly pursue your line of testimony; I just wanted to interpose that.

Mr. RUSHMORE. I want to read the names of some more teachers. These teachers are those for whom we have signed statements or proof that they are members of the Communist Party. To show just the extent to which they have infiltrated our schools in New York and, I am sure, throughout the country, you should have some of these names.

We know of three teachers. I have no knowledge as to whether they are members of the Communist Party or not, but interestingly enough, while in the public-school system, they taught in their spare time at the Jefferson School.

Senator O'CONNOR. What is the Jefferson School?

Mr. RUSHMORE. That is located at Sixth Avenue and Sixteenth Street, and it has been named subversive by the Attorney General; it is the official university of revolution of the Communist Party.

Senator O'CONNOR. It is not well known and has not been mentioned in the public press frequently as being one of the educational points for communism and its activities.

Mr. RUSHMORE. It is, however. They have thousands of students each year who are brought in and drilled in the fundamentals of Marxism and Leninism.

Here we have three New York public-school teachers who during the day are supposed to teach Americanism, along with the three R's, to their pupils, at night drilling young Communists in the art of Leninism. We have Ellen A. Lebow, a teacher at Central Commercial High School in New York; and Bernard Lebow, who teaches at Public School 14 in Queens. Another instructor at the Jefferson School, Louis Relin, is also a public-school teacher.

Then we have a number of other public-school teachers here identified by former Communists as members of the Communist Party. A teacher at Public School 129 in Brooklyn, Mrs. Dorothy Funn; another is Elizabeth DeWard. Interestingly enough, from testimony given in 1941, she was named as a Communist in a public hearing during the investigation of the public schools in New York. Since that time she has been promoted in the public schools several times.

We have a teacher of classics at Hunter College by the name of Henrietta Friedman who is an official of the United Nations Club of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the United Nations Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. RUSHMORE. The Communist Party has around one-hundred-odd clubs in New York City, known as branches or cells; they call them clubs at the present time. It is a large neighborhood group of, I would say, 150 Communist Party members.

Her husband, David Friedman, who teaches at Public School 64, is also an official of this United Nations Club of the Communist Party. I might add there, Senator, that the teachers' union, which I have said is Communist-controlled, has in the past and probably still does work with foreign-language groups within the Communist Party to help them get their citizenship papers. Puerto Ricans and others are involved.

Mr. ARENS. What do they do?

Mr. RUSHMORE. The teachers' union has classes under Communist supervision, and there may be a class every night at a certain location. Communists who want to become naturalized go to receive instruction from the teachers in the public schools on how to become naturalized and brush up on the various subjects necessary for naturalization and things like that. This is entirely a Communist apparatus or organization doing this.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of the organization again?

Mr. RUSHMORE. The teachers' union does it.

Mr. ARENS. And where is the place where they do the teaching?

Mr. RUSHMORE. They have had classes at the teachers' union headquarters on West Fifteenth Street in New York. I do not have the exact address.

Other teachers that we have who have been named by former Communists as Communist Party members include Alice Citron; Clara Rieber; and, interestingly enough, speaking of the teachers' union, which plays such an important role in this various alien work and alien philosophy, we have one of the most active officers of the union, Celia Zitron, who teaches at Washington Irving High School in New York. We have submitted evidence to the board of education showing that she has been a Communist Party member for at least 20 years, and throughout the time since the teachers' union was formed and controlled by the Communist Party in 1935, this Celia Zitron has been the Commissar of the union, using the Russian word, the director of union activities. Also Ida Lou Barron of public school 72, Manhattan.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you finished with that thought?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I just want to submit these few as an example of not only how the Communist Party has managed to infiltrate the school system and the unions which are in the system but the lack of action by school authorities in dealing with this problem.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you discuss the connection of Bella V. Dodd with the teachers' union?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Bella V. Dodd was one of the founders and one of the outstanding leaders of the teachers' union. She denied for years she was a Communist Party member; and then suddenly, out of a clear blue sky, she becomes the State legislative director of the Communist Party, as soon as she leaves the teachers' union.

Senator O'CONNOR. You have mentioned the names of various persons within the Communist Party whom you knew. While you maintained membership, did you know one Louis Budenz?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Yes; I did.

Senator O'CONNOR. What did you know with respect to his membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I knew Budenz to be a member of the Communist Party; all members of the Daily Worker staff had to be members.

Senator O'CONNOR. Was he a member of the staff, to your knowledge?

Mr. RUSHMORE. He was not only a member, he was one of the leading members, I would say. I sat next to Budenz, and at the time I was with the Worker he was labor editor.

Mr. ARENS. Did he later assume a higher position?

Mr. RUSHMORE. He became managing editor.

Senator O'CONNOR. So you are prepared to assure the committee that he is in possession of facts and information bearing upon the inner workings of the Communist Party?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Very definitely.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Rushmore, what were your years of service, actually, in the party?

Mr. RUSHMORE. 1937, 1938, and 1939; and I left shortly after the Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed.

Mr. ARENS. During these periods of service, did you have occasion to announce the immigration policy of the Communists, so far as the United States is concerned?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Did I have occasion to do that?

Mr. ARENS. To announce it or know it?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I do not believe that I paid much attention to it at the time, for this reason: I was not personally affected and I did not think much about the alien leadership other than it was obvious that they had come in here illegally and that there were illegal procedures being used.

Mr. ARENS. During these years was there an influx into the United States of refugees from Europe?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any information as to whether or not that group was an organized movement for the purpose of bringing into the country additional Communists?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I know of one instance of which I had personal knowledge; that dealt with a writer by the name of Stefan Heym, a German refugee, who was placed in charge of organizing other German refugee writers into a Communist group. On one occasion I went down on a ship-news assignment to meet some important person or other coming in, and Heym accompanied me. There were Germans coming in on the boat, and he was assigned to get to them right away and tell them of a meeting place in New York where they were to meet the next 3 or 4 days, as soon as they got cleared. I personally knew Heym to be an alien, and also knew from what he told me himself that he was in charge of organizing other alien Communists, Germans, into this Communist writers' group.

Mr. ARENS. What connection is there between the diplomatic representatives of iron-curtain countries and the Communist apparatus in the United States?

Mr. RUSHMORE. There is a completely secret and unofficial connection, but a very close one, that I think might be checked by testimony from people who might have worked or had a great deal more personal knowledge of Soviet espionage than I can testify to. American Communists through couriers or through secret members were in constant contact with the Embassy and the consulates throughout the country.

Mr. ARENS. On the basis of your experience and observation and study of the Communist apparatus in the United States, would it be

detrimental to the interest of the United States to outlaw the Communist Party?

Mr. RUSHMORE. No.

Mr. ARENS. To drive them underground, in other words?

Mr. RUSHMORE. That is a subject which has provoked a lot of thought on my part, and I think a lot of thought on the part of all ex-Communists: What would be the effect on the party, as we knew it, if it were outlawed? I would say it would be a very detrimental effect.

Mr. ARENS. Detrimental to what?

Mr. RUSHMORE. On the Communist Party. In the first place, the important section of the Communist Party, as far as our national defense is concerned, has always been underground. Its espionage activities and its sabotage and all of those activities directed primarily against our national defense and ready to spring into action in the event of war with Russia is an underground operation throughout. There has been a great deal of testimony on that prior to this, I think.

Whittaker Chambers, a well-known former Communist writer, was ordered to disappear in 1932 or 1933 into the underground, and he did disappear. I would say that hundreds of other Communists were assigned to underground work which dealt with espionage. So that section of the Communist Party has always been underground, anyhow. That goes to the weakness of our various administrations and laws; it has developed and progressed.

The other section of the Communist Party, the open, propaganda section that is reflected by the fronts, the Daily Worker and the Communist Party itself, would also be hurt, I would say, very seriously. The most seriously crippled by a law which would outlaw the Communist Party would be the front organizations. For example, the American Slav Congress, which is a great breeding ground of Soviet espionage; the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; and dozens of others which the Attorney General has declared subversive or Communist. Outlawing the Communist Party would scare off the gullible liberals and the naive educators. I might add that the American educator makes up 27 percent of the membership of the American Communist Party's front organizations. Outlawing the Communist Party in this country would scare off this particular type of person. I think it would hurt their front work at home a great deal. It would hurt their union activities. They have lost considerable in the trade-union movement, but it would hurt them still more. All down the line, I would say the outlawing of the Communist Party would be to the great interest of this country.

Senator O'CONNOR. As a matter of fact, does not the party and its representatives very violently oppose such outlawing, fearing that it would be detrimental to the interests of the party?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Precisely. Their talk about the violation of the Bill of Rights, and so forth, is merely a dangerous camouflage; they know that they would be hurt and that their basic aim to overthrow the Government would be gravely crippled.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent is there a connection between the Communist apparatus in the United States and the Communist apparatus in Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and Puerto Rico and other countries in the Western Hemisphere? What intermeshing exists?

Mr. RUSHMORE. There is a very great extent of that, on both the open and underground levels.

Mr. ARENS. Is there an interlocking of direction there?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Yes. Last week, for example, in Mexico City they had a conference on world peace in which we will find the names of Cuban, Mexican, and Central American, South American, and Canadian veteran Communist frontiers all interlocking on the board of sponsors.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent is there an interchange of personnel or a movement of personnel?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I am talking about the open, propaganda level of the Communist Party. The Scientific and Cultural Congress for World Peace held in New York last March at the Waldorf-Astoria is another example of how from all countries the veteran Communist-frontier representatives and his followers operate in such an international meeting.

On the underground level, which is more important, you will find a continual interchange and flow of personnel, information, and data between Mexico, Canada, and the United States. I think the Gouzenko¹ case revealed how closely the Canadian and American Communists worked together.

Mr. ARENS. As an over-all observation, would you say the communism in the United States is a home-grown local product, or is it part of an international arrangement, part of an international apparatus?

Mr. RUSHMORE. It is part of an international conspiracy. I would rather say, than apparatus. I might add in connection with Mexico—and this may be of interest to the committee—that in 1939, after the Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed, the American Communists and their alien leaders saw the wind was going to blow the other way for awhile, and a number of them went to Mexico City, including Stachel, Dirba, and others. Mexico is the first hide-out of the alien Communist leader who is under possible deportation threat. He scrams to Mexico with the aid of a very well established courier system to get him there. I received a card from a Communist in Mexico City, an American visiting there, who said that he had seen a number of party leaders down there right after the pact was signed.

Senator O'CONNOR. It is quite astounding to hear it said that in this group, more than one-quarter of the group—27 percent is the figure you gave—is composed of the educator groups. Can you elaborate on that?

Mr. RUSHMORE. You mean why they join up?

Senator O'CONNOR. Not only that, but as to what you base that statement upon, and whether that is greater now than heretofore, or whether it is diminishing.

Mr. RUSHMORE. It is not diminishing. At the meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria of which I spoke, which our own State Department called a Communist meeting, there were 75 or 80 colleges represented by delegates. The percentage of delegates to this Congress in Mexico set up by the Cominform—and you can trace it back—was about the same. I base that percentage on a break-down over a 10-year period of all Communist fronts and their sponsors and checking the sponsors

¹This is a reference to the Canadian espionage case exposed by Igor Gouzenko, former code clerk at the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa.

against their occupation. I arrived at that figure by such a method, that 27 percent of these sponsors are educators.

Mr. DEKOM. You said colleges were represented by delegates. You mean teachers or professors from these colleges?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. And not the colleges themselves?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Oh, no.

Senator O'CONNOR. The institution itself was not officially represented, it was that individuals from those institutions came to attend.

Mr. RUSHMORE. Particularly the University of Chicago. I think that they had seven delegates there.

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, Mr. Rushmore, you have paid tribute to the patriotism and efficiency of members of the Immigration Service, and I am very confident that it is well founded.

In your knowledge, however, have any persons who have been identified with the Immigration Service been members of the Communist Party or have they been identified with Communist activities?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, I spoke of the agents with whom I have worked in the past 9 years, and I have found the great majority of them are generally loyal and hard working, and definitely frustrated in many cases.

Senator O'CONNOR. My question was whether you know of any persons within the governmental agencies who have been during their term of service active in Communist Party affairs or been identified with any of their activities.

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, I can name one; a person by the name of Jerre Mangione, whom I knew when I was in the party. I attended one literary meeting which, as far as I know, only Communists attended, and I saw no one there that was not a Communist.

Senator O'CONNOR. Was he in attendance?

Mr. RUSHMORE. He was there. Mangione also wrote for the Daily Worker and the New Masses, and he was a member of the League of American Writers, which the Attorney General has called a Communist organization.

Mr. DEKOM. Has he ever written anything concerning you?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Yes; as a matter of fact, he reviewed a short story of mine in the Daily Worker and praised it very highly.

Senator O'CONNOR. What position did Mangione hold with the Immigration Service?

Mr. RUSHMORE. In 1941 when I testified for the Immigration Service against Harry Bridges, in San Francisco, I was told by the FBI that the fellow handling public relations for the Bridges hearing was Jerre Mangione. I notified the FBI officials and immigration officials that I thought Mangione was either a Communist or a very close fellow-traveler. I was told that action would be taken.

Senator O'CONNOR. In what year?

Mr. RUSHMORE. In 1941.

Senator O'CONNOR. Had you said that it was prior to that that you had seen him in attendance at one of the meetings and been with him at one of the Communist meetings?

Mr. RUSHMORE. That was in 1937 or 1938, while I was a member of the Communist Party.

Senator O'CONNOR. I see.

MR. RUSHMORE. In 1941, as I said, he was handling public relations for the Justice Department in the Bridges hearing. A year after I told the Government agents about Mangione, I again approached immigration people and asked what they had done about him, because I learned that he was the No. 1 public relations director of the entire Immigration Service and editor of their monthly bulletin, a very important publication. They again said that action was being taken.

However, no action was taken until the early part of 1948, when I went to immigration people and said there has been a lapse here of 7 years and this person, who I am sure has followed the Communist Party line—at least when I knew him—is in this very important position in the Immigration Service where he possibly could influence various opinions and influence deportation or immigration of one type or another. I also said that I would like to see something done or else I would be forced to reveal in my newspaper that this information had been neglected, and deliberately so. Apparently, something was started then. I do not know whether I had anything to do with it or not, but Mangione was asked to resign and he did resign.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. In what year was that?

MR. RUSHMORE. In the early part of 1948.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Just last year.

MR. RUSHMORE. Yes; and when he did resign, he was given what you might call an honorable discharge with a letter of commendation.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. So, it is a fact that 10 or 11 years before his resignation or severance of connection, he, to your knowledge, was identified with Communist movements, and 7 years prior to that you had warned the governmental officials of his Communist leanings, or the fact he was following the party line?

MR. RUSHMORE. That is correct.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. What information, if any, have you regarding any one coming from abroad and having been referred to Jerre Mangione?

MR. RUSHMORE. Well, on one occasion, a person I knew in New York, an anti-Communist Austrian who had gotten newspaper work over here and had the question come up of possible deportation due to irregularities—not in his entry, I forget the technicalities, but his loyalty was not a matter of question—had been referred by immigration people to see Jerre Mangione. They said, "He is our press agent, and he will take good care of you." I told this person I thought Mangione was the last person that he should see.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. So he was an anti-Communist, he had been referred to Mangione who was at that time still employed by the Federal Government?

MR. RUSHMORE. That is right. He was at the time.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. You mentioned previously, Mr. Rushmore, that you had gone out of the country in order to acquire information and to follow leads; you mentioned specifically Alaska. What, if anything, did you learn regarding any Communist activities there?

MR. RUSHMORE. That was last fall, when I went to Alaska for the Journal American. The Communist apparatus in Alaska is strictly an underground movement. They make no pretense of having an open organization. Their entire aim and activity there is one of espionage and they work particularly through unions which are under Communist control.

I might add, in one case, that a former Daily Worker staff member, whom I knew personally, is now running a fishing fleet off Alaskan waters where he could be in contact with Russian submarines or Russian ships. I knew him, to my own knowledge, to be a member of the Communist Party. He was under the tutelage, he told me, of James S. Allen, who at that time had just come back from the Far East, where he was a Communist International representative in Hawaii and the Philippines. So, it is an interlocking device there, and it makes me suspect that.

MR. DEKOM. That is Lowell Wakefield.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. At the time of your visit there, or from any information gained subsequently, are you aware of the extent of operations of the United States in the outlay of financial funds for national defense in that area?

MR. RUSHMORE. It is pitifully inadequate, that was readily ascertainable; not only in national defense, as far as planes are concerned and radar and housing, but particularly in defense of that Territory from Communist espionage. I think that there are around three or four FBI men in the whole Territory. Army Intelligence does not have the personnel, and, while they are all doing a grand job, they just do not have the personnel to handle such a situation.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Now, Mr. Rushmore, coming back and directing your attention specifically to the provisions of S. 1832 and the purpose of that proposed legislation; from all of the information that you have, is there any further suggestion you could make as to the need for a tightening of the country's immigration laws and as to whether there is a present necessity for improvement of the statutes in connection with immigration?

MR. RUSHMORE. I think the Gerhart Eisler case is a classical example of why we need this law and other laws. The case of Mrs. Browder, which I have cited, is another one. The alien Communists I knew while in the party were able to jump to Mexico while the heat was on and to come back when the heat was off. Immigration, to the Communist Party in this country, has been a mockery. They have been able to come and go almost at will.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Do you feel that if the provisions of this bill were in effect that it would make possible the expeditious handling of deportation cases, and more especially, that it would prevent the entry into the country of those who have no right here?

MR. RUSHMORE. On the basis of my experience and knowledge, I would say this bill is one of the most important bills before Congress. It is of extreme importance to our national defense.

MR. DEKOM. To pursue further the thought that the Senator expressed, is it not one of the difficulties or one of the facts that you noticed in the party, that aliens, even though under deportation proceedings, sometimes for 2 or 3 years due to appeals and delays, could carry on their activities, anyway?

MR. RUSHMORE. Yes; that has been almost a regular occurrence. Nine years ago Mrs. Browder was ordered deported. There have been cases going back for 15 years, and they are still in this country. Gerhart Eisler, who undoubtedly was a Communist International representative, was allowed to stump the country for 2 years, making speeches and raising money while out on bail.

MR. DEKOM. Would you consider that provision of S. 1832 of particular importance; the one that provides for expeditious handling?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Of very grave importance.

Mr. DEKOM. You made the statement that you believed Earl Browder was being held in reserve for another flip-flop of the Communist Party line. Is that not standard operating procedure, as exemplified by Maxim Litvinov?

Mr. RUSHMORE. That would be a Russian example and an American example would be Browder, who represented for a number of years the pro-New-Deal-appeasement Wall Street policy of the Communist Party. As soon as Stalin decides to retreat to that position, which he might very well do, the present leadership will be removed and Browder will be brought back. That would be my guess.

Mr. DEKOM. You also discussed the subject of religion, and made the statement that what the party says and what the party does are two different things. How does the present murder and torture of clergymen and restriction of the churches in iron-curtain Europe fit into the pattern?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I would say that that is an example of carrying out to the practical level the Marxian theory of religion being "the opium of the people."

Mr. DEKOM. Would you say that is standard operating procedure, that they will do the same wherever they get power?

Mr. RUSHMORE. They will carry this out wherever they get power.

Mr. DEKOM. They destroy churches everywhere? If they were to get into power in this country, would that be their same activity here?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Ultimately, yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any knowledge of persons or any information concerning persons who are connected with any international organizations?

Mr. RUSHMORE. Well, the UN, for example. We have Norman Corwin, who I understand is doing some writing for the UN, and he is a veteran of 20 or 30 Communist fronts. I cannot say of my own knowledge that he is a member, but I can say that it is not important to the Communist Party whether he is or not. He has served them well and faithfully.

There is also Victor A. Yakhontoff, so-called Russian general, who has equally served the Communist Party in many front organizations, and this fellow in the International Children's Organization.¹ He has rather an odd record of coming here and attaching himself to Polish and Chinese immunity, and apparently at times being an anti-Communist, and at other times being willing to collaborate with the Moscow puppet government in Poland to the extent that the Immigration Service is very suspecting of his real intentions.

I would say that a close scrutiny of the UN would find that the Communist International has used that as an ideal organization for them to infiltrate and bore from within. I am not saying the UN is a Communist International organization—far from it—but it is an ideal apparatus for the Communist Party to infiltrate, even as the CIO was. It is set up for them to go into and to achieve some results from it.

Mr. DEKOM. Does the name, Dave Katz, mean anything to you?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I knew a person by the name of Dave Katz when I was on the Daily Worker. In fact, I used to give him assignments. He, at that time, was working on one of the New York non-Communist

¹ Ludwig Rajchman, chairman of the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund.

papers and he had to show me his party card to get these assignments. Anyone working for the Worker, even on that basis, had to be a member of the Communist Party. I believe that Katz later became a leg man, as we say, or a reporter, for Drew Pearson. At the time I knew him he was a Communist.

Mr. DEKOM. What name does he go under now? Do you know that?

Mr. RUSHMORE. I believe he uses the name of Karr.

Senator O'CONNOR. I think that that will conclude the hearing for today. The subcommittee will resume hearings tomorrow at 10:30 in the morning.

Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, the hearing in the above-entitled matter was recessed until 10:30 a. m., of the following day.)

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1949

Senator O'CONNOR. The committee will please come to order.

It is my understanding that Mr. Rushmore desires to make a comment or two regarding developments of yesterday. Is that correct, Mr. Rushmore?

Mr. RUSHMORE. That is correct, Senator.

Senator O'CONNOR. What is your desire and request in that respect?

Mr. RUSHMORE. There was a mistake made in the reporting of my testimony yesterday. It was a natural mistake and one that I have often made as a newspaperman. I would like to have the record show that I did not attribute my quotation about Browder visiting the White House to Benjamin Gitlow. I will read from record page 777 of my testimony:

At that time, 1944, her husband—
referring to Mrs. Earl Browder—

was the national secretary of the Communist Party and, I might add, from other sources I learned that about that time Browder was also meeting secretly on occasion with President Roosevelt in the White House.

I would like to also add—in view of a denial issued late yesterday—that before an executive session of another committee, Browder himself rather boastfully said he had met with President Roosevelt during the war in the White House.

Senator O'CONNOR. Specifically, you desire it to be stated that it was not directly from Gitlow that the information was received; is that right?

Mr. RUSHMORE. It did not come at all from him. I do not want him to suffer from anything like that. As far as I know, he knows nothing about that.

Senator O'CONNOR. Very well.

(Following is additional material received from the witness and ordered made part of the record:)

NEW YORK JOURNAL AMERICAN,
New York, N. Y., October 5, 1949.

Senator HERBERT R. O'CONNOR,
Senate Subcommittee on Immigration,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: As you may recall, I testified before your subcommittee last month and included in my testimony a statement that Earl Browder met with the late President Roosevelt in the White House during the war.

Miss Grace Tully, former secretary to the late President, in effect denied the truth of my statement. I am enclosing a letter from the Hon. John J. O'Connor, former chairman of the House Rules Committee which, I believe, backs up my testimony. I asked for and received permission from Mr. O'Connor to make this letter public and the New York Journal-American reprinted it. My thought is that, if you think it proper, that the letter be appended in the record of my testimony.

Sincerely,

HOWARD RUSHMORE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 19, 1949.*

MR. HOWARD RUSHMORE,

New York Journal-American, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. RUSHMORE: Some newspapers of the 16th, carried a story that Miss Grace Tully, one of several former secretaries to President F. D. Roosevelt, had denied your statement, before a Senate committee, that Earl Browder, then head of the Communist Party in the United States, met with the President in the White House. Miss Tully, a very charming lady, stated, it is reported, that Browder never was in the White House, because she kept a record of all the President's visitors.

Miss Tully never knew the fact, or was not supposed to know, or has forgotten, because during the years 1933-39, when I often visited the White House, as a Member of Congress, and later as chairman of the Rules Committee, I saw Browder there on several occasions.

In fact, during the President's "purge" of 1938, Browder directed purge operations from the White House, from which he telephoned instructions, from time to time.

The visitors' records might well not show him as a caller, for the reason that he could enter the White House, at any time, and through any door and without any invitation. Such an "open door policy" toward him was often the subject of comment among Democratic congressional, and other leaders, who were obliged to make an appointment, in order to see the President.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN J. O'CONNOR.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Herbert R. O'Connor presiding.

Present: Senator O'Connor.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

TESTIMONY OF LARRY E. KERLEY, EDITORIAL STAFF, NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, Mr. Kerley, will you raise your right hand? In the presence of Almighty God, do you swear that the evidence you shall give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. KERLEY. I do.

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you state your full name?

Mr. KERLEY. Larry E. Kerley.

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, Mr. Kerley, what is your present position?

Mr. KERLEY. I am on the editorial staff of the New York Journal-American.

Senator O'CONNOR. Prior to assuming that position, had you ever been connected with any of the governmental agencies?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes; I was with the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1937 to 1945.

Senator O'CONNOR. How long have you been in your present position?

Mr. KERLEY. One year.

Senator O'CONNOR. What positions did you hold between 1945 and 1948?

Mr. KERLEY. I had my own business in Kentucky?

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, Mr. Kerley, are you an attorney?

Mr. KERLEY. I am a law graduate.

Senator O'CONNOR. Mr. Kerley, it is the desire of the committee at this stage to interrogate you and to have the benefit of any testimony you are in a position to give regarding espionage on the part of agents or representatives of the Soviet Government. Are you in a position to inform the committee in regard to that subject matter?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes; I am. I will be very happy to do so.

Senator O'CONNOR. It is also our intention to seek any information you may have regarding the necessity for amending the present immigration laws, with specific reference to any tightening of those laws governing the admission or stay in this country of aliens. Are you in a position to state to the committee whether there have been any abuses of present laws or whether the laws, in your opinion, are so lax as to enable representatives of foreign countries who are intent upon activities prejudicial to the welfare of the United States to gain entrance to this country?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes; I am, Senator.

Senator O'CONNOR. All right; will you proceed, then? I understand you have a prepared statement. Will you just proceed to give it? Then we will want to interrogate you with regard to certain phases of the matter.

Mr. KERLEY. In my opinion, our immigration and naturalization laws are woefully inadequate in protecting our national security. I base this opinion on the ease with which international Communist leaders who are aliens have had in entering this country.

The aliens brought into this country by the Communist International or Comintern are the most dangerous aliens in this country. The manner in which Russia is able to get by our immigration laws outside of diplomatic immunity is perhaps best described by Gen. W. G. Krivitsky in his book titled "In Stalin's Secret Service." Krivitsky was Stalin's former chief of Soviet intelligence in western Europe, who left Stalin's service in 1937 and fled to the United States.

After Krivitsky's arrival in this country he wrote a number of articles in the Saturday Evening Post as well as the above-mentioned book in which he exposed the treachery of the Soviet Government. In speaking of the Comintern, Krivitsky wrote:

The heart of the Comintern is the little-known and never-publicized International Liaison Section, known by its Russian initials as the OMS.¹

The passport division of the OMS, unlike the OGPU and military intelligence, does not actually manufacture passports. It gets genuine documents whenever possible and doctors them according to requirements. In obtaining passports it draws upon the fanatical zeal of Communist members and sympathizers. If the OMS representative in the United States requires two American passports for Comintern agents in China, he communicates with his man in the American Communist Party. This latter obtains genuine United States passports from party members or sympathizers. The OMS staff then removes the photographs, substitutes others and skillfully makes the other necessary changes.

Continuing, Krivitsky writes:

Moscow has always been fond of American passports. * * * It is not unusual for the OMS representative or OGPU representative to send batches of American passports to Moscow where the central OMS office has a staff of about 10 people engaged in fixing such documents according to the Comintern needs.

Krivitsky at one time was relating a conversation that he had with Stalin in the middle thirties when he told Stalin how easy it is to become a naturalized citizen in this country. Krivitsky stated that Stalin jumped to his feet and exclaimed:

Well, good, let's send 25,000 men over as soon as we can and get them naturalized.

¹ *Otdel Mezhdunarodnoi Svyazi.*

You will recall that Krivitsky met his death under mysterious circumstances here in Washington, D. C., after testifying before a congressional committee on his knowledge of Soviet espionage and activities in this country.

Mr. DEKOM. Has that murder ever been solved?

Mr. KERLEY. No; it has not officially.

Most of the Soviet espionage directed against the United States during the last war was directed through diplomatic personnel and trade and economic missions. Some of the Soviet agents, however, entered the country via fraudulent passports.

One of the most dangerous Russian agents entering this country under the latter classification was Arthur Alexandrovich Adams. Adams was the head of one espionage group that was attempting to steal the secrets of the atom bomb long before the bomb was ever perfected. My recollection of Arthur Adams' espionage activities and others that I shall name is as follows:

Arthur Adams was in the United States prior to 1921 when he went back to Russia with the Ludwig Martens party. He returned to the United States in the twenties and thirties as a representative of Amtorg, a Soviet purchasing agency located in New York City. As a cover for his espionage activities he entered the United States at Buffalo, N. Y., in 1938 on a fraudulent Canadian birth certificate obtained through M. S. Milestone, of Toronto, Canada, who was later identified in Canadian spy trials as a Canadian Red.

In 1938 Adams established technical laboratories with James Broches Aronoff, New York attorney of Russian birth. Later Adams furnished a California Communist with about \$2,000 in cash, with instructions that a weekly check should be sent to Adams as a cover for employment. Later still, Adams used the offices of the Electronics Corp. of America whose president was Sam Novick; and a subsidiary of this company, the Keynote Recording Co., whose president was Eric Bernay. The Electronics Corp. of America was engaged in making radar equipment for the Navy during the war. Both Novick and Bernay have been active in pro-Communist activities for many years.

The base of operation for the atom bomb spy ring in New York was the jewelry store of Victoria Stone on Madison Avenue. Adams resided part time in the apartment of Victoria Stone and part time at the Peter Cooper Hotel. In 1943 Adams was observed making contact with one Clarence Hiskey, a scientist employed on the Manhattan project at the University of Chicago. Soon thereafter classified information was found in the possession of Arthur Adams.

In order to get Hiskey away from his highly secret work, the Army called Hiskey to service on a Reserve commission which he held in the Army. According to the public testimony of another Manhattan-project scientist, John H. Chapin, Hiskey contacted Chapin when Hiskey was called to the service and requested Chapin to meet Arthur Adams, a Russian agent, and furnish Adams whatever information he desired in the future. Chapin agreed to carry out Clarence Hiskey's request and subsequently had meetings with Arthur Adams. Chapin has testified that he got cold feet and did not furnish Adams any atom bomb data.

Adams' contacts from then on included Marsha Sands Hiskey, of Brooklyn, wife of Clarence; Miriam Rebecca Sherwood, Clarence

Hiskey's close friend at the University of Chicago, who transferred to Columbia University atomic project after Hiskey left (who since the war has married Hiskey); Victoria Stone; Julius Heiman, father of Beatrice Heiman. Beatrice Heiman was a former one-time secretary to Constantin Oumansky and later a Tass correspondent in Washington and, in 1945 with the Jewish Telegraph Agency, Washington. Also, Julia Dorn, wife of Minter Wood, employed in the Department of State.

Dr. Joseph Benjamin Stenbuck visited Victoria Stone's apartment. He was involved in Soviet military intelligence activities in the early thirties. A California attorney stated that Victoria Stone in the thirties asked his aid in getting legal services for Valentine Gregory Burton, who had been convicted of distributing counterfeit money made in Russia. Philip M. Levy, South Orange, N. J., was a contact of Victoria Stone. Levy provided business cover for Leon Josephson, former New Jersey lawyer, who operated Cafe Society Uptown and Cafe Society Downtown in New York City.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he involved in a trial for contempt of Congress and passport fraud?

Mr. KERLEY. Over a year ago. A short while ago, he finished a year's sentence for contempt of a congressional committee for refusing to testify.

Josephson traveled to Copenhagen with George Mink, a GPU agent, and both were arrested by Danish police charged with Soviet espionage. Josephson was released; Mink deported to the Soviet Union. Levy was used as a depository for Soviet intelligence documents. The immigration and naturalization file of Leon Josephson was found in Levy's home.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Kerley, was that the file of the Immigration and Naturalization Service?

Mr. KERLEY. That was the official file of the Immigration and Naturalization Service which was found in Philip Levy's home.

Mr. DEKOM. How did it get there?

Mr. KERLEY. We don't know. We know it was there. Levy had a textile business on Leonard Street in New York City.

Eric Bernay, previously referred to, attempted to help Adams escape his surveillance in New York City in January or February 1945. By subterfuge, Adams temporarily escaped surveillance, was met by Bernay within a matter of minutes and left New York City, but both were identified in the railroad station at Chicago when they alighted from their train. Adams continued to Portland, Oreg., where he attempted to board a Russian ship, but was surrounded by FBI agents before he reached the gangplank. Prior to Adams' reaching Portland, we had instructions from Washington that the State Department had ordered that Adams should not be arrested for espionage, but that, due to the highly secret information that had been found in his possession, he should not be permitted to leave the country. Our office in New York City obtained a secret warrant for Adams' arrest, charging him with a violation of some minor Federal crime. We were instructed that the Department of Justice had State Department orders that no arrest whatever was to be made unless it was necessary to prevent Adams leaving the country. Adams was not arrested, and it is my information that he subsequently escaped surveillance again and presumably is safely back in Russia.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you personally participate in the investigation of that matter?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes, sir. I was engaged in the surveillance of Adams and the contacts that he made.

Senator O'CONNOR. While you indicate that you were engaged in surveillance, did you actually follow him across the country or any part of it?

Mr. KERLEY. As a matter of course, that was taken up by different offices as he went across.

Senator O'CONNOR. Were you participating in any part of that?

Mr. KERLEY. No. He was not located until he got to Chicago.

Senator O'CONNOR. I mean from Chicago, west?

Mr. KERLEY. The Chicago agents took him from Chicago to Denver, and the Denver agents took him from Denver to Portland.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is there any information on that matter that you can add by way of elaboration?

Mr. KERLEY. No arrests were ever made in the case. Clarence Hiskey is out of the Army and has testified that he is a teacher in the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. Hiskey was a contact of Adams.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know the details of how he escaped surveillance the first time?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes; I do.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you recall those for the committee, please?

Mr. KERLEY. I recall that I was on the surveillance until 4 p. m. on a Saturday afternoon. The relief that took the surveillance from us was outside Victoria Stone's apartment about 1 o'clock the following Sunday morning.

He left Victoria Stone's apartment with her dog on a leash and without a hat and coat, and walked on a one-way street up to Fifth Avenue. The surveilling agents' car was parked in the opposite direction. As Adams got to the middle of Fifth Avenue, he hailed a floating cab and got out of sight before another cab was available and before the agents' car could be brought around.

Apparently he contacted Bernay within a question of minutes as they were out of New York City on the New York Central line. They were picked up at the station in Chicago, in the middle of the afternoon of the same Sunday as they alighted from the train there.

Mr. ARENS. What interpretation do you place upon the order which I understood you to say came down through the State Department to the effect that Adams was not to be interned?

Mr. KERLEY. Of course, at that time we were still in the war and Russia was our ally. It was simply a matter of policy of the State Department that none of Russia's espionage agents were to be arrested.

Mr. ARENS. Would you repeat that again, please? I did not quite understand you.

Mr. KERLEY. Russia was our ally in the war which was at that time still going on, so that it was a question of State Department policy as to why we were not permitted to arrest a known espionage agent.

Mr. ARENS. To your knowledge, was it due to State Department policy that a known espionage agent of the Soviet Union was not to be arrested?

Mr. KERLEY. Those were our instructions.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know any other case similar to this case in which the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the Justice Department was directed through the State Department not to intern a known Soviet agent?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes; I have had an experience in another case.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell us about that case?

Mr. KERLEY. Another case involving interference of the State Department in the arrest of a Soviet espionage agent in this country was that of Andrei I. Schevchenko. This Russian agent entered the United States in 1942, representing the aviation department, Soviet Purchasing Commission. For a time, he was assigned as a liaison man with the Bell Aircraft Co., Buffalo, from the Soviet Purchasing Commission. Schevchenko approached loyal American citizens and requested classified data on a new type of airplane which the Bell Aircraft Co. was developing. These loyal Americans, Leona Vivian Franey, Joseph John Franey, and Loren G. Hass, at considerable risk to their personal safety and under the supervision of the FBI, built up a strong espionage case against Andrei V. Schevchenko. Again, the State Department would not permit an arrest, and Schevchenko left the United States in January 1946.

I was also assigned to check on another spy "apparatus" with headquarters on Perry Street, New York City. This was the home of a woman named Lydia Altschuler. Her home was a base of operation for a Communist International group which was attempting to assassinate Frank Jackson, the murderer of Leon Trotsky in Mexico City in 1940.

The FBI had information that representatives of this espionage group had offered a Mexican prison official a bribe of \$25,000 for permission to a Comintern agent to approach Jackson closely enough to kill him. Secret writings in letters addressed to the Altschuler "apparatus" showed a detailed plan for Jackson's assassination. This was mainly a Russian secret-police operation—a "Red Murder, Inc."

West-coast Communist espionage centered in Gregori Markovich Kheifets, Soviet vice consul at San Francisco. He came to the United States in 1941 and left for Russia July 6, 1944. In San Francisco, he used the cover name "Mr. Brown." Born in Moscow May 15, 1899, he performed special work in Germany for the Russians from 1934 to 1938, turning up many of the names who became victims of the Russian blood purge in 1938. He claimed to have been at one time the secretary to the widow of Lenin. Kheifets operated an illegal radio station from his consulate, making contact with similar station in the New York consulate and another near Moscow. It was monitored as early as 1943, with both the War Department and State Department aware of it. He was given an NKVD inspection, along with other Russian set-ups in this country and Mexico, in 1943. Olga Khlopkova, clerk in the consulate under Kheifets, was an NKVD agent.

Mail drops and contacts from Mexico operated through this consulate and included:

The wife of Capt. Sidney Leon Bogel, United States Army Medical Corps, and Ruth Beverley Wilson, wife of Jacob Epstein, Abraham Lincoln Brigade veteran. Ruth Wilson was a visiting nurse. Epstein had a business cover in James Lewis Marcus of the Aldon Rug Mills, New York City. Other mail drops were Pauline Baskind, wife

of Albert Saul Baskind, New York attorney; Frances Silverman, a member of the teachers' union, New York City; Helen Levi Simon, columnist on the Daily Worker (Simon acted as financial transfer agent in sending \$3,700 through Chase National Bank to Enrique de los Rios in Mexico City during the successful plot to murder Trotsky); Louis S. Bloch, a New York motion-picture operator.

In close contact with Kheifets during the war period (1943 on) was Steve Nelson, member of the national committee of the Communist Party. In his operations in the United States he has used the aliases Stephen Mesarosh, Steve J. Mesarosh, Joseph Fleischinger, Louis Evans, and "Hugo," his cover name in contacts with the Kheifets consulate and staff. Nelson was born in Yugoslavia in 1903 and arrived in the United States June 14, 1920, an illegal entry under the name of Joseph Fleischinger, later legalized by order of the Immigration Service, November 21, 1922. He became an American citizen by naturalization in Detroit on November 26, 1928. Nelson attended the Lenin School in Moscow in the 1930's and in August 1931 asked for a United States passport, claiming Rankin, Pa., as his place of birth. In July 1933, he filed for a 2-year passport renewal at Vienna, stating he had lived in Russia from September 1931 to May 1933, and in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria from May 1933 to July 1933.

Confidential information is that Nelson told friends he had worked in China for 3 months in 1933, on business for the Comintern, with a coworker named Arthur Ewert, who was later jailed in Brazil in 1935 for Communist work there. Whatever discrepancies developed there, Nelson was back in the United States in 1934.

Still later, Nelson served with the communist brigades in Spain. At a meeting of leaders of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Nelson said, "We can't expect Roosevelt and Churchill to promise socialism. Now we must defeat Hitlerism-Fascism. We may have to take guns against the United States and England later."

April 10, 1943, Nelson was at his home in Oakland, Calif., when he was visited by Zubelin (NKVD) using the cover name of "Cooper." Nelson told Zubelin he was working on secret work for the Soviets under authority of a note from Moscow, delivered by courier, with the knowledge of Earl Browder. Nelson discussed with Zubelin the "apparatus" personnel on the west coast, principally using cover names. Nelson protested that representatives from Russia came to California to Communist members, using the proper "greeting identification" and insisted that such a system was dangerous. He urged establishment of a single clearance in each major city for such instructions. He charged inefficient work by Getzel Hochberg and Mordecai Rappaport, two Soviet agents. Later Hochberg was transferred from New York to Detroit, and Rappaport from San Francisco to Los Angeles.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Kerley, you said that Steve Nelson attended the Lenin Institute. Will you identify that.

Mr. KERLEY. The Lenin Institute is the training school for representatives of the Communist International in revolutionary activity, world revolutionary activity.

Mr. DEKOM. Would that include uprisings and sabotage?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes; uprisings, sabotage, and all means of taking over communications.

Mr. DEKOM. And Nelson is trained in these particular activities?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes; he certainly is an expert.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any information concerning his assignment in Pittsburgh?

Mr. KERLEY. Nelson is at the present time the Communist Party organizer for western Pennsylvania.

Senator O'CONNOR. Where are his activities centered?

Mr. KERLEY. His activities are centered principally in the foreign-language groups or foreign-speaking groups and in his work in the American Slav Congress.

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you give some details on the object of his work.

Mr. KERLEY. The various Slavic minority groups, the foreign-language-speaking groups, were brought together when the American Slav Congress was organized. That is a Communist-front organization directed by the leading Communists in this country. It has a membership of over 20,000 members. Of particular significance is the fact that most of its membership is employed in the skilled and heavy industries where they could do the maximum damage to American industry in the event of a war with Russia.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the point in sending a person with a knowledge of revolutionary tactics and sabotage into an industrial area?

Mr. KERLEY. I think that is a very good indication of how important Nelson is to the party movement as a Comintern representative in this country; that is, the fact that he was sent into the heavy-industry section to organize the workers there.

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you proceed, please.

Mr. KERLEY. Nelson principally used the courier system for transmitting espionage information. One of the contacts in New York City was Doris Silver also known as Doris Silver Amatniek, a City College of New York student, who passed the documents on to the espionage chief in the East or to a British merchant-marine officer who contacted her frequently at her apartment in New York City. Vassili M. Zubelin was head of the NKVD foreign-information service from 1942 to 1944, in charge of illegal movements of aliens in and out of this country. His aliases included V. Zarukin, Vassili Luchenke, and Cooper. He was appointed third secretary of the Soviet Embassy, Washington, in January 1942, and later became second secretary. His wife, Elizabetha Yurovna Zubelin, also conducted espionage contacts with Communist women in this country. Working with the Zubelin "apparatus" in this country were:

Alexander Bittelmann, aliases Uscher (?) Bittelmacher, Isidore Spilberg, Nathan William Kweit, Ralph V. Barnes, born Kiev, Russia. He had a fraudulent United States passport from 1925 to 1929 for travel in India and contacts with Communists there. He is presently under deportation warrant.

Senator O'CONNOR. For how long do you know that the deportation warrant has been outstanding?

Mr. KERLEY. I don't have the exact date, Senator.

Senator O'CONNOR. In other words, has it been a matter of months?

Mr. KERLEY. It is a matter of a short while.

Continuing, there was Ralph Bowman, alias Rudy Baker, American Communist, who attended the Lenin School in Moscow in 1929

using the cover name "Al." He was head of the Comintern "apparatus" in this country from 1942 to 1944. His closest associates were Nelson, Bittelman, Hochberg, Alexander Trachtenberg, Earl Browder, and Mrs. Earl Browder (Raissa Irene Berkman, Soviet citizen).

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Kerley, are many or any of these people at the present time officials of the Communist Party or former officials of the Communist Party?

Mr. KERLEY. They were all important members of the Communist Party of the United States at the time.

Mr. DEKOM. So they, to a large extent, form the Politburo of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. KERLEY. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. And your testimony is that these people were engaged in espionage activities on behalf of the Soviet Union?

Mr. KERLEY. And they were taking orders from the Communist representative who was sent from Moscow.

Mr. DEKOM. He was sent from Moscow?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. He was not an American citizen?

Mr. KERLEY. Ralph Bowman had spent a great deal of time in America, but he was a Lenin-trained Comintern agent.

Continuing, Earl Browder (aliases George Morris, Nicholas Dozenberg, Albert Henry Richards, Henry Richards, Irl Broder (American record voluminous), general secretary of the Communist Party at that time.

Grace Granich, native-born New Yorker, president and treasurer of Intercontinent News Corp. until it was ordered dissolved by the Department of Justice in 1944. She was a contact of Robert Magidoff and his wife, Neolina Magidoff. Her husband, Max Granich, associated with Philip Jaffe (Amerasia case¹) and was mail drop for Communists operating in the Orient. He was told to get latest news from the Orient from John Stewart Service (State Department), returning from the Orient in spring of 1945.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the same John Stewart Service who is now special assistant to the Chief of the Policy Planning Staff, Division of Foreign Service Personnel?

Mr. KERLEY. I understand that that is his present position.

Max Granich is the brother of Mike Gold, columnist on the Daily Worker.

Lement Upham Harris, of Chappaqua, N. Y., native-born American, was ostensibly "research worker" for Farm Research, New York. Actually he was treasurer of secret funds used by the Communist Party in this country for undercover operations in 1945. Known contacts of Louise Bransten were Gerhart Eisler, Grace Granich, Joseph Brodsky, William Z. Foster, Al Landy, and Trachtenberg, to name a few of the more important.

Getzel Hochberg (alias Joe Hochberg), of Detroit, Mich., was born in Vilna, Poland, and naturalized. He once was employed by Morn-

¹This is a reference to the case of Philip Jaffee, editor of the magazine Amerasia, who was arrested in 1945 and fined following the finding in the offices of the publication of a quantity of classified documents from the Department of State. A total of six persons were arrested in connection with the Amerasia case, including John Stewart Service of the State Department.

ing Freedom Publishing Co., New York, and traveled with Browder throughout the United States after Browder's release from Atlanta. After Nelson's protest to Zubelin, Hochberg went to Detroit, was stripped of party responsibilities, and went into the plumbing business. He later went back into party work in connection with the International Workers' Order.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you identify that organization?

Mr. KERLEY. That is a Communist-front organization, a fraternal organization, offering insurance to its members at very low rates. It was organized as a Communist front, I believe, in 1929.

Mr. DEKOM. Among what groups of people does it specialize?

Mr. KERLEY. The foreign-language groups.

Felix Kusman, alias Johannes Kuunsmann and John Felix, Estonian alien of the Bronx, N. Y., "social worker" for United American Spanish-Aid Committee, and captain in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain; close contact of Nelson and Louise Bransten.

Max Bedacht, alias Max Bedock, Max Becht, John Marshall, Charles Marshall, John Braum, H. M. Sabath, German-born naturalized, is an old-line Communist, secretary of International Workers Order for years. Two former Russian espionage agents with the Communist espionage organization in this country say he put them in touch with Communist espionage organizations. Instructor at Jefferson School and on board of People's Radio Foundation, organized November 1944 to own and operate FM stations, all charter members of People's Radio Foundation being Communists or Communist frontiers.

Mr. DEKOM. What was the purpose of owning FM stations?

Mr. KERLEY. They sought to get a network for communicating their codes and espionage information.

Louise Rosenberg Bransten (Bransten), born Berkeley, Calif., October 10, 1908. Independently wealthy, income \$40,000 a year or more. Divorced wife of Richard Bransten, alias Bruce Minton, Communist writer. She met Gregori Kheifets in November 1942 and was subsequently a constant associate of his in his NKVD activities. Primarily interested in the American-Russian Institute, her contacts include: Haakon Chevalier, professor of Romance languages, University of California; Joe North, editor of New Masses; Earl Browder, William Browder, Lement Upham Harris, Gerhart Eisler, Felix Kusman, Charles Albert Page, in 1945 assistant cultural attaché, United States Embassy, Paris. She entertained Dmitri Manuilski, principal Soviet representative at the UN Conference on International Organization, at her home in San Francisco in 1945. In New York, in 1945, she established contact with Pavel Mikhailov, acting consul general for the Soviet Union and head of Red Army espionage in the United States.

Kheifets' contacts from the San Francisco consulate and elsewhere:

Martin David Kamen, alias Martin David Kametsky, naturalized and of Russian descent; employed at University of California radiation laboratory.

Alfred George Marshak, native-born of Russian parentage; formerly in medical research at radiation laboratory of University of California.

Ralph Havelson Gundlach, formerly of University of California, and (1945) associate professor of psychology at University of Washington.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the same Ralph Havelson Gundlach who was discharged from the University of Washington for being a Communist Party member?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes. That is within the last year, I believe.

Jerome Rubin Vinograd, American-born of Russian parents, research chemist for Shell Development Co. laboratory at Emeryville, Calif. (1945).

James Walter Miller, aliases Solomon Margolin, Victor Milaw, James W. Millaw, Sirkin Milawsky, Victor Milo, A. Victor, naturalized, of Russian birth; from August 1942 to February 1944 a translator in the office of postal censorship, San Francisco.

Arsenijus Kousaras, alias Arseny Nicholas Kovshar, Soviet alien, born Harbin, Manchuria; selling out vessels for Soviet use by General Petroleum Co. in California, most business through Soviet Purchasing Commission.

Isaac Folkoff, several aliases, naturalized Latvian, ostensibly in clothing business, controls party secret funds in California; has been seen taking manila envelopes to meetings with Nelson, Haakon Chevalier, and William Schneiderman (head of Communist Party in California) and Kheifets, with Kheifets leaving the meeting with the envelopes.

Eric Francil Coghill, native Australian, claiming naturalization through his father; operates an electrical business in San Francisco and is an expert in all forms of electrical communication; access (1945) to Army, Navy, and merchant vessels on San Francisco waterfront.

Dr. Charles Gurchot, alias Abel Gurchowich, naturalized Frenchman; instructor in pharmacology at University of California Medical School. Research expert on treatment of wounds and venereal disease.

All the above were San Francisco contacts of Kheifets, and when he left to return to Russia he turned them over to his successor, Gregori Pavlovich Kasparov, specifically introducing Kasparov to Martin Kamen Jerome and Louise Bransten. Kasparov remained only a short time, going to Mexico City after the death of Constantin Oumansky.

Kheifets' contacts in Los Angeles area were:

Leo Daniel Levanas, naturalized Lithuanian, chemist for Shell Petroleum Co.

Amadeo Sabatini, American-born Italian with citizenship through father, served with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; exchanged envelopes and packages on the streets of Los Angeles with Kheifets.

Mr. DEKOM. Was the Abraham Lincoln Brigade controlled by the Communists?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes; that was a Communist-front organization.

During contact period, Sabatini was employed by the Bohn Aluminum & Brass Co., engaged in manufacture of shapes for aircraft plants throughout the country.

Omnik Sergei Kapantsell, alias Jerry Armand, naturalized Russian, employed at American Stamping & Manufacturing Co. in Los Angeles; with access to confidential blueprints of aircraft then under construction at various southern California plants.

Peter Alexandrovich Beliasv, inspector for the Soviet Purchasing Commission for Douglas and North American Aircraft.

Alexander Petrovich Grachev, employed by the Soviet Purchasing Commission as port engineer.

Ivan Illa Pilipenko, first assistant vice consul at Los Angeles.

Olga Valentinovna Khlopkova, clerical employee in office of the vice consul at Los Angeles until 1944, when she went to Russia and then back to the consulate in New York. Kheifets paid various sums of money to her as NKVD agent on visits to Los Angeles from San Francisco.

Robin Kinkaid, in the Office of War Information as propaganda analyst. He was in the Soviet Union in 1929 as a writer.

James Popin, Jr., Russian parentage, in the transport service, Fort Mason.

Dr. Louis Bloch, War Manpower Commission office in San Francisco and Los Angeles, a contact of Kheifets.

Philip Eugene Lilienthal, San Francisco Language Section of OWI as a Chinese specialist; also a contact of Louise Branston.

James William Lewis, in the Army in 1945. Had been State Department code clerk 1935 to 1942, and in October 1943, coming back from Russia for Army draft, he carried a letter to Zubelin.

Charles Albert Page, a former assistant cultural attaché, Embassy, Paris, as State Department employee, and was a contact of Alexander Stevens; he also knew Mary Losey, Soviet recruiter in office of Canadian National Film Bureau in Washington. Page was a registered and paid-up member of the Communist Party in 1942 and 1943, while employed by the Department of State.

The top-ranking Russian personnel in the United States in 1945 were as follows:

Mikhail V. Serov, a representative in the United States of the All-Union Party of Bolsheviks.¹ He outranked all Communist intelligence agents in this country except those working on direct Moscow missions.

Vassili M. Zubelin, head of the NKVD foreign information service and in charge of illegal movements of aliens in and out of foreign countries; he was in this country from January 1942 to the latter half of 1944 as Second Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

His wife, Elizabetha Yurevana Zubelin, also made espionage contacts with Communist women in this country.

Gen. Ilya Saraev, head of espionage in the United States for the Red Army. He was Soviet Military Attaché during the war.

Aide and keyman to Saraev, Pavel P. Mikhailov, then acting consul general in New York City.

Col. A. I. Sorvin, tank department of Soviet Purchasing Commission and key aide to Saraev.

Pavel Klarin, Soviet vice consul in New York City, specifically responsible under Zubelin for bringing agents illegally into United States.

Gregori Markovic Kheifets, Soviet vice consul at San Francisco; he operated an illegal radio from the San Francisco consulate to Soviet consulate in New York and another outside Moscow.

Leonid Ramanovich Krasniko, engineer for Amtorg, assistant to Zubelin and Colonel Sorvin in technical information.

Andrew Ivanovich Schevchenko, previously referred to, agent of Soviet Purchasing Commission, and Zubelin operative under Sorvin.

Sergei Grigorievich Lukianov, Soviet Purchasing Commission

¹ Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

representative in New York City, responsible to Zubelin through Sorvin on military naval information.

Vitali Pavlov, Second Secretary to the U. S. S. R. Embassy in Canada.

Leonid Tarasov, Secretary, Soviet Embassy in Mexico.

Vassili Georgievich Dolgov, Attaché, Soviet Embassy, Washington.

Vassili D. Mironov, Assistant Secretary, Soviet Embassy, Washington.

One Vassilenko, courier, Washington to Moscow. On one flight he carried seven diplomatic pouches stuffed with espionage material.

Boris Morros, Hollywood, Calif., contact of Zubelin. Morros was born in Russia and is a naturalized citizen of this country. His brother and sisters are still in Russia.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Kerley, you mentioned the name of Vitali Pavlov. Is he the same Vitali Pavlov who was named in the Canadian spy report?

Mr. KERLEY. He was second secretary in U. S. S. R. Mission in Canada.

Mr. DEKOM. He was involved as one of the organizers of the spy ring there, was he not?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes, he was.

Mr. DEKOM. As a matter of fact, was not he the one that was sent to "get" Gouzenko when Gouzenko escaped, one of the three men?¹

Mr. KERLEY. Yes.

Now, from my experience in counterespionage, I would conclude that the Soviets use their trade missions, their consulates, and their Embassy staff primarily as espionage organizations.

They pay for their information in specific cases. In others they use the hostage system of relatives in Russia of naturalized Russians in this country to enforce cooperation in the espionage network. They gathered economic, military, and diplomatic information which made Stalin as well informed on American production and production potentials as the Government of the United States.

Russia's espionage activities in this country continued almost unchecked throughout the entire course of the last war. In accordance with instructions of the State Department to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Federal Bureau of Investigation was not even permitted to open an espionage case against any Russian suspect without State Department approval.

Mr. ARENS. Did the State Department ever give approval to the Department of Justice to investigate an espionage case?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes, they did. All of those that were investigated and that I had experience on undoubtedly were approved by the State Department or we would not have been investigating them.

Mr. ARENS. Did the State Department have some of them on which they did not give approval?

Mr. KERLEY. I have no knowledge of that.

Mr. ARENS. Did the State Department ever withhold from the Justice Department the right to intern suspects?

Mr. KERLEY. They withheld the right to get out process for them which, in effect, kept them from being arrested, as in the case of Schevchenko and others.

¹ Report of the Royal Commission [Canada] appointed under order in council, P. C. 411 of February 5, 1946, p. 644.

Mr. ARENS. In how many instances did the State Department decline to permit process to be served on Soviet agents?

Mr. KERLEY. Do you mean how many Soviet agents were affected?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. KERLEY. That would be difficult to say because there were so many people connected in one espionage ring, whether or not they were directly conspiring with the ring.

Mr. ARENS. Was that order applicable to all persons?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes; all persons in the Soviet espionage organization.

Mr. ARENS. What did you say the order was as you understood it or as it came to you?

Mr. KERLEY. That no arrests of any suspects in the Russian espionage activities in the United States were to be made without the prior approval of the State Department.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you understand that that was to include also American participants?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes; because if they were arrested that would disclose the whole apparatus, you see.

Mr. ARENS. How long was that policy in effect?

Mr. KERLEY. It was in effect at the time I resigned from the Government. I left the service in October of 1945.

Senator O'CONNOR. Mr. Kerley, was the information that was gathered in connection with the espionage activity to which you have referred forwarded to the State Department or was the State Department made aware of the nature of the disclosures?

Mr. KERLEY. In all cases they were kept closely advised.

Senator O'CONNOR. So that you do inform us that they were notified of the extent of the activities, not only in individual cases but as to the over-all picture as you have developed it?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes. It was a question of protocol due to the international situation at that time. The State Department would have to clear any action against Soviet agents, of course.

Senator O'CONNOR. Was there any case or any instance at all where the State Department gave approval to the arrest of anyone involved in any of the investigations?

Mr. KERLEY. There was one case on the west coast, I believe, in 1944, involving blueprints which were found in the possession of an employee of a consulate, I believe in the Northwest, perhaps in Seattle. That is the only case that I know of during the entire war where approval was given.

Senator O'CONNOR. Mr. Kerley, in order to have an accurate idea as to the total number of persons involved—and you have, of course, referred to individual cases and group movements—taken in the aggregate, what number would you say would be involved in the various cases?

Mr. KERLEY. You mean in all of the espionage rings operating in this country?

Senator O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. KERLEY. I would like to preface my answer to that question with the statement that most of these Russian espionage rings operated independently of each other. That is, the personnel on one had no knowledge that a similar ring was operated or the nature of the type of information that it desired. It was only the Comintern representa-

tives, such as J. Peters, the men who were directing these over-all activities, who actually knew how many agents were operating in this country.

But we would be certainly safe in saying that throughout all of their diplomatic sources, their trade and economic missions, and native Communists, old-time Communists and recruits, that there were several hundred espionage agents operating during the last war.

Mr. DEKOM. On how many was there information available?

Mr. KERLEY. Information was available on several hundred. That is what I base my figures on. We do not know how many more there might have been, but to our knowledge, there certainly were several hundred of them.

Mr. DEKOM. That is, you actually had information on several hundred?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. Would you say that of the several hundred who were operating in the manner in which you have described at one time, a substantial portion of them would have been operating simultaneously?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes, but on entirely different and disconnected cases. For instance, the Altschuler case, which was concerned with the assassination of Jackson. Its purpose was to get him out of the way because of the possibility that he might at some future date disclose details of the apparatus that engineered the assassination of Trotsky. Certainly the atom bomb case was the most important to them and the one on which they had their best agents. They spared no time, money or effort in seeking the formulas on the bomb long before it was ever perfected or tested.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Kerley, the information which you have disclosed for the enlightenment of the subcommittee came to you in the course of your work for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, did it not?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes, it did.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you since your termination of your connection with the Federal Bureau of Investigation maintained an interest in the Communist apparatus in the United States?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes, I have, although not particularly on the espionage angle, because certainly no one is equipped to combat espionage except counter forces which are set up by Government agencies; but as to the Communist Party, how it is operating, who its chief Comintern representatives are, I attempt at least to keep myself advised as to its activities in this country.

Mr. ARENS. On the basis of your experience and information since the termination of your connection with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, do you have any general observation to make before you delve into the specific material you have respecting the operation in this country of the Communist network?

Mr. KERLEY. Not from the espionage angle because I have no further connection with it, but I would like to make some observations from the point of view of the security of our own Government from the infiltration the Communists have made into even our own Government departments. Certainly they seem relevant at this time, in view of the Government employees who have been identified and even convicted of conspiring with Russian agents. I am thinking particularly, of course, of the case of Judith Coplon, the convicted

traitor from within the Department of Justice; also, the case of Julian Wadleigh, who brazenly admitted treachery to his country in a series of articles that he has published. At the time, that he was stealing classified documents for Russian espionage agents, Julian Wadleigh was an employee in our State Department.

I feel very strongly that under our present laws and the manner in which we have been dealing with the Communist Party legally, that we are definitely losing this fight against communism. If we don't protect our country by outlawing the Communist Party, then they are going to continue to infiltrate into the Government and become stronger; and we are going to lose our freedom unless we cope with them.

Now, I would like to make an observation here on some of my contacts with ex-Communist Party members and even present members. One of their great fears is that they will be outlawed as a political party because they feel that they will wither and die if they have to go underground. They know they will lose the support of many front organizations and the support of many so-called sugar daddies, the wealthy American people who are taken in by the Communist line and are supporting them strongly and pouring millions of dollars every year into them. They feel that if they lose their legal status they will lose the support, the financial support, of many of these misguided Americans.

To give you a case in point, an ex-Communist, who was a member, a charter member, of the Communist Party in 1919, spoke of the number of Communist Party members that they had in 1920 and 1921, which ranged in excess of 75,000. If you will recall, after the last war there were many deportations of Communists who had been active over a period of time. The party, in effect, was outlawed for a period of 2 or 3 years. This leading Communist organizer has stated that at that time their membership fell from over 75,000 to a mere 12,500 within a period of 2 years' time, because they lost the popular support of the leftist group and the Communist-front organizations who would not expose themselves to an illegal operation. As long as the party is not outlawed, there are hangers-on and supporters.

Senator O'CONNOR. In that connection, Mr. Kerley, is it not a fact that their own leaders oppose the outlawing of the Party as they are fearful that it will have the effect which you have described occurred in the past and which you believe would reoccur in the future?

Mr. KERLEY. Very much so. They will use all of their propaganda forces in this country against the Congress in order to keep the party from being outlawed. In passing, I might say that there are over 200 Communist-supported and directed newspapers and periodicals and publications in this country, so they certainly can reach many people here with their Communist propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kerley, the bill which was introduced by Senator McCarran, S. 1832,¹ to provide for the exclusion and deportation of subversives, includes in its provisions, the deportation or exclusion, as the case may be, of any alien who seeks to enter the country or who has gained admission into the country for, among other purposes, the purpose of organizing, aiding in any manner whatsoever, joining,

¹The text of S. 1832 appears on p. 2.

associating with, or participating in the activities of any association, society, or group which shall be publicly designated by the Attorney General as a subversive organization or subversive to the national security.

On the basis of your background and experience with the Communist apparatus in this country, would you care to express an opinion as to whether or not that provision of the law, if it were enforced, would be a strong weapon in the fight against communism in this country?

Mr. KERLEY. I think it would be a long step forward in the right direction in fighting communism. I have one case in point here. I have dug from my files an old issue of The Communist magazine. I notice that one of the writers in this October 1934 issue is J. Peters. He writes on the problem of party growth. J. Peters is the Alexander Stevens who has been in the country since 1922. He is an alien. He has been working in the party organization and in espionage since 1922. Certainly, with a law with that much teeth in it, if it is enforced by the executive branch of the Government, we would not have any future J. Peters in the country for 26 years.

Mr. ARENS. Will you identify that magazine, please. Is that The Communist?

Mr. KERLEY. The Communist was the official organ of the Communist Party during the thirties.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kerley, under existing law, the general subversive statutes are not applicable, generally speaking, to persons who gained admission into the United States as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments. Under S. 1832, which was introduced by Senator McCarran, the provisions of the law applicable to subversives would be applicable to any alien, which would include a person affiliated with an international organization or a person affiliated with a foreign government. Do you have any observations to make on that score?

Mr. KERLEY. May I ask whether that would include diplomatic personnel?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; it would.

Mr. KERLEY. Of course, that is a problem that is age-old. We can't do business with other governments if we don't have consulates and if we don't have embassies. I don't think I should comment on that phase of it.

Mr. DEKOM. To what extent would it cripple the Soviet espionage system if the diplomats who are engaged in these illegal activities were deported without question?

Mr. KERLEY. I don't think that would make a great deal of difference because they could still send in, through their Comintern representatives and through their trade commissions, the people to carry on that work.

Mr. DEKOM. That bill would apply to all of these people.

Mr. KERLEY. And certainly it would be very effective. It would put a great burden on the investigative branch of the Government to locate them when they do arrive, but at least once they are located there would be some machinery to get rid of them.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent is the Communist apparatus in the United States under the direction and control of persons who are sent into the United States as aliens from abroad in any capacity?

Mr. KERLEY. The espionage activities are under the exclusive control of the Comintern or other agencies in Moscow. Any of the aliens who come in as Comintern and Soviet representatives certainly are the directors of the espionage groups here in this country.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent are the Communist Party and the Communist fronts in the United States under the control and direction of agents who are sent into the United States?

Mr. KERLEY. One hundred percent. All of our espionage activities are controlled by the Comintern or from Moscow.

Senator O'CONNOR. What information, if any, have you with respect to international organizations or any persons affiliated with any of the international organizations having meetings in this country?

Mr. KERLEY. Are you speaking of Government organizations?

Senator O'CONNOR. The United Nations or similar organizations.

Mr. KERLEY. The only thing I know about it is that which has been made a matter of public record. I think one of our Government intelligence agencies has stated that 32 percent of 100 names that were picked at random and sent to them were disclosed as having been espionage agents for iron-curtain countries prior to their assignment in the United Nations: ¹ Certainly our own Government is not careful enough in checking on the appointment of personnel to the United Nations when so many Communist fronters, men who have been actively associated in Communist fronts, are employed on the United Nations in this country.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know of any instances in which people that have been in subversive activities in this country or who have been discharged from their Government positions in this country have gone over to the United Nations or to similar organizations?

Mr. KERLEY. Your question is as to the people who have been discharged from positions with our Government?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes; or who have been in Communist fronts in this country, active in Communist fronts.

Mr. KERLEY. That is a little different question. Victor Yakhontoff has been appointed to the United Nations, and he certainly has been active in and has been identified as a Communist Party member in this country. Then there are others who have been active in front organizations, such as Millard Lampell.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he now on the Radio Division of the United Nations?

Mr. KERLEY. He is in the United Nations. I believe he is in the Radio Division.

Mr. DEKOM. Isn't he a script writer?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes.

Senator O'CONNOR. Have you any information regarding former State Department employees who were dismissed and subsequently became identified with the United Nations?

Mr. KERLEY. No; I have not, Senator.

I wanted to add to this group the name of Norman Corwin as a United Nations employee who has been very active in Communist-front organizations for many years.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he not also in the Radio Division?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes; he is.

¹ See the statement of Rear Adm. Roscoe H. Hillenkoetter, director of central intelligence

Senator O'CONNOR. Now, is there any other further data that you have before you, Mr. Kerley, from which you can supply the subcommittee with any additional facts?

Mr. KERLEY. These papers which I have before me are a little off the espionage question but they show some of the Communist Party's workings in this country. These contain the Communist Party instructions to all sections and branches of their organization in this country, as late as March of 1949. They speak of the success of the propaganda activities of the Communist Party in China and of the fact that China has been taken over by the Communists. They contain a review of their action on a China policy. I would like to furnish to the committee this parcel of material.

I am also submitting information dealing with the calling of a meeting which has been publicly reported on March 9, 1949, at the Hotel Diplomat in New York City, at which time a new Communist-front organization was to be formed known as the Committee for a United and Democratic Germany. The speakers were Robert Thompson, New York State chairman of the Communist Party, Gerhart Eisler, who has since fled the country, and Leon Josephson. Now, they have organized this front in an attempt to do the same thing in Germany, in our occupied sections where our military forces are, that they were successful in doing in China. They set out in this rather lengthy statement the means of sending propaganda into both the Senate and the House of Representatives to carry their program out.

Senator O'CONNOR. The documents to which you have referred, Mr. Kerley, will be received in evidence as exhibits.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW YORK STATE,
New York, N. Y., March 1, 1949.

To All Sections and Counties.

DEAR COMRADES: Enclosed please find program for action on China policy, as voted upon by a united-front action conference on China, held in New York on January 29, 1949.

We are sure that you will find this material not only informative, but helpful in planning actions on China in your communities.

A special outline has also been issued by the national education committee on Communist Policy in China. This can be secured through orders from our district education department. The outline can be used as the basis for discussion in your sections and branches.

Any inquiries in relation to further activity can be received by writing to the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, at 111 West Forty-second Street, New York City.

Comradely yours,

MAY MILLER,
Assistant Organizing Secretary.

ACTION CONFERENCE ON CHINA POLICY—NEW YORK, JANUARY 29, 1949

RESOLUTION ON CHINA POLICY

This Action Conference on China Policy, meeting in New York City on January 29, 1949, and attended by 182 registered delegates and observers from 80 organizations and including 48 individual participants, voted to send to every Member of the Eighty-first Congress, through the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, under whose auspices the conference was held, the following resolution:

In view of the following facts:

1. That our Government since VJ-day has violated both the democratic objective of World War II and the Charter of the United Nations in giving support to the antidemocratic and dictatorial Kuomintang regime of Chiang Kai-shek;

2. That our Government since VJ-day has made available to the Kuomintang regime of Chiang Kai-shek over \$6,000,000,000 worth of the resources of the American people for use in civil war against the people of China who are our historic friend and allies in the task of building a peaceful, prosperous, and democratic world;

3. That American guns, bullets, airplanes, bombs, poison gas, gasoline jelly, and flame throwers have brought suffering, death, and destruction to millions of people in China, thus threatening the alienation of the 1,500,000,000 people of Asia who are our natural allies in a democratic world;

4. That we Americans whose resources have been wasted and misused in China are still waiting for adequate and decent housing, for lower prices on consumption goods and food, for increased social security, for mutually beneficial trade relations between our two countries as a factor in preventing a depression, and for freedom from militarism and for the security which only peaceful and cooperative relations among nations can give;

5. That our Government's policy toward China is causing frictions and misunderstandings that can easily lead to conflicts and even to war;

6. That the people of China have decisively demonstrated their purpose and power to rid themselves of the callous, cruel, antidemocratic and outworn feudal regime which for the past years has existed only with outside (American) support and have shown their power to negate all the military advice, training, and equipment given by the United States to the Kuomintang regime of Chiang Kai-shek, and are now establishing a functioning government of their own creating;

7. That there are nationally prominent American political, military, and publishing figures openly and secretly advocating and working for continued and intensified intervention in the internal affairs of China against the Chinese people;

8. That a strong Chinese lobby is at work in Washington (one of the biggest money-spending foreign influences in our Capital but not registered as a foreign agent) trying to influence our Government authorities to continue support of the antidemocratic and unpopular Kuomintang elements; and

9. That the very Chinese officials and individuals who are urging more pouring out of the American people's money in China are known to have accumulated billions of dollars (wrung from the suffering people of China and stolen from the pockets of the American taxpayers) and now stowed away in American banks and investments: Be it therefore

Resolved, That we go on record as demanding:

1. That there be a congressional investigation—

A. Into the activities of the Chinese lobby in this country; and

B. Into the private wealth which Chinese officials and individuals have stowed away in American banks and investments.

2. That there be an immediate end to all forms of American intervention in China, including an end to any dealings with any elements or remnants of the Kuomintang regime, recognizing the right of the Chinese people to make decisions about their country free of all pressure or interference on the part of our Government.

3. That our Government prepare to recognize the government which the Chinese people are now establishing for themselves and that our authorities begin planning for genuine and self-respecting cooperation with that government, including normal and friendly trade relations free of any political conditions.

PROGRAM FOR ACTION ON CHINA POLICY AS SUGGESTED BY THE ACTION CONFERENCE ON CHINA POLICY, NEW YORK CITY, JANUARY 29, 1949

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

1. Demand a congressional investigation:

A. Of the Chinese lobby in Washington—one of the largest spending foreign influences in our capital—not registered as foreign agents.

B. Of the billions of dollars of private accumulation deposited in American banks and investments by Chinese officials and individuals.

2. Demand a new China policy:

A. An end to all forms of American intervention in China and of plans to aid any elements and remnants of the Kuomintang.

B. Preparation by our Government to recognize the government which the people of China are now establishing.

C. Planning now by our authorities for genuine and self-respecting cooperation with the people's government in China, including normal and friendly trade relations free of any political conditions.

3. Get the facts and implications of the Government's China policy to the American people.

IMMEDIATE STEPS FOR CARRYING OUT THE ACTION PROGRAM

1. Get your organization immediately to pass a resolution on China policy. (Use the enclosed January conference resolution for suggestions.) Send copies of your organization's resolution to your Senators and your Congressmen; give it publicity in your organization's publication and elsewhere; send a copy to the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

2. Make use of the "political ammunition" of facts: the American people, if they know, will act.

A. Make a drive to get readers and subscribers to Far East Spotlight, the committee's monthly magazine. This is the indispensable tool for every fighter for a new and friendly policy toward China. Previous sources of reliable information about China and the Far East now have an NAM slant; only Far East Spotlight gives you the positive and encouraging facts about the Chinese people's great and successful fight against American reaction, and keeps you up-to-date about Washington's evil plans to go on backing reaction in China and the Far East. Subscription: \$2 a year; introductory offer, \$1 for 8 months. Members of the CDFEP get this free.

B. Push the sale and reading of Anna Louise Strong's Tomorrow's China: Paper bound 65 cents; cloth bound \$2; organizational orders for five or more, 25 percent discount.¹

C. Have meetings on the China policy issue.

a. The committee can furnish speakers. In the New York city area: Telephone the Speaker's Bureau of the committee any afternoon, Bryant 9-6343. In California, the San Francisco area: Contact Mr. William Kerner, 1841 Ellis Street, San Francisco. Los Angeles area: Contact Mrs. Jeanette Orel, 362 South Columbia Avenue, Los Angeles.

b. Send your organization's own speakers to the briefing session on China. First session: Friday night February 18, 7:30 sharp. Telephone the committee for registration blanks: Bryant 9-6342. No fee.

You can't fight without facts: Far East Spotlight is your basic source of information. Meetings on China will bring facts to hundreds of others.

3. See to it that the President and the Members of Congress hear from hundreds of individuals on China policy right now.

Order prepared postcards from the committee—1 cent each. Write your own messages. Make calls—in person and by telephone—on your Senators and Congressmen.

4. Have your organization make an immediate contribution to the work of the committee or plan to give a regular monthly, quarterly, or yearly contribution.

5. Support the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—

A. By becoming members and by getting your friends to join. Membership includes subscription to Far East Spotlight.

B. By securing individual contributions for the committee. Your own—your friends—throw a party for the committee.

C. By doing volunteer work at the committee's office, 111 West Forty-second Street, fifth floor—any time, any day. Every Tuesday night the staff is "at home" to friends who come to help.

The Chinese people are defeating the American reactionaries: So can we.

China policy reveals the over-all character of Washington's foreign policy. It harms the American people.

China policy is directly related to our domestic struggle for homes, for more consumption goods, for lower prices, for increased social security, for healthy international trade, for freedom from depression and militarism.

China shows up the weak spot in our reactionaries' program.

Let's fight on China policy and take advantage of the blow the Chinese people have dealt the American reactionaries.

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY,

New York City.

¹ Section B, referring to Anna Louise Strong, was struck out in pencil, since Miss Strong had been denounced by the Soviet Union as an American spy only a few days before. The Daily Worker of January 25, 1950, called her a Trotskyite.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW YORK STATE,
New York 3, N. Y., March 2, 1949.

To All Sections:

DEAR COMRADES: AS you have already been notified, the New York State committee of the Communist Party is calling a meeting of great importance. This will be the first meeting by the New York State committee on the question of the program for a united and democratic Germany.

Since this is the first meeting of its kind, we want to make sure that there is representation from each of the sections at the meeting.

The speakers will be Bob Thompson, New York State chairman of the Communist Party; Gerhart Eisler, noted German anti-Fascist; and Leon Josephson, who is the first victim of the Eightieth Congress to serve a year's jail sentence. Lillian Gates, secretary of the State legislative commission, will be chairman of the meeting.

We hope that you will make whatever provisions are necessary so that this meeting will be successful.

Comradely yours,

MAY MILLER,
Assistant Organization Secretary.

THE PROGRAM FOR A UNITED AND DEMOCRATIC GERMANY

Wednesday	Robert Thompson	Hotel Diplomat
March 9	Gerhart Eisler	108 West Forty-third Street
8 p. m.	Leon Josephson	Crystal Room
	Lillian Gates, <i>Chairman</i>	

(Admission 50 cents)

Mr. DEKOM. Just to clear the record, Mr. Kerley, you have mentioned throughout your testimony various initials such as GPU, OGPU, NKVD, and MVD. Are not those the same organization?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes. It is the continuation of the Russian secret police from the Cheka, which was the original secret police.

Mr. DEKOM. Then it is merely a change of name for the Soviet secret police?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes. From time to time through the years the name was changed.

Mr. DEKOM. Isn't that now known as the MVD, the Ministry for Interior Affairs?

Mr. KERLEY. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. You mentioned the Electronics Corp. of America, operated by Sam Novick. Is that the successor of the organization that was known as Wholesale Radio Co.?

Mr. KERLEY. Originally Sam Novick had the Wholesale Radio Co. and in the early part of the war, he started the Electronics Corp. of America. He was able to get many Navy contracts for the manufacture of radar equipment for the Navy. At one time he was reported to be almost the only manufacturer of that type of equipment for the United States Navy. I believe Sam Novick signed the declaration papers of Arthur Adams when Arthur Adams came in from Canada illegally, in 1938. Sam Novick stated that Adams had been employed by Novick for 10 years' time, which was a falsehood.

Mr. DEKOM. Was that company also known as the Radio, Wire & Television Co. as well as the Lafayette Radio Co.?

Mr. KERLEY. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. That was a continuing series of stock reorganizations which really did not mean anything?

Mr. KERLEY. That is the case.

Senator O'CONNOR. That concludes the testimony. We are grateful to you, Mr. Kerley, for the testimony you have given.

Mr. KERLEY. Thank you.

Senator O'CONNOR. The subcommittee will adjourn, subject to call.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, the subcommittee was recessed, subject to call.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 12:15 p. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Herbert R. O'Connor, acting chairman.

Present: Senators O'Connor (presiding) and Eastland.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee, Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members; O. K. Earl and William F. Cochran, members of the subcommittee staff.

Senator O'CONNOR. This is a continuation of the hearings on S. 1832.

Might I ask that the several witnesses be sworn?

In the presence of Almighty God, do you swear that the testimony that you will give before this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Father BIRO. I do.¹

Mr. BALOGH. I do.

Mr. BORSHY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF FATHER BENEDICT BIRO, OFM, PRESIDENT OF UNITAS; REV. GEORGE E. K. BORSHY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, HUNGARIAN REFORMED FEDERATION OF AMERICA; AND REV. STEPHEN E. BALOGH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, AMERICAN HUNGARIAN FEDERATION

Mr. ARENS. Father, have you given the reporter your full name?

Father BIRO. Yes; I have.

Mr. ARENS. Father, would you kindly identify yourself by residence and background and present assignment?

Father BIRO. I am Father Benedict Biro, a Roman Catholic priest, pastor of St. Emery's Church at Fairfield, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. Are you an American citizen?

Father BIRO. I am an American citizen. I was naturalized about 15 years ago.

Mr. ARENS. Do you hold any office or official position in your church, outside of your pastoral assignment?

¹ The witnesses appeared under subpenas.

Father BIRO. Yes, sir. I am the Commissary Provincial of the Hungarian Franciscan Province of St. Stephen.

Mr. ARENS. Would you just give us a word about the Hungarian Franciscan Province of St. Stephen?

Father BIRO. It is an organization composed of priests who came to the United States to be engaged in the pastoral work and social welfare of the Hungarian population here.

Mr. ARENS. Do you represent or are you affiliated with any social organizations?

Father BIRO. Yes. I am one of the directors of the American-Hungarian Catholic Association, the society for fraternal help and insurance. It is in Cleveland, and it covers, to my knowledge, about 17 States.

Mr. ARENS. Do you hold any other church office?

Father BIRO. Yes; I am the president of the Catholic Hungarian Priests' Association, called UNITAS.

Mr. ARENS. What is your connection or affiliation with the American Hungarian Federation?

Father BIRO. I am one of the directors of the American Hungarian Federation, which represents all the churches and fraternal organizations of Hungarian origin in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Are you affiliated with one of the Hungarian publications?

Father BIRO. Yes, sir. I am the editor of the Magyarok Vasarnapja (Hungarian Sunday), a weekly paper circulating among the Hungarian Catholic population in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. You have a prepared statement, have you, Father, to submit to the committee?

Father BIRO. Yes; we have a statement.

Mr. DEKOM. That is a joint statement on behalf of all three of you?

Father BIRO. Yes, it is a joint statement on behalf of the three members representing the American-Hungarian Federation.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly identify yourself by name and occupation and background, gentlemen?

Mr. BORSHY. I am George E. K. Borshy. I am an ordained minister. I was ordained by the Reformed (Calvinist) Church of Hungary. I came to the United States in 1924 and I am a citizen. At present, I am not a pastor. I left the active pastoral service in 1936 when I accepted my present position as executive secretary of the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you tell the subcommittee for what purpose you came to the United States?

Mr. BORSHY. I received a pastoral call from the Free Magyar Church in America. I came from Budapest, Hungary, and served as a pastor at McKeesport, Pa. Three years later, I went to Youngstown, Ohio, as a pastor of the church and became the Dean of the Western Classis of the Free Magyar Reformed Church. I served in this dual capacity until 1936.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, sir.

Would you kindly identify yourself by name, residence, occupation, and background, Reverend Balogh?

Mr. BALOGH. My name is Stephen E. Balogh. I am the executive secretary of the American Hungarian Federation, located in Washing-

ton, D. C. The headquarters of the Federation is at 1624 I Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Formerly, I was an active minister of the Evangelical and Reformed Church in McKeesport, Pa., and Chicago, Ill.

Mr. DEKOM. Reverend Mr. Balogh, I notice on your lapel the pre-Pearl Harbor ribbon. I wonder if you would tell the committee how you came by that?

Mr. BALOGH. I was a reserve officer in the Chaplain's Corps since January 1941. I was ordered to active duty in April 1941, and served in the United States Army until January 15, 1946.

Mr. DEKOM. In what theaters of war did you serve?

Mr. BALOGH. I was in the European theater of war, served in the Third Army under General George S. Patton and in the Ninth Army under General William H. Simpson.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you see combat duty?

Mr. BALOGH. I was on the front for about 11 months, day and night.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Father, I understand that you gentlemen have prepared statements. Would you kindly proceed with your prepared statements?

Father BIRO. Mr. Chairman, we are here as the representatives of the American-Hungarian Federation. This organization is composed of all churches, civic, and fraternal societies of loyal Americans of Hungarian descent. We speak for the overwhelming majority of American Hungarians. We have been asked to testify on Senate bill 1832, to present to the committee our views and the opinions of the loyal American Hungarian communities in the United States.

The purpose of this bill is to control successfully Communist and Communist-controlled movements and organizations. As the chairman of this committee, the Honorable Pat McCarran, has stated in his speech on the floor of the Senate:

The hundreds of Communists and Communist-controlled organizations which have sprung up like poisonous weeds bear dramatic evidence that infiltration of un-American ideology has been eminently successful.

We heartily endorse this bill and its purposes; we do so for the following important reasons:

1. The purposes and ideology of communism are contrary to everything which we, as ministers of the Gospel and loyal citizens of a great democratic nation, stand for. The Communists have organized a world-wide conspiracy to destroy the Christian churches, to destroy our free political system, to destroy the basic institutions of our life, the family and the home.

2. A bill of this nature is aimed directly at the nerve centers of communism, that is, the disloyal aliens and the alien agents who have been sent into this country for the purpose of undermining our institutions. These people have no right to be here; they have no right to infiltrate or to take advantage of the Christian democracies which we and our ancestors have fought for in every revolution and war in the United States. We would like to point out that in every war for American liberties, ranging from the Revolution to World War II, loyal Americans of Hungarian descent have taken an important part. One of the great Hungarian Civil War heroes is Gen. Alexander Asboth, who later became United States Ambassador to the Argentine. We can state unequivocally that these same American Hungarians will be willing to continue the great fight for the defense and protection of our country.

3. It is for these reasons that we are convinced that S. 1832 can have no harmful effects upon the rights and privileges of loyal immigrants in this country. It is obvious from the language of this bill that it can affect only a microscopic percentage of persons of Hungarian origin, persons who have periodically identi-

fied themselves as Hungarians as a screen behind which to serve their international Communist masters.

Let us emphasize again right here and now that the overwhelming majority of American Hungarians have nothing whatever to do with communism; they are, as Chairman McCarran pointed out on the floor of the Senate, loyal to their country of adoption to which they came by their own free choice.

We would also like to emphasize the fact that the Americans of Hungarian descent are particularly resistant to communism. Twice in one generation their native land has been inundated by the red flood of Communist terrorism. They are presently being enslaved by the Soviet-sponsored clique. They know what it means to lose their liberties, their freedom of religion; they know what it means to have their homes and families destroyed.

(Signed by:)

Father Benedict Biro, OFM, Bridgeport, Conn., president of UNITAS; Rev. George E. K. Borshy, executive secretary, Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Stephen E. Balogh, executive secretary, American Hungarian Federation, Washington, D. C.; members, board of directors, American Hungarian Federation.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, Father. Now, as I understood from what you said a few moments ago, you are editor of a Hungarian weekly?

Father BIRO. Yes; I am the editor of the Magyarok Vasarnapja or Hungarian Sunday, a weekly paper circulating among the Hungarian Catholic population in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Is this the weekly which criticized the editor of the Cleveland Hungarian daily, Mr. Zoltan Gombos, the publisher of the Cleveland Hungarian Szabadsag?

Father BIRO. Yes, sir. Some of our articles criticized him for the publication of various articles written from Budapest, Hungary, by one of his paid staff workers, a known Communist sympathizer, and a shady character by the name of Imre Bekessy. This man left the United States under investigation, and in his Communist role at Budapest turned against America.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he now being paid for his activities?

Father BIRO. They dismissed him, very probably under the pressure of the articles that appeared in the various Hungarian publications.

Mr. DEKOM. Is there another Catholic weekly published in this country by Hungarians?

Father BIRO. Yes, there is, and it is called Jo Pasztor (Good Shepherd).

Mr. DEKOM. Can you give us any information concerning that paper?

Father BIRO. That paper for a number of years has been a Catholic paper owned by various editors. Lately it became the property of Mr. Gombos. He purchased the paper with all of its equipment, and it was done, evidently, for his own commercial gain. Whatever religious items appear in that paper are only slogans inherited from the previous owner, and are faintly kept alive to pacify the sentiments of the subscribers. He has no interest whatsoever to assist any church; moreover he has proven the opposite repeatedly during the last 10 years while he published his daily, the Szabadsag.

Mr. DEKOM. I wanted to ask you previously: Do you have any connection with the National Catholic Welfare Conference?

Father BIRO. Yes, I have, inasmuch as I am a board member of the Catholic War Relief, which is primarily concerned with the resettlement of the displaced persons to the United States. I represent on that board the Hungarian nationality.

Mr. DEKOM. You have submitted a joint statement concerning S. 1832, covering all three of you. Now, do you have any personal statement that you care to make on this bill? We are particularly interested in any proposals you might also have to improve the bill or to make its provisions operative, or to provide for a maximum of protection to all persons concerned.

Father BIRO. Yes. I would like to say a few words in connection with the preventive measures of this bill. To eradicate the evil caused by the insufficiency of what existed in the past, and the faulty application of the existing law, the proposed provisions provide for controls which appear, at first observation, to be too far-reaching and seem to be harsh and in some ways strange to the American mentality heretofore revealed in lawmaking. I refer to the provisions which authorize the Attorney General to act within his own Department against those who may be subversive and un-American. I am not a lawmaker, and I am not familiar with the legal procedure, but as the bill sounds it may be the source of many complaints in the future, if this bill will pass the Legislature. There is no question that the intention of the bill is good, but the application of its provisions seems to be doubtful in my mind as I think about the future.

Immigrants will have to be admitted into this country for many reasons. The present situation in Europe is such that for a long and unforeseeable time to come, a great portion of the Europeans will have no decent means of livelihood. There are so many of them congested in small territories without the barest means of work or self support. The aftermath of World War II has made refugees of close to a million people, and made about 10,000,000 Europeans homeless. Since the United States is the leading partner of the victorious peace-making nations, and since she is the only trustworthy custodian of Christian principles and humanitarian activities throughout the world, it seems to me that restrictive immigration laws should not injure our real American principles. That is why I say that it is not the law but the application of it that is our chief concern, and it should be so construed as to leave open the doors for the worthy immigrants and to see to it that undesirables would not be able to enter this country, or to stay here as subversives and destroyers.

The screening of the newcomers in carrying out this law should be placed into such hands that the security of this country will be protected. In this connection, I would like to propose that a special immigration commission should be set up, in an advisory capacity, consisting of such persons and representatives of national groups loyal to America, who should be consulted on persons and their ideologies before their admission into this country. This I propose because whatever screening apparatus we have had heretofore has been proven insufficient and in many cases faulty.

Mr. DEKOM. Father Biro, you are, then, not objecting to the purposes?

Father BIRO. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Nor to the provisions of the bill?

Father BIRO. Not at all.

Mr. DEKOM. You are merely suggesting here that there be established a screening commission to administer it?

Father BIRO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Rather as a means, if I understand you correctly, of first screening out those who are undesirable?

Father BIRO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. And, secondly, preventing any injustices from being done to those who are desirable?

Father BIRO. Correct.

Mr. DEKOM. Then your commission would consist of nationality representatives in this country who would sit as a sort of court of appeals. Is that your view?

Father BIRO. Something like that.

Mr. DEKOM. Who would review the applications of immigrants?

Father BIRO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. And your thought there is—and again I am merely trying to clarify in the mind of the committee what your proposal is—that they would sit in judgment over their own nationals, because you would expect that they would be more familiar with the history of their native countries and more familiar with the character and background of the persons who are seeking to come in here?

Father BIRO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Please go on.

Father BIRO. I and my people fully agree with the spirit of this law which concerns the subversive activities of aliens within this country. The sources of their activities should be thoroughly investigated, their propagandists openly identified, and, in case of guilt, immediately deported. It is public knowledge today that the subversive Communists have actually penetrated into many associations, unions, fraternal organizations of America, and have poisoned the minds of well-meaning and innocent people who are not able to recognize what is happening to them. It is imperative to check what is going on in these organizations, associations, unions, and lodges. Let us see who their leaders are and who are those destructive elements which are undesirable in the leadership of some of these organizations.

Mr. DEKOM. Now, on that point: You are familiar with the fact, are you not, that the bill, S. 1832, provides a method by which innocent people, innocent aliens, can clear themselves of any suspicion?

Father BIRO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. And would you consider that a sound provision of the bill?

Father BIRO. It is. We should never expose to injustice anyone who wants to be an American and in due time be naturalized into this country's citizenship.

Mr. DEKOM. Please go on with your statement.

Father BIRO. Furthermore, I feel that it is desirable to bring such provisions that under the pretense of freedom this recently evident press-banditry should not be practiced. Not only to the outside world but even to us, loyal American citizens, it seems to be ridiculous, if not resentful, how our public and our laws tolerate such activities which are revealed both in the foreign language and the American

press frequently advocating subversive doctrines. I refer to that press and its products which are furthering the cause of foreign ideologies and which are engaged in poisoning the minds of millions of Americans.

Neither I nor my people are against the freedom of any man or any institution, but it is mere common sense to protect the security of our own American way of life. One should only take a glance into the lives of those people who are living now under Communist domination and one can easily see how horribly they suppress everything and everybody who does not believe and act as they wish. Their American agents are demanding the freedom of America for themselves, while their masters are denying all human rights in their own countries for the others. They ask for softness and understanding from us, which will never check the evils of communistic propaganda, but will leave open the door through which they may penetrate into this country unchecked.

I believe that the enactment and wise application of this law will prevent untold sufferings and sacrifices of the precious values we are proud to recognize as truly American.

Mr. DEKOM. Thank you very much, Father Biro.

TESTIMONY OF REV. GEORGE E. K. BORSHY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, HUNGARIAN REFORMED FEDERATION OF AMERICA

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the Chair, we would like to call Rev. George E. K. Borshy as the next witness.

Reverend Borshy, do you have a statement which you would like to make now?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes. A few months after I came to the United States, I became the editor of the official magazine of my church, a monthly publication known as Magyar Church. As editor, I was actively interested both in spiritual and secular ideologies and published articles of both natures. These articles very quickly aroused the antagonism of those who would like to incarcerate both Christianity and Christian ideology within the confines of the church walls. This antagonism never discouraged me; moreover, it induced me to expand my activities to a much larger degree and to a wider area. I believed then, and I believe it now, that the clear teachings of the Gospel and the noble intentions of the founding fathers of America must be recognized in our Christian democracy. So I preached from the pulpit, edited a weekly, published our church paper, and contributed articles to various dailies and magazines both here in America and abroad in the Hungarian-language press, and was active in public life.

Mr. DEKOM. Now, would you again tell the committee what your present position is?

Mr. BORSHY. I am now the executive secretary of the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you tell us what that organization is?

Mr. BORSHY. It is a national fraternal organization, founded in 1896, chartered by the Congress of the United States in 1907. Its national headquarters is located in the District of Columbia, at 1726 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, in the Kossuth Building, which is the property of the federation.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you familiar with the antireligious press published in the Hungarian language in this country?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes; I am, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. I wonder if you would tell us your information on that subject?

Mr. BORSHY. There are a few antireligious Hungarian papers published in the United States. Not many, only a few, but those publications are extremely pronounced, almost violent. Just as an illustration of their language, I would like to offer one example:

In the August 6, 1949, issue of the so-called *Bérmunkás* (Wage Worker), a weekly published at Cleveland, Ohio, by the *Bérmunkás* Press Committee, and claiming to be the Hungarian organ of the IWW,¹ an organization cited as subversive by the Attorney General, an article appeared. The title of this article is *Faith and Knowledge*, the author's name is Charles Bustya, and the few sentences I wish to quote of this writing illustrate their venom. The paragraph I am quoting is entitled "The Opium of the People." I quote:

There is no wonder, therefore, that the ruling class does anything it desires, with the mob educated to believe. And the stronger is faith, the bigger is ignorance. (Let us observe the Hindus, who hold certain animals sacred and the dead carcasses of these they leave out on the streets.) Where faith reigns, there sits ignorance in orgy; there, baseness, murder, and fornication are counted as virtue. This is encouraged by the belief also that priests may absolve the murderers—or other sinners—from their crimes. Not only afterwards, but in certain cases even in advance. When we think of these, then we may truly understand this statement of Marx: "Religion is the opium of the people."

Mr. DEKOM. This is an excerpt from a Hungarian-language paper published in the United States, directed against religion?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you the original article?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir; I have it here.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will receive that in evidence as exhibit 1.

(The document referred to was received as Borshy Exhibit 1 and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. DEKOM. Reverend Borshy, since you have been active in religious work, have any of these papers made personal attacks against you?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir. Attacks, accusations, and denunciations; they have continually singled me out as their target. During the last 25 years, there was hardly a week when one or the other Communist, fellow traveler, or bridge builder would not try to wipe his dirty shoes on my face. I hardly ever bothered with them and kept on my way. I can only recall one instance when I openly replied to one of their attacks. This was during World War II, in 1943, when they commenced to denounce me in one of the English-speaking national radio broadcasts and started to publish false statements in some of their pamphlets. At that time, I wrote an article under the title "Once in Two Decades." I always knew that 99 percent of our Hungarian Americans, though holding true to the traditions of their origin, are 100-percent loyal and conscientious American citizens. They knew me and they also knew this small but dangerous group who always

¹ Industrial Workers of the World. For the citation of the Attorney General see appendix II, p. A7.

attacks every honest man and intends to create confusion in order to hide behind its own dirty work.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the attitude of the small minority of persons you have identified as Communists and fellow travelers toward those Hungarian Americans and Hungarian-American organizations which are loyal to this country of ours?

Mr. BORSHY. It is very militant. The fact that I became field secretary, and later executive secretary, of the Hungarian American Reformed Federation of America was the result of the confidence of our people and also the result of my own desire to check the tendency of the subversive element in their attempts to infiltrate into our own lines.

About the middle of the thirties, under the pretense of selling some cheap but worthless policies, a fraternity known as the International Workers Order, another agency cited by the Attorney General as subversive, set out to organize the Hungarians of America through its Soviet-trained agents. They focused their special attention on the miners, steel, and auto workers. We matched each branch of theirs with one of our own branches. We engaged trustworthy, conscientious and loyal organizers opposite each of their local organizers. In order to counteract their subversive organizational work on a national scale, we, the loyal American citizens' organizations, fraternities, and Hungarian churches of all denominations, reorganized and revitalized, during 1937 and 1938, the American Hungarian Federation into a central representative agency. I became, and I am still, a member of the board of directors of this organization.

Mr. DEKOM. What other offices have you held in the federation?

Mr. BORSHY. In 1941, before the outbreak of World War II, I organized, under the auspices of the American Hungarian Federation, a movement under the name of Independent Hungary, in order to save Hungary from extreme right or extreme left tendencies.

Mr. DEKOM. You mean, there, of course, both the Nazis and the Communists?

Mr. BORSHY. That is right. This was at the time when the equally disastrous and militant nazism and communism were endangering the independence of Hungary.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the position or attitude of the American Hungarian Federation toward these American Hungarian subversive organizations?

Mr. BORSHY. I should say it is equally militant.

Mr. SCHROEDER. It is a patriotic organization?

Mr. BORSHY. Of course, sir.

Mr. SCHROEDER. To maintain the American way of life?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir.

Both the IWO and the Communists, grouped around their standard bearer, the Communist Daily Magyar Jövö, attempted to infiltrate our lines, but we stopped their attempt and openly declared that we hold both nazism and communism to be a cancerous tumor upon the body of the human race. We maintained, and declared it openly, that in the name of the people of Hungary, silenced at that time by the Nazis, and in behalf of the American citizens of Hungarian descent living in the United States, only those shall speak who are faithful and loyal American citizens and who were elected by democratically consti-

tuted loyal organizations of the American citizens. Since none of the international Communists could ever represent any of the democratically constituted loyal organizations of the Hungarians of America, therefore, they have no place or right to be in our midst.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you discuss the extent to which Communists or other subversives have attempted or succeeded in infiltrating loyal Hungarian organizations in the past?

Mr. BORSHY. Unfortunately, sir, there was a trend during World War II when it seemed to many of us that it was not enough to be good Christians, loyal Americans, and conscientious Democrats, but one must add to these the love of the Soviet, too. We American Hungarians were never willing to accept this. Contrary to the less informed American public, even some of our government functionaries, we knew from first hand experiences, both from Europe and from here, what communism really is. We knew their American agents. We knew their purpose and we knew how disastrous might be their activities against the welfare, peace, and future of America. Yes, we knew at that time that one can never appease either nazism or communism. In spite of our knowledge, we were helpless because there was nothing we could do without inviting suspicion upon ourselves as ones who might endanger the ultimate victory of our America. It was one of the most bitter sights to watch how these subversive elements gained more and more influence in the press, through the radio, even within certain agencies of our Government. In agencies where any reference was enough for the employment of these people from persons who were in greater need of much better references themselves.

In September 1944, we tried to register the American Hungarian Relief, Inc., a humanitarian welfare and relief agency, through the President's War Relief Control Board. The sole purpose of this organization was to get ready for the emergency relief work needed after the conclusion of World War II. In order to prevent the faintest possibility of suspicion that this was a political organization, we separated it from the American Hungarian Federation and incorporated it as a relief agency in the State of New York and requested its registration in Washington.

During this Russophile era, it didn't even surprise us when we received a letter from the executive director of the President's Control Board suggesting that before they would register our relief organization, we had better get in touch with the American Hungarian Council for Democracy, headed by Actor Bela Lugosi, another organization cited by the Attorney General as subversive. Mr. Chairman, I would like to present a photostatic copy of a letter dated September 21, 1944, and addressed to the Legal Counsel of the American Hungarian Relief, by the Executive Director, Mr. James Brunot, the President's War Relief Control Board, suspending action on registration and accreditation of our agency until we united our plans and program with this subversive and anti-American organization headed by Mr. Bela Lugosi.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will receive this in evidence as exhibit 2, and make it part of the record at this point.

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 2," and is on file with the Committee.)

Mr. DEKOM. Now, let me get that clear again. This letter directs the relief organization which you were about to set up to make contact with a pro-Communist organization, which is now cited by the Attorney General as subversive, before you could register with the President's War Relief Control Board.

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. And the letter itself was sent to your counsel by Mr. James Brunot, Executive Director of the President's War Relief Control Board.

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Now, you mentioned the name of Bela Lugosi. Is he the person who is an actor in movies?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir; he is a Hollywood actor, better known as "Dracula."

Mr. DEKOM. Are you familiar with his activities?

Mr. BORSHY. I don't know him personally, but I am familiar with his associations and with the activities of those whose organization he headed as chairman, the so-called Hungarian American Council for Democracy.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that an organization which the Attorney General lists as Communist and subversive?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir. I have an article here, Mr. Chairman, which appeared in the church weekly of the American Hungarian Roman Catholic people, the Magyarok Vasarnapja (American Hungarian Catholic Sunday) on January 28, 1949. This article seems to describe Mr. Lugosi very fittingly. May I read the translation of it?

Mr. DEKOM. Please do.

Mr. BORSHY. I quote:

Adieu, Mr. Dracula, we read in the December issue of the Budapest Kisujtas: "Bela Lugosi, the Hungarian actor, who lived in Hollywood for the last 20 years, has written to his sister here at Budapest and advised her that he is coming home for a visit. At the time Lugosi left Hungary he went away because he was expelled from the National Theatre on account of his radical, leftist attitude. For 20 years he has not come back."

The "radical leftist" is printed with bold letters in the Budapest paper. Thus the chairman of the so-called Hungarian American Democratic Council, Dracula Lugosi, is proven by a Budapest paper that he is not democratic but extreme leftist, that is, Communist—as we always knew it. We hope that he will have such a good time with the Matyas Rakosis that he will never wish to come back to America, which is denounced there as imperialist and inferior.

Mr. DEKOM. You mentioned the name of Matyas Rakosi. He is the Communist dictator of Hungary at the present time?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes; he is.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will receive the article in evidence and mark it "Exhibit 3."

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 3" and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DEKOM. Can you identify any of the other incorporators or officers of the pro-Communist organization which was headed by Mr. Lugosi?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir. I have a list in my hand, Mr. Chairman, which gives the name of the organizers of the American Relief for Democratic Hungary, Inc. The date of this list is June 17, 1944. The list consists of the names of the directors and incorporators of this organization.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive the list of names which you are submitting as exhibit 4.

(The list of names referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 4" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT 4

AMERICAN RELIEF FOR DEMOCRATIC HUNGARY, INC., JUNE 17, 1944

DIRECTORS	INCORPORATORS
Dr. Emil Lengyel	Dr. Geza Takaro
Dr. Geza Takaro	Louis Toth
Louis Toth	Kalman Marki
Ferenc Gondor	Ferenc Gondor
Kalman Marki	Dr. Emil Lengyel
Emery Sakho	Dr. George Arato
Helen Rotman	Elizabeth Benton Singer
Tibor G. Kemeny Harding	John Biro
	Abris Silverman
	Elizabeth Peresztegyi

Mr. DEKOM. Can you identify any of the people on this list by giving us any further information as to their activities?

Mr. BORSHY. I only know a few of them. Most of them are names I never heard of among loyal organizations of the American Hungarians. Every now and then these people come to the surface with some kind of paper organization, whenever they need something as a front for their subversive and shady activities. By way of an illustration, I would like to present a leaflet which bears the title "New York Council of American Hungarians for Victory," a good-sounding paper organization. Among the names listed in this pamphlet, describing various divisions and offices, again and again there appear the same names who were the organizers and directors of the American Hungarian Democratic Council headed by Bela Lugosi, and the American Relief for Democratic Hungary. Whenever these people need camouflage for their subversive activities, they are willing to choose the most high-sounding patriotically designated organization.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will receive that paper in evidence as exhibit 5.

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 5" and the list of names contained therein is as follows:)

New York Council of Hungarian Americans for Victory, 344 East Sixty-ninth Street, New York: Regent 4-5251

OFFICERS, DIVISIONS, AND DIVISION CHAIRMEN OF THE NEW YORK COUNCIL OF HUNGARIAN AMERICANS FOR VICTORY

The chairman of the council is Louis Toth, certified public accountant, member of the firm of Horwath & Horwath, member of the faculty of Cornell University, and chairman of the board of trustees of the First Hungarian Reformed Church of New York. The chairman presides at council meetings, represents the council at meetings and conferences and coordinates the plans and activities of the various divisions.

The secretary of the council is Lewis Herman, attorney at law, who has been very active and very successful in arranging Hungarian programs on the radio station operated by New York City. Mr. Herman works with Emery Komlos, assistant secretary of the council, who is also chairman of the civilian defense division.

Ernest B. Horwath, senior partner of Horwath & Horwath, nationally known firm of public accountants, is chairman of the advisory board. Members of this

board are prominent Americans of Hungarian descent who cannot devote much time to the civilian war effort but who can assist the council in other ways.

The council has the following organized divisions:

War bonds division: Chairman, Mrs. Albert Philip. This division began its activities with the sale of war bonds and stamps at our patriotic rally on October 11, 1942. Mrs. Philip is a senior staff officer of the American Women's Voluntary Services and she had long before been engaged in selling war bonds. The group of women under her leadership sold nearly \$5,000,000 worth of bonds in 1942.

USO and blood donors divisions: Chairman, Dr. Geza Takaro, pastor of the First Magyar Reformed Church of New York, and vice president of the Magyar Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. In 1942 our USO division has turned over more than \$2,500 to USO headquarters. Our division for blood donations is among the first on the list of the nationality groups. In 1942 we have given more than 1,000 pints of blood to the Red Cross for the armed services.

Allied Nations' relief funds division: Chairman, Erno Rapee, music director of Radio City Music Hall. This division has been particularly active on behalf of the Russian War Relief Fund. A dinner arranged by it for that fund resulted in the collection of nearly \$2,000.

War refugees division: Chairman, Ferenc Gondor, editor and publisher of *Az Ember*, a liberal Hungarian weekly. This division has an office at 507 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and is instrumental in helping Hungarian refugees here and abroad.

Civilian defense division: Chairman, Emery Komlos, secretary of the Hungarian section of the International Workers' Order. The division is soliciting volunteers for all types of civilian defense jobs.

Salvage division: Chairman, Dr. Eugene A. Hegy, zone director of the Yorkville Defense Council and member of the staff of the Salvage Division of the War Production Board in New York. Some of Dr. Hegy's plans for salvaging metal were adopted by WPB and were mentioned in Congress.

Public meetings division: Chairman, T. G. Kemeny-Harding, president of the Harding Impex Co., Inc., New York, and vice chairman of the First Magyar Reformed Church, New York. This division makes all arrangements for public meetings and rallies of the council. It communicates with other committees in the United States to establish similar organizations for the promotion of the war effort. In cooperation with the chairmen of all divisions, it manages all temporary campaigns. The 1943 Victory Book campaign and the March of Dimes campaign to combat infantile paralysis are conducted through this division.

Press division: Chairman, Dr. Emil Lengyel, lecturer on education, School of Education, New York University. This division looks after the publicity of the council, makes arrangements for radio broadcasts, writes scenarios.

Finance division: Chairman, John H. Sherry, member of the firm of Sherry & Picarello, attorneys at law, member of the faculty of Cornell University. This division is in charge of the financial affairs of the council. Members pay no fees; all contributions are voluntary.

Chairman of the council: Louis Toth, 551 Fifth Avenue

Secretary of the council: Lewis Herman, 217 Broadway

Assistant secretary of the council: Emery Komlos, 80 Fifth Avenue

Chairman of the advisory board: Ernest B. Horwath, 551 Fifth Avenue

Division chairmen:

War bonds, Mrs. Albert Philip, 419 East Fifty-seventh Street

USO and blood donors, Dr. Geza Takaro, 344 East Sixty-ninth Street

Allied Nations' relief funds, Erno Rapee, 1260 Sixth Avenue

War refugees, Ferenc Gondor, 320 East Seventy-ninth Street

Civilian defense, Emery Komlos, 80 Fifth Avenue

Salvage, Dr. Eugene A. Hegy, 16 East Seventy-ninth Street

Public meetings, Tibor G. Kemeny-Harding, 1 Hudson Street

Press, Dr. Emil Lengyel, 76-15, Thirty-fifth Avenue, Jackson Heights.

Finance, John H. Sherry, 110 East Forty-second Street

Mrs. Piri Schweiger, 1111 Park Avenue

Office of War Refugees Division: American Committee for Hungarian War Refugees, 507 Fifth Avenue

Mr. DEKOM. Reverend Borshy, to what extent are these same names found among the Hungarian left-wing organizations? Do they occur frequently or are these merely individual instances? What we

would like to know is: To what extent are these people the fronts and the leaders in the Hungarian left-wing movement?

Mr. BORSHY. I do not know if they are all subversive, but I know that they are members, organizers, officers, and representatives of organizations cited by the Attorney General as subversive. In spite of the official citation, they are bold, even boastingly impertinent. I would like to call your attention to a portion of an article published in one of the fellow-traveler papers, known as *Egyleti Elet* (Club Life), on July 29, 1949. The article is a part of the declaration issued by the meeting of the Hungarian executive committee of the International Workers Order, held on June 25, 1949. The committee announces the result of a national membership drive with a total result of 505 new members, and it scorns the official citation of the Attorney General and continues:

We—in spite of the hard situation—know how to organize, because our institution belongs to the members; because we practice fraternity; because we do not intend to abolish branch life, but to strengthen it; because we kept our independence and because we did not permit vagrants who escaped here (i. e. to America) to take hold of the values which were created by the blood and sweat of the American Hungarians for their own selves, for their offsprings, and for the purpose of helping each other.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you have the original article?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir; I have it here.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will receive that in evidence and mark it "Exhibit 6."

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 6," and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. DEKOM. A little while ago you made a statement concerning the American Hungarian Relief. You stated that the executive director of the president's war relief control board directed you to do certain things. Will you please discuss the result of this activity and what finally happened? Was the relief group organized and were these people taken in?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir. Since it was requested, as a *sine qua non*, by the president's control board that we must unite with Bela Lugosi's organization or have no relief work at all, we had to accept the only solution offered to us. The natural consequences of this was that at the time of the organization of the American Hungarian Relief, such paper organizations sent representatives to the board of directors, with which none of us ever collaborated before and toward which all of us were suspicious. In order to progress at all, we even had to employ an associate secretary in the person of Mátyás Török, alias Neuwald.

Mr. DEKOM. May I interrupt you? Is that Alfred Neuwald?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir; Alfred A. Neuwald, whom we knew as a well-proven Communist. It was either employing Török or let the subversive representatives sabotage the whole relief. Both Török (Neuwald) and his associates, under the pretense of relief drives, tried to infiltrate our churches and loyal organizations. This we prevented, but our outward cooperation with these subversive elements not only endangered our prestige, but paralyzed the real success of our relief activities. It was practically useless to explain to our people that we had to accept the subversive representatives because of the governmental pressure. They rather closed their hearts and pockets than

to see any of the Communists at the leadership of their relief organization.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to present the certificate of incorporation of the American Hungarian Relief, Inc. This is the original charter which was filed at the office of the secretary of state, Albany, N. Y., on September 23, 1944. This document is the proof that the American Hungarian Relief is—

(a) A loyal organization in conformity with American ideals, traditions, and practices.

(b) It is devoted exclusively to humanitarian aims and objectives.

(c) That no part of its activities shall consist of any kind of political propaganda.

(d) Each and every one of those who signed this charter is a loyal American citizen.

This is the charter of a loyal organization which was not accredited by the president's relief board until we consented to collaborate with a known subversive group.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will receive that charter and mark it "Exhibit 7."

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 7" and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DEKOM. Would you, reverend, sir, continue with the history of the organizations, with what happened to the subversive elements? Were you able to purge them from your group?

Mr. BORSHY. A year after the organization of the American Hungarian Relief we expelled the subversive representatives. Naturally, the moral and financial loss of the first year's "command cooperation" was never regained. The twice-destroyed, twice-sacrificed, Nazi- and Communist-oppressed Hungarians and their thousands of refugees suffering abroad bore the heaviest penalty of this ill-advised forced coalition.

Mr. DEKOM. I wonder if you would clarify that. In what way did the organization lose? You mean that people wouldn't contribute because of the presence of these Communists? Or in what way did all this happen?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes. Also during the time of our reorganization or purification, the Communists and fellow-traveler press bombarded us ceaselessly with dirt, denunciations, and accusations. When we elected Mr. John Flourney Montgomery, ex-American Minister to Hungary, as national president of the American Hungarian Relief, who accepted it and formed a very outstanding executive committee of national sponsors, consisting of many high-caliber American citizens—the subversive elements denounced him and the proposed national sponsors.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to present a copy of Mr. Montgomery's letter of acceptance and the list of prominent people he organized as national sponsor committee.

Mr. DEKOM. We would like to receive that in evidence, and we will mark it "Exhibit 8."

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 8" and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DEKOM. I wonder if you could name for us some of the Communists or pro-Communists whom you were forced to take in?

Who were these people?

Mr. BORSHY. One of those people was Mr. Neuwald, or Török, who was a paid official of the American Hungarian Relief.

Here is a photostatic copy of his canceled check for the week ending April 28, 1949, for the amount of \$69.41. This check was made out to M. Török. He endorsed it as Alfred A. Neuwald, a name we never knew he ever used.

Mr. DEKOM. I would like to receive that in evidence and mark it as "Exhibit 9."

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 9" and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Borshy, you say that it was made out to "M. Török" and was endorsed "Alfred A. Neuwald." Your statement, then, is that you didn't know that Török was not his real name?

Mr. BORSHY. No; we didn't when we employed him.

Mr. DEKOM. You were under the impression, and he gave you the impression, did he, that that was his real name?

Mr. BORSHY. To a certain extent; yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Are there any others of the left wing that you can name?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes; Weinstock.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that Louis Weinstock?

Mr. BORSHY. Louis Weinstock. At that time he was, I think, secretary-treasurer of the A. F. of L. Local 9.

Mr. DEKOM. That is the painters' union?

Mr. BORSHY. The painters' union in New York. The other is Lautner.¹ Then there is Stone² from Chicago, and George Striker, also from Chicago.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know where George Striker is now?

Mr. BORSHY. I heard he is in Hungary now.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know what he is doing?

Mr. BORSHY. He is employed by the Hungarian Government, as a representative of some factory.

Mr. DEKOM. That is the Hungarian Communist Government?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes; it is.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not he ever was an American citizen?

Mr. BORSHY. I don't know, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. You just know that he is back there now?

We have obtained a written statement on George Striker from Miss Beatrice Smoliga, who encountered him in Europe on a recent trip. With the permission of the chairman, we would like to introduce that statement in evidence at this point.

(The statement referred to appears on page 847.)

Mr. BORSHY. Yes. Another one is the late Emery Komlos. At that time he was the secretary of the IWO Hungarian section. And there was Mr. Lustig.³

Mr. DEKOM. Now, Reverend sir, would you please go on with any other names? Or are you finished with the list of names?

Mr. BORSHY. Temporarily, I am.

Mr. DEKOM. What happened to Mr. Török—Neuwald?

¹ John Lautner.

² Alexander Stone.

³ James Lustig.

Mr. BORSHY. On April 2, 1946, a majority resolution passed at Washington, D. C., at a special membership meeting of the American Hungarian Relief, fired Török. He was dismissed, in spite of the strong protests of his fellow travelers.

Mr. Chairman, I have a copy of these minutes which I would like to present for your attention.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will accept this in evidence as exhibit 10.

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 10" and is as follows:)

MINUTES OF THE SPECIAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HUNGARIAN RELIEF, INC., HELD AT WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 2, 1946, HOTEL BURLINGTON

Rev. Dr. Ujlaki opens meeting at 10:15 a. m.

Roll call—Present: Rev. Dr. F. Ujlaki, Mr. Cukor, Dr. T. Kerekes; Messrs. E. W. Alexander, E. Kiraly, A. C. Falussy, Rev. G. E. K. Borshy; Messrs. E. Komlos, P. Suta, S. Varga, L. Weinstock, A. B. Ari, J. Bencze, Rev. S. F. Chernitzky; Messrs. J. Lautner, Z. Gombos, J. P. Kelemen, J. Lustig, Dr. A. B. Mark; Messrs. P. Nadanyi, F. Pokorny, C. Revesz, S. L. Segedy, A. J. Smoliga, and Rev. Dr. Charles Vincez.

Represented by proxy: Dr. J. Gyetvay by J. Lustig, Rev. M. Lani and A. Chermely by Z. Gombos, B. Lugosi by E. Komlos, V. Pary by Rev. S. F. Chernitzky, J. Vasas by S. Varga, J. Walko by Dr. T. Kerekes.

Not present: Judge L. Petrash, Mayor A. J. Duch.

The executive secretary reads minutes of annual meeting of January 29, 1946, which were accepted unanimously.

A. C. Falussy reads notice regarding increase of members of directors from 30 to not more than 50. Chairman puts the proposal to vote: 25 accepted, 3 voted against it, and 1 did not vote.

Mr. A. C. Falussy reads the following resolution:

Resolved, That Francis Ujlaki, chairman of the board of directors and Arthur Dobozy, secretary, be authorized to execute and file the necessary amended certificate increasing the number of directors of the American Hungarian Relief from 30 to not more than 50, pursuant to section 30 of the Membership Corporation Law by concurring majority of the members of the corporation present at a special meeting held on the 2d day of April, 1946, upon notice pursuant to section 43 of the Membership Corporation Law of the State of New York. This resolution was accepted by the meeting. Reverend Borshy moves that the executive committee be empowered to call in the new directors after the amendment is approved by the State of New York. After some discussion it was decided unanimously that the executive committee be authorized to pick the additional number of directors until the next directors meeting, with the proviso that additional members should come from the most active members proposed by the chapters.

Chairman indicates that the election of the new board of directors is next on the agenda. Mr. P. Nadanyi moves that no member of the Communist Party be permitted to become a member of the board of directors. Seconded by several members.

Mr. L. Weinstock declares that the old board of directors cannot be absolved without settling certain questions like that of the associate secretary. Dr. Mark moves to absolve the board of directors; Mr. Segedy seconds motion; Mr. Revesz amends motion to include the executive committee; Mr. Lustig requests a vote on the question of the associate secretary. Mr. Nadanyi moves that the decision of the executive committee as 3 to 7 abolishing the position of the associate secretary be accepted. A subsequent vote of 20 against, 10 approves the decision of the executive committee and absolves the old board of directors. A secret vote was then taken on Mr. Nadanyi's motion that no member of the Communist Party can become a director of the American Hungarian Relief. Accepted by a majority vote (20 for it, 8 against, 2 did not vote).

Mr. BORSHY. You will find in these minutes some of the names I mentioned before.

Mr. DEKOM. Did the relief organization ever pass any resolution barring Communists from membership or from holding office or from the board of directors?

Mr. BORSHY. That happened at that special meeting which I just mentioned, on April 2, 1946.

Mr. DEKOM. That actually barred all Communists?

Mr. BORSHY. All Communists.

Mr. DEKOM. How did you determine who was a Communist?

Mr. BORSHY. We asked them.

Mr. DEKOM. You asked them. Did any of them admit that they were Communists?

Mr. BORSHY. A few of them.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that also in the minutes?

Mr. BORSHY. No; it isn't.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you recall who admitted that?

Mr. BORSHY. I think Weinstock, Lusztig, and Lautner admitted it. The rest of them told us it was not our business to ask such questions.

Mr. DEKOM. Isn't that the same tactic which has been used before this and other congressional committees by persons who have something to hide?

Mr. BORSHY. Exactly the same, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you conclude from the refusal on their part that they actually were hiding something?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Did the board of directors so conclude?

Mr. BORSHY. They did. If, on a clear question, a man cannot say "yes" or "no," then I am suspicious of him.

Mr. DEKOM. What happened after these people were thrown out? I assume from the statement you have made that they were thrown out. What happened after that? What did they do? Did they take any retaliatory steps against you?

Mr. BORSHY. After that, they attacked us in their paper, stating that we destroyed the relief organization. As the Communist Magyar Jövö put it in its March 8, 1946, article:

With this step (i. e. the dismissal of Török) the destructors of the Hungarian people's relief reached the peak of their brazen manipulations.

This is the article.

Mr. DEKOM. We will accept that in evidence and mark it "Exhibit 11."

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 11" and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. BORSHY. For 4 years they attacked us, and often they singled me out as their chief target. The Magyar Jövö published an article on March 29, 1946, under the name of Dr. Nicholas Fülöp, warning the Hungarians of America that—

The reign of Horthy—

ex-Regent of Hungary used as the symbol of reactionary and anti-Communist—

must be ended in Hungarian America and in the Hungarian relief.

I have that article here.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive that in evidence as Exhibit 12.

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 12" and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. BORSHY. On March 22, 1946, in the same Magyar Jövö, another article appeared under the title of "What Is Urgent in the Relief Action?" May I quote the article?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. BORSHY (reading):

Borshy and his cohorts monopolize the power today but they do not care about serious plans and action, they want Hoover and to revive the old Hooverian system. This is the only important thing for them, so the relief may be used again as a political weapon to defeat the sacred, grand freedom fight of the European peoples.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you the original of that?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. DEKOM. We would like to accept that in evidence as exhibit 13. (The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 13" and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. DEKOM. Before you go on, that quotation which you have just read would imply that the relief organization was some sort of a political organization?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Was it?

Mr. BORSHY. No, sir, it wasn't—not on our part.

Mr. DEKOM. You mean on their part it was. Did it have anything to do with politics as far as the majority of the board of directors was concerned?

Mr. BORSHY. Not at all, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Did it have anything to do with politics as far as the incorporators were concerned?

Mr. BORSHY. No, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Did it ever engage in any political activity?

Mr. BORSHY. Never.

Mr. DEKOM. What did it engage in?

Mr. BORSHY. Strictly humanitarian and relief work.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you please go on?

Mr. BORSHY. Previously, on March 7, 1946, the Magyar Jövö even cast the suspicion of embezzling upon us:

The Washington clique, under the leadership of George E. Borshy, does not want relief but power, unlimited handling of the affairs—without any supervision. That is why Mathias Török, who planned every campaign and who did all the constructive work, had to be eliminated as an associate secretary from the central office.

I have that article here, too.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive that in evidence as exhibit 14.

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 14" and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. BORSHY. Later they changed their tactics and arrogantly demanded that the relief must follow as they command. In order to illustrate this attitude, I wish to quote one more of their innumerable articles appearing about our relief work in the Magyar Jövö. The title of this one is "The Hungarian Orphans' Money":

The Hungarian Minister of Welfare has informed the Hungarian Relief months ago that there are 200,000 needy orphans in Hungary, and that it is anticipated that about 60,000 of these children will be provided for by the American guard-

ians. The Minister of Welfare also wrote that for one orphan, room, board, and clothing will cost \$3 per month—without shoes, since there are no shoes available in Hungary. * * * No kind of reconsideration or anxiety can justify the postponement and the delay of transmitting the money to the orphans. We know that Reverend Borshy * * * and a few others are and will be against the immediate transfer of this money—the American Hungarians are accustomed to the rigidity of these gentlemen toward every worthy action. Regardless of whether certain gentlemen trust the new Hungarian system and Government or not, it cannot be tolerated that innocent Hungarian children, hungry and homeless orphans, should suffer because of the political opinion and stubbornness of a small group. We demand, and let every American guardian demand with us, that the leaders of the relief act immediately. Let them purchase the children's shoes without delay, for which a tremendous amount of money has already been donated, and let them send these over to Hungary. Let them transmit immediately every penny of the thousands of dollars collected for the orphans.

This is the article.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive that in evidence and mark it "Exhibit 15."

(The article referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 15" and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. BORSHY. Since none of their tactics could disturb our harmonious work, they intervened at the Hungarian Government, which already changed its color more and more to real Red. They suggested that all relief supplies should be sent directly to the Minister of Welfare, who then would distribute them at his own discretion. When our board forbade such methods of distribution of the relief donated by American citizens, then the non-Communist members of our Budapest distribution committee were kicked out, one after another. Soon we had to disband the entire committee. Then we engaged a retired American consular official, Mr. John Ronto, as the chief of our Budapest distribution office. Shortly, they also expelled him from Hungary. With this, they succeeded to ruin completely our distribution service in Hungary. In retaliation of our refusal to aid the Communist Party, they distinguished me as the No. 1 public enemy of the People's Democracy. It is needless to say that there is no contact whatsoever between the Communists and the relief work. Whatever relief we are able to send abroad now is helping the refugees and the homeless people of Hungary scattered all over Europe, especially the ones located within the American-, British-, and French-occupied zones of Germany.

Mr. DEKOM. I notice, Mr. Borshy, on both the lists of names you have submitted in exhibit here, that is, the Council of Hungarian Americans for Victory and the American Relief for Democratic Hungary, which you identify as left-wing and pro-Communist, the name of Dr. Geza Takaro, who is a minister of the Gospel, appears. Is that not true?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, it is true.

Mr. DEKOM. How can you account for the presence of a churchman on these lists? Have you any information concerning him which might clarify that?

Mr. BORSHY. Geza Takaro was one of the members of our board before. He is a trustee of the American Hungarian Relief. At the time of our last convention, his lodge friends succeeded in electing him to this position. One of the many strange activities of this man was head-lined in the Hungarian Daily *Amerikai-Magyar Népszava* (American-Hungarian People's Voice) published in New York. I

have this article with me. I would like to quote some parts of it with reference to Reverend Takaro's activities in "O. King" visas for American citizens desiring to visit Hungary in 1948. The title of this article is, "Informer's Net Around Consul Alth."¹

The informer system knocked at the door of the consulate general already * * * through the person of a young man whose name is John Florian.² He was that trustworthy "comrade" who was sent by Rakosi with the young son of Ferenc Nagy³ and with a commission that he should make the father who was anxious about his son sign his letter of resignation. Reverend Dr. Geza Takaro, who would like to conceal nowadays his well-known political behavior, played a "prominent" part in this net. Before any important decision, Comrade Florian called up the Reverend and asked for his opinion—one might say he asked for his decision—whether the visa may be issued or not * * *

The other "informer" is also an old acquaintance of the American Hungarians, Koloman Marki * * * The head of the organization is none other than Mathias Török, secretary of the Hungarian Democratic Council and the chief of the Danubia package-shipping agency.

I have the article here.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive that in evidence as exhibit 16.

(The article referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 16" and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. DEKOM. To what extent, to your knowledge, has Takaro been engaged in writing for Communist or left-wing newspapers?

Mr. BORSHY. He repeatedly wrote in the Magyar Jövö and other fellow-traveler papers. One of his official announcements, addressed to his friends, appeared on July 2, 1948, in a New York weekly known as Az Ember (The Man), which was very closely following the well known lines. In the article which was printed over his name, Dr. Takaro sends a farewell word to his readers and states that he is to attend the Geneva and Amsterdam Church conferences as a delegate of the Evangelical and Reformed Church and that he will spend a few weeks, between the two church meetings, in Hungary. With extreme modesty he concludes his farewell:

I regard this journey as the greatest event of my life. From the entire American Continent only one Hungarian will attend these meetings in an official capacity, and regardless who this person is, the entire Hungarian populace of America should consider it an honor. I will always be grateful that this distinction was given to the pastor of my own New York church.

This is the article.

Mr. DEKOM. We will accept that in evidence as exhibit 17.

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 17" and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not Dr. Takaro has been in Hungary since the Communists have come to power?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes; he was.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it not rather difficult for any person now to obtain a visa to go to Hungary?

Mr. BORSHY. I think it is difficult, and it was difficult at that time, too.

Mr. DEKOM. How do you account for the fact that he received permission?

¹ Aurel Alth, resigned Hungarian consul general in New York.

² Florian was formerly first secretary of the Hungarian Legation in Washington. He was expelled by the United States Government.

³ The last democratically elected Prime Minister of Hungary. Nagy is now a refugee in the United States.

Mr. BORSHY. As the Amerikai-Magyar Népszava has stated, he was the one who supervised the granting of the visas at the consulate.

Mr. DEKOM. You mean he was instrumental in determining who should go to Hungary under a visa issued by the Hungarian consulate? The Hungarian consulate consulted him as to what American Hungarians should be given visas?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes; according to the article of the Népszava. I only read about his visit to Hungary in a weekly published at Budapest, Hungary. The original copy of this weekly, known as Képes Figyelő (Pictorial Observer) is in my hands. In this copy, issued March 20, 1948, a reporter, Stephen Reményi-Gyenes, gives an account of Takaro's visit and his interview with him at Budapest. The title of this article is "Eckhardt, Nagy Ferenc and Company." In this interview, Takaro denounces the exiled and emigrated political representatives of Hungary who still are in the United States now under the immunity granted by the Secretary of State and under the protection of our American freedom and hospitality. Before denouncing Eckhardt, Ferenc Nagy, Monsignor Bela Varga, and others in this interview "as a reactionary-Fascist gang," he proceeds to lie about the activities of the American Hungarian Federation, our loyal representative citizens' agency, and feverishly praises and admires the great activities of the Communists in restoring Hungary. His picture is in this paper, too, at the front of a statue where, according to the interview, he spoke and stated that he laid the wreath in the name of half a million American Hungarians—whereas we only heard about his sneaking visit to Hungary when his congregation complained about his absence before the Easter holidays. I understand that there is a disciplinary church investigation pending now over Dr. Takaro because of his strange activities.

Mr. DEKOM. Now, let me clarify this statement. It is your testimony that Dr. Takaro went to Hungary, and over there, in a country controlled by a Communist dictatorship, proceeded to criticize American organizations of loyal Hungarians?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes; that is what he did.

Mr. DEKOM. He also criticized certain refugees from communism, including the former Prime Minister of Hungary, Ferenc Nagy, a well-known Catholic churchman, Monsignor Bela Varga, and the former diplomat, Dr. Tibor Eckhardt?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive that in evidence as exhibit 18.

(The document referred to was marked "Borshy Exhibit 18" and appears facing this page.)

Mr. DEKOM. The reason, Reverend Borshy, that the subcommittee has invited you to appear today is that S. 1832, a bill introduced by Senator McCarran to provide for the exclusion and deportation of subversive aliens, is under consideration. I will ask you, sir, if you have read that bill.

Mr. BORSHY. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. DEKOM. I wonder if you would care to comment on that bill?

Mr. BORSHY. I would, sir. I read very carefully both the proposed bill and the excellent speech of Senator McCarran explaining his reasons for this bill. According to my Christian conviction and because of my ministerial profession, I regard myself as an understanding man. I firmly believe in the freedom of religious and political con-

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victions for every man, too. Nevertheless, I believe, that in the absence of proper supervision, the subversive element—partly easily admitted or easily naturalized—abuses the patience of our great country. Through the continuous sharpening of racial, national, and economical controversies, they undermine the security of this Nation and the freedom of our American people. We should not permit the spreading of more and more termites in the sunshine of our Christian liberalism. There is a need for a law which is more circumspect in its admission of aliens and which is more firm in the investigation of the behavior of the admitted aliens living within our borders—and, if necessary, in the punishment of crimes committed against the welfare of our Nation.

Thanks to God, we have ample room in the United States to admit those who are persecuted and homeless—but we should never spare an inch for those who dare to endanger the peace of our people, the faith of our citizens, and the Constitution of the United States. As we were able to get rid of the poison of nazism, we must also liberate ourselves from the cancer of communism. The longer our Government tolerates the unchecked activities of the subversives, the more damage shall be done to our beloved America.

We, the first or the second generation of the naturalized citizens, had never before a chance, either through the provisions of the immigration laws or through the regulations of the Justice Department, to voice our opinion. In spite of the fact that we have our loyal representative organizations, only rarely or never have these national organizations been consulted before by the proper authorities. We had to fight our own battles alone, and it is only because of our loyal churches and social organizations, struggling without external aid, that a greater danger has not engulfed our lives until now.

Our compatriots, the Hungarians in Europe, suffer under a tremendous terroristic pressure at this time behind the well known curtain. We all hate the American lackeys of this terrorism. None of us wishes to have more of them in America, and we would be very happy to see the ones who are still here, leave this country.

We agree with the spirit of this bill and we endorse S. 1832 willingly if the application and the execution of this amendment will be in harmony with the American traditions. We believe that nothing but good can result by the provisions of this proposed law.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Borshy, you heard the reading of a joint statement by Father Biro, did you not?

Mr. BORSHY. Yes; I did.

Mr. DEKOM. And you concur in that statement?

Mr. BORSHY. Wholeheartedly, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Thank you very much, Reverend George E. K. Borshy, for your testimony here today.

SWORN STATEMENT OF BEATRICE SMOLIGA

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,

County of Passaic, ss:

On April 4, 1949, my mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Smoliga, and I, Beatrice Smoliga, residing at 1 Marilyn Place, Clifton, N. J., left via American Overseas Airlines for Europe, to visit relatives in Budapest, Hungary. On April 8, while waiting in the Czech Airlines office in Prague for connections to fly to Budapest, we were informed that our flight had been canceled because of bad weather. There were two male passengers besides us, a Hungarian and an American who spoke English with a Hungarian accent. The two men were strangers to each other, and the

latter was a short, slight, dark man about 40, who conversed with us, although we did not learn his identity until later.

We all decided against waiting for the next day's flight, and the four of us were taken in the air lines bus to the Gare Wilson, where we had to claim our baggage and make arrangements to board the 7 p. m. sleeper for Budapest. Because of their knowledge of German, both gentlemen were of great help to us in taking care of our baggage. After we had boarded the train further conversation led to eventual introductions, at which time we learned that the American was George Striker, of Chicago. He said that he was on an extended visit in Hungary, having been there since September 1948, and was representative of a Hungarian firm, just returning from a business trip which had taken him to Paris and Zurich, Switzerland. He also said that he had an apartment in Budapest with his wife and small daughter.

When officials asked to see our passports Mr. Striker did not produce the familiar green United States passport, such as we had, but a slightly wider one, black or navy blue. He spoke much about the splendid changes we would see in Hungary after 10 years (mother and I were last in Budapest in 1939).

Since, for 3½ years, I had been associated with the central office of the American Hungarian Relief, Inc., in New York City, as assistant to the executive secretary, I had heard of George Striker, who had been on the AIHR board of directors, although I had never met him. Probably familiar to the committee is the fact that Mr. Striker, along with several other board members, resigned (or was asked to resign) from the AIHR last year.

Upon learning that my name was Smoliga, Striker immediately asked whether I was related to the Mr. Albert Smoliga who was on the board of directors of the AIHR. Steering around his question, I mentioned that my father had done relief work after the First World War, when he was sent to Siberia as a representative of the American Committee for Repatriation of War Prisoners, to supervise the transportation of Hungarian prisoners of war back to Hungary. A few minutes later he asked pointedly how it was that mother and I obtained visas to enter Hungary. We told him that we had applied at the Hungarian consulate in New York City and received our visas in about a week.

Then he proceeded, in a very smooth and friendly way, to ask me about my schooling and profession, which I told him was education. (I had taught English and music in Clifton, N. J., high school in 1944-45.) A very intelligent interrogation followed on his part, and I found myself giving him a lecture of nearly an hour on the United States educational system, philosophy, and psychology of education, methods of group teaching in music, and little anecdotes from my teaching experiences. It struck me that in the end he was convinced that I really was a teacher. He seemed quite impressed and told me that I must be sure to visit the wonderful new state day nurseries in Budapest, also the small railroad actually built, so he would have me believe, by the "Utorok" (Roadbreakers), a youth-group of Hungarian school children, who also ran the railroad. He extolled the high living conditions of the factory worker in Hungary and told me I must visit a factory cafeteria and hospital to see the fine facilities. When I asked him about the living conditions of the peasant, or farm worker, he changed the subject.

Our conversation ended at about 10 p. m., when we all retired for the night. We pulled into Budapest's Keleti railroad station at 8:30 a. m. on Saturday, April 9, and after a few remarks about the battered city and sad-looking countryside we said our goodbyes, and that was the last I saw of Mr. Striker.

Aside from United States officials stationed in Hungary, the only other Americans we saw during our 6 weeks' stay was a Mrs. Farkas, who was on our flight from Budapest to Prague on May 19, and a man whom we met at a dinner party in Budapest in late April. He was a tall, lame man, with grey hair, about 50, a Paul Zilsser (or Czilzer, I'm not sure of the spelling), a painter who had been in Budapest several months and had come to visit his aged mother. He said he had a home in Connecticut and had lived in Hollywood. He seemed annoyed with the close supervision of foreigners in Hungary and stated that the only way he could extend his stay there was by arranging an exhibition of his paintings. However, I had heard that he was acting as special adviser to a Hungarian film company. My entire acquaintance with this man was a few hours long.

BEATRICE SMOLIGA, *Clifton, N. J.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 11th day of August 1949 at Clifton, N. J.

[SEAL]

LORETTA C. SCHLEICH,
A Notary Public of New Jersey.

My commission expires October 1951.

**TESTIMONY OF STEPHEN E. BALOGH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY,
AMERICAN HUNGARIAN FEDERATION**

Mr. DEKOM. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is the Reverend Stephen E. Balogh, who has already been sworn.

What is your position, sir?

Mr. BALOGH. I am the executive secretary of the American Hungarian Federation.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you tell us what the membership of that organization is?

Mr. BALOGH. There is a list of membership published in our tenth anniversary report. The last official count of our members is dated as of this report, which was published on November 14, 1948. On the pages of this report, from 33 to 37, inclusive, the list of membership is shown in three different groups. Group 1 shows the members of the board of directors. There are 23 democratically elected members of the board of directors from different parts of the United States, representing four national fraternal organizations, churches of all denominations, patriotic, civic, and various other organizations of Hungarian origin.

Group 2 shows the institutional membership. By institutional membership, we mean the 163 congregations of the three major faiths, 121 national, district, and local organizations, patriotic, civic, and other citizens' organizations.

Group 3 designates the individual memberships. Individual members are located throughout the 36 States of the United States, in 203 Hungarian centers. By individual membership we mean the charter and patron members supporting our federation through individual membership dues. The total of these charter and patron members in this report is 1,728. In addition to the institutional and individual membership, there are about 30 publications—monthly magazines, weekly newspapers, and 2 dailies—mentioned in the anniversary report on page 37, which are identified as supporters of the aims and the program of the American Hungarian Federation. The aggregate total of the federation's membership as of November 1, 1948, was 445,000.

The present membership of the federation, counted on September 1, 1949, is represented in 42 States of our Union. Presently there are 271 church and other organizations, over 3,000 individual patrons, giving an estimated total membership of 515,000. I would like to submit our 1948 Tenth Anniversary Report with the pages to which I have referred included.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, it will be marked as exhibit 1.

(The document referred to was marked "Balogh Exhibit 1," and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DEKOM. What are the goals, the aims, of the American Hungarian Federation?

Mr. BALOGH. Chapter II of the bylaws of the American Hungarian Federation answers this question. I would like to read a section of our bylaws describing the aims of the federation.

(a) To serve to the best of its ability the interests of the United States of America;

(b) To acquaint the immigrants from Hungary with the ideals of American democracy, also to warn them of those un-American ideologies originating from alien sources which attempt to undermine the Constitution of the United States. The federation aims also to acquaint Hungarian immigrants with the spirit of the public opinion of our adopted country, and aims, furthermore, to assure them possibilities of well-being and livelihood;

(c) To familiarize the second and succeeding generations with the history, art, literature, and culture of the nation of which they are descendants and heirs and to include them into those American Hungarian organizations which were founded here by the immigrant Hungarians during the course of over half a century;

(d) To harmonize the different efforts of American Hungarian organizations in the United States, in order that they may perform their civic, social, and cultural activities with greater effectiveness and thus serve as a coordinator of American Hungarian life;

(e) To observe all movements contrary to the American spirit and to do its best to foil such movements;

(f) To assist Americans of Hungarian origin to obtain the means of livelihood and well-being and to defend them against any discrimination;

(g) To counterbalance any attempt to falsify or distort the historic rights of the Hungarian people;

(h) To support as much as it possibly can American and American Hungarian charitable institutions;

(i) To support—within the Constitution and laws of the United States—with all its influence movements aiming to bring about independence for Hungary as well as liberty and well-being for its people and to do everything possible to protect the human rights and citizenship of the Hungarian displaced persons outside of Hungary.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer the bylaws of the American Hungarian Federation into evidence.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive that as exhibit 2.

(The document referred to was marked "Balogh Exhibit 2" and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DEKOM. Does the American Hungarian Federation publish any newspaper or periodical?

Mr. BALOGH. Yes, sir. We publish, since April of this year, a bi-monthly or monthly periodical under the name of News Letter. The issues are printed according to the needs of the pertinent information.

On page 5 of the latest copy of our News Letter, volume I, No. 10, dated September 23, 1949, I published the letter from this subcommittee directing me to appear at this hearing. Under that letter the following comment was added in the Hungarian language, which I should like to translate now and read:

The United States Senate Subcommittee on the Judiciary has been holding hearings over the past few months concerning the proposed bill before the Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittee. Among the representatives of other national organizations, the secretary of the federation, Stephen E. Balogh, Father Benedict Biro, and Rev. George E. K. Borshy, members of our board of directors were invited by the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator McCarran, to testify openly about S. 1832 on behalf of the American Hungarian Federation.

The essence of this bill is the following:

(a) No American visa should be issued to such aliens about whom it is evident, and proven, that they are connected with such un-American subversive groups which may endanger the security of our Nation.

(b) All aliens, who knowingly became members of or associated with any of the subversive organizations which may endanger the security of the Nation, should be arrested and deported. America is the country of the American

Hungarians. All American citizens of Hungarian descent are sincerely and loyally true to this free and democratic country. The American Hungarians are among those fortunate nationality groups among whom the numbers of those who may be called un-American subversives are very negligent. For us American Hungarians, such anti-Communist bill can only mean this: We are happy to see the alertness of the legislators when they propose to enact a law by which our Nation will be able to order the deportation of the undersirable element.

Therefore, when the secretary and the two board members of our federation will testify, they shall bear witness, before our highest legislative forum—before the venerable committee of the United States Senate—about the loyalty of the American-Hungarians. Thus, it is evident that God-fearing, patriotic, and conscientious citizens shall only gain benefit and credit for themselves from the testimony of the three representatives.

Mr. SCHROEDER. In other words, your federation goes on record as an outstanding patriotic organization to protect our present system of government?

Mr. BALOGH. That is correct. Ever since this federation was founded in 1907 it has been known among the loyal and conscientious citizens and their organizations throughout the United States as the patriotic central representative of American-Hungarian churches and other Hungarian loyal groups. We are the defenders of the Constitution, and the recognized patriotic representatives of the loyal Hungarian element of this country.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Have you a copy of that article which you have just read in translation?

Mr. BALOGH. Yes, sir. Here is the original in Hungarian on page 5 of this News Letter, and the translation is attached to it.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will receive that in evidence as exhibit 3.

(The document referred to was marked "Balogh Exhibit No. 3" and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the only means of dissemination of information that your organization has?

Mr. BALOGH. No, sir; over the years the federation has published many pamphlets, books, and documents of cultural, historical content; official and popular informational releases; fostered, financed, and circulated books of lasting interest and current value. Continually publishes releases through newspapers—domestic and foreign—and radio channels about issues of public interest, furnishes books free to American educational institutions and libraries throughout the whole country.

In addition to these, we supply our American Hungarian-language publications, newspapers, periodicals, and sometimes Hungarian-language radio programs with some of our current articles and information materials. I have here a list of Hungarian publications as it appears in N. W. Ayer's Directory of Newspaper and Periodicals, dated 1949. There are 40 Hungarian publications listed in this directory. Among these only about 8 could be identified which would refuse the publication of our information material or articles. These 8 newspapers are, perhaps, the ones which one may identify as fellow-traveler or Communist-line newspapers. We would not ask them to publish our informational items, but would we ask them, I am sure they would refuse us. I offer this list into evidence.

Mr. DEKOM. We accept this as exhibit 4.

(The document referred to was marked "Balogh Exhibit No. 4" and is as follows:)

List of Hungarian Publications as found in N. W. Ayer & Sons Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, 1949, with the following remarks:

* The papers marked with an asterisk are Communist or pro-Communist.

(*) The papers marked with an asterisk in parenthesis are sympathizers, but not Communist.

California: Los Angeles, Californiai Magyarság (weekly), independent.

Connecticut:

Bridgeport:

Amerikai Magyarság (formerly A Mi Lapunk) (weekly) independent.

Rákóczi Szemle (monthly).

District of Columbia: Washington, Testvériség (monthly), fraternal.

Illinois: Chicago, Az Irás-Ottthon (*) (weekly), independent.

Indiana: South Bend, Városi Élet (*) (weekly), independent.

Michigan:

Detroit:

Detroiti Magyarság (weekly), nonpartisan.

Magyar Híradó (weekly).

Detroiti Ujság (weekly), independent.

Missouri: St. Louis, St. Louis és Vidéke (weekly), independent.

New Jersey:

Newark, Newarki Hírlap (weekly), independent.

New Brunswick:

Magyar Herald (*) (weekly), independent.

Magyar Hírlap (weekly), nonpartisan.

Passaic, Szabad Sajtó (weekly), Republican.

Perth Amboy, Híradó (weekly), independent.

Trenton:

Függetlenség (weekly), independent.

Jersey Híradó (weekly), independent.

New York:

Buffalo, Híradó (weekly), independent.

New York:

Amerikai Magyar Népszava (daily), independent.

Egyleti Élet (*) (weekly), Hungarian international.

Az Ember (*) (weekly), Democrat.

Krónika (monthly).

Magyar Jövő * (daily), Labor.

Munkás (weekly), political (Radical Socialist).

Nők Világa * (monthly) women's international.

Ohio:

Akron, Akroni Magyar Hírlap (weekly), nonpartisan.

Cleveland:

Az Ujság (weekly), independent.

Bérmunkás * (weekly).

Jó Pásztor (weekly) religious.

Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja (weekly), Catholic.

Szabadság (daily), independent.

Lorain, Lorain és Vidéke (weekly), independent.

Toledo, Toledo (weekly), independent.

Pennsylvania:

Bethlehem, Híradó (weekly), Hungarian independent.

Philadelphia, Függetlenség (weekly), independent.

Pittsburgh:

Magyar Bányászlap (weekly), independent.

Magyarság (weekly), independent.

Reformátusok Lapja (semimonthly), religious.

Verhovayak Lapja (weekly), Democrat.

Wisconsin: Milwaukee, Wisconsin Magyarság (weekly), nonpartisan.

Mr. SCHROEDER. These 8 periodicals that you have indicated with asterisks, do they follow the party line?

Mr. BALOGH. Among the 8, one is a daily. By the contents of the frequent publications of these papers which I have read, I would defi-

nately say "Yes." They are habitually thriving on news items which originate from Communist-ruled Hungary. They are always eager to publish the least important announcements of the Washington Hungarian Communist Legation. They are the harshest critics of our American domestic and foreign policies and legislative matters. They, openly or subtly, praise the people's—meaning Communist—achievements abroad, but scorn the desires of the patriotic Hungarian citizens, and refuse to publish information released by us.

Mr. DEKOM. Now, Mr. Balogh, the judgment that these papers are fellow travelers and Communist is based upon the contents of the papers themselves and not on their refusal to publish information your federation puts out?

Mr. BALOGH. Primarily on the contents of their articles which I have read, upon their false comments about the series of events which happen behind the iron curtain, upon their distorted commentaries on every Communist movement.

Mr. DEKOM. In other words, the editorial line of the paper follows substantially the line of the Communist Party?

Mr. BALOGH. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. You wouldn't say, would you, that if a paper refused to publish news put out by your publication, that would make it Communist?

Mr. BALOGH. No, sir; I have not the slightest intention to suggest that with my statement. I never meant to imply that.

Mr. DEKOM. No; I know you didn't. I merely wanted to clarify the record, to show that you have actually studied these papers, the contents of these papers.

Mr. BALOGH. That is correct. I have read and studied them for a number of years.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do they criticize loyal American Hungarians editorially?

Mr. BALOGH. They attack, denounce, and very violently discredit loyal organizations and their movements—as we heard only a little while ago in the testimony connected with the American Hungarian Relief. Reverend Borshy described it, how their patriotic and loyal directors have been criticized by these papers.

Mr. DEKOM. You have testified that you are familiar with the contents of these papers. Would you tell us which newspaper in the Hungarian language might be referred to as the leading Hungarian Communist paper in the United States?

Mr. BALOGH. A daily, known as Magyar Jövö, is the leading Communist newspaper. Mr. Louis F. Budenz on June 9, 1949, also mentioned it before this subcommittee, when he listed the known American Communist publications, that the Magyar Jövö is the leading Communist Hungarian newspaper.¹

Mr. DEKOM. Have you yourself had occasion to study this paper and to be familiar with its contents?

Mr. BALOGH. Yes, sir; I have read many of their Communist articles, editorials, commentaries, and distorted news items.

Mr. DEKOM. What is your personal opinion of that newspaper?

Mr. BALOGH. My personal opinion is, sir, that the Magyar Jövö not only follows very closely the Communist line and never deviates from it, but that it is a Communist newspaper.

¹ See p. 237.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do you have any knowledge that this newspaper in question is receiving financial support from any foreign government?

Mr. BALOGH. I don't know, sir. I only know that there was a time when they sent thousands of copies for distribution to Hungary. This was since the Communist regime came to power. It is mere common sense to believe that they have been reimbursed for their copies by the Communist Hungarian Government. I have not seen a check issued to them by anyone. Their weekly expenditure is about \$2,500 to \$2,700. The few known Hungarian Communists in America cannot sustain such financial burden. Over and above their few thousand subscriptions, the Communist Party of Hungary or Soviet Russia must finance them.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do they carry any advertisements of any Hungarian Government agencies in the United States?

Mr. BALOGH. Some Hungarian travel and shipping agencies, doing business with the Communist Hungarian, Roumanian, and other Soviet satellite governments, advertised in that paper.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Balogh, I have in my hand here, a list of names which was submitted to this subcommittee in evidence as a list of those applicants for visas to Hungary who received the approval of Mátyás Török or Alfred Neuwald; I might say, not only his approval, but his commendation, as being highly reliable to the present Communist regime in Hungary. I would like to ask you to look over this list and identify any persons with whom you are familiar, or with whose records you are familiar. We will make the list part of the record here, with the permission of the chairman.

(The list of names shown to the witness is as follows:)

Berta Molinaris, 1015 Tiffany Street, Bronx, N. Y.
 Albert Kepecs, 501 West One Hundred Eighty-fourth Street, New York, N. Y.
 Paula Hirsch, 945 East One Hundred Sixteenth Street, Bronx, N. Y.
 Iren Gabor, 1001 Woodycrest Avenue, New York, N. Y.
 Milly Newmann, 736 West One Hundred Eighty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y.
 Tibor Kozma, 252 West Seventy-second Street, New York, N. Y.
 Karoly Sparing, 1-104 Philomene Boulevard, Lincoln Park, Mich.
 Reverend Stephen Kocsis, 435 West One Hundred Nineteenth Street, New York, N. Y.
 Geza Takaro, 344 East Sixty-ninth Street, New York, N. Y.
 Gussie Berkowitz, 2121 Virgil Place, Bronx, N. Y.
 Emil Gardos, 217 East Eighty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y.
 Mrs. Ralph Bowmann, Putnam Valley, N. J., (From San Francisco, Calif.)
 Rose Topercer, 2121 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
 Anna Pongracz, 770 South Main Street, Akron, Ohio.
 Henri Schwartz and wife, 703 Melrose Street, Chicago, Ill.
 Dr. Mihaly Morandini, Engineering Research, 2226 South Buson Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
 John Uhrin, 737 South Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Marcell Breyer, 438 East Eighty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y.
 Annette Kantor Kozma, 252 West Seventy-second Street, New York, N. Y.
 Ernestine Austin, (Erna Fodor) 34-49 Eighty-ninth Street, Jackson Heights, N. Y.
 Jozsef Vilagos, 515 East One Hundred Eighteenth Street, New York, N. Y.
 Amalia Gardos, 217 East Eighty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y.
 Anton Bukrics, 130 East Sixteenth Street, New York, N. Y.
 Otto Istvan Fortay, M. D., 474 Park Avenue, Peterson, N. J.
 Jack Pollak, 2081 Grand Concourse, New York, N. Y.
 Felix Friedlander, 25 Avenue D, New York, N. Y.
 Grad Morton (alias Deak Zoltan), 43-09 Forty-seventh Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y.
 Louis Weinstock, 24 Metropolitan Oval, New York, N. Y.

Gyula Szirmay, 310 East Eighty-seventh Street, New York, N. Y.
 Margit Toth (nee Klein), 2101 Creston Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.
 Ferenc Orban and wife, nee Maria Szabo, 1951 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
 Daniel Lantz, 926 Southern Boulevard, New York, N. Y.
 Dezso Pastrik, 30-69 Thirty-eighth Street, Astoria, Long Island, N. Y.
 Geza Kun, 1058 Simpson Street, New York, N. Y.
 Sandor Goldberger, 1134 Simpson Street, New York, N. Y.
 Vera Nemeth, 1100 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.
 Sarah Villas, care of Bahrach, 1160 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.
 Aron Wilkes, 163 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.
 Jozsef Laskay, 1700 Pilgrimm Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.
 Esther Lefkowitz, 1060 Fox Street, Bronx, N. Y.
 Endee Schultz, 130 West Eighty-second Street, New York, N. Y.
 Leah Carolyn Fisher, 17716 Kinsman Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. BALOGH. Glancing over this list, I find two names which I immediately recognize.

Taking these names in order, I see the name of Geza Takaro, 344 East Sixty-ninth Street, New York. Dr. Geza Takaro is a Protestant minister, and he is the pastor of the Hungarian Reformed Church at that address.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you tell us anything concerning him or his activities that might enlighten this committee?

Mr. BALOGH. I first heard about Dr. Takaro's visit from New York to Hungary, in March 1948. During the time of his visit to Hungary, we received a copy of a Hungarian magazine called the *Képes Figyelő* (Pictorial Observer). This particular issue is filled with the pictures of Marshal Voroshilov,¹ Russian commanders, Mr. Rakosi,² the Communist dictator of Hungary, and other Communist Hungarian leaders.

I was surprised to find in this same magazine a full-page story under the title, "Eckhardt, Nagy Ferenc & Co.," with Rev. Dr. Takaro's picture at the foot of a statue. This picture shows Reverend Takaro with "Mr. Sunshine," alias Mr. Sonnenschein, representative of the Jewish Hungarian Relief of New York. I was surprised to read the article. According to the author, who quotes Dr. Takaro, he proceeds to denounce Mr. Ferenc Nagy, the ex-Prime Minister of Hungary; Msgr. Bela Varga, who was the democratically elected last President of the pre-Communist Hungarian Parliament; Dr. Zoltan Pfeiffer, the leader of the Hungarian Independent Party before the Communists took over the reign of Hungary; Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, who has been in the United States for over 8 years already. I was indeed shocked when I read how he denounced these gentlemen who are under the immunity and protection of our State Department and enjoying the hospitality of the American people. These men, who are the democratically elected leaders of Hungary, Dr. Takaro denounced as Fascists and "a reactionary and Fascist gang."

Furthermore, in the same article, Rev. Mr. Takaro commenced to discredit the American Hungarian Federation, an American citizens' organization with 42 years' unblemished patriotic record. He informed the interviewer that our federation is a money-collecting agency; it will collect a certain amount under the pretense of a "centennial" patriotic drive; after the money is gone, patriotism will die;

¹ Marshal Klementi Voroshilov, presently marshal of the Soviet Union, member of the Politburo, and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, military commander in World War II.

² Matyas Rakosy, Communist dictator of Hungary.

also the federation will sink down again as a servile agent of nazism like Ferenc Nagy and his political "gangsters" he mentioned by name.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Is Dr. Takaro enjoying the protection of the American way of life now?

Mr. BALOGH. According to my knowledge, Dr. Takaro is a citizen of the United States. He is also a minister of an American church, and has enjoyed the protection and the benefits of the United States for two or more decades already.

After I read this article in May 1948, I appeared before his church synod. I am also a member of that synod. In the presence of the pastors and elders, and in the presence of Dr. Takaro—this was after he had returned from Hungary—I related these facts. The president of the synod repeatedly asked Dr. Takaro to answer the accusations based upon the written information published in the magazine. I showed the article to those present. In the same article he made the statement "I place a wreath on this statue * * * in the name of half a million American citizens of Hungarian origin," whereas the Hungarian American Ministers' Association had previously advised, by cable, the church authorities of Hungary that Dr. Takaro did not represent any of the American Hungarian Churches as their delegate.

This is the original copy of the magazine I referred to.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive that in evidence as exhibit No. 5.

(The paper referred to was marked "Balogh Exhibit 5." It is identical with Borshy Exhibit 18, facing p. 846.)

Mr. DEKOM. You left one statement incomplete, if you please. You said that you had made these charges in the presence of the synod, to which you belonged.

Mr. BALOGH. And to which he also belongs.

Mr. DEKOM. Yes. And that he was asked to answer to these charges. What answer did he make?

Mr. BALOGH. He refused to answer. He kept silent.

Mr. DEKOM. I have here two exhibits submitted to us by your colleague, the Reverend Mr. Borshy. One, exhibit 4, is entitled "The Directors and Incorporators of the American Relief for Democratic Hungary, Inc."¹ Now, on the list of directors, there appears the name of Geza Takaro, and on the list of incorporators there appears his name. Would you identify this organization? What sort of organization is it?

Mr. BALOGH. The American Relief for Democratic Hungary, Inc., is just like the organizations headed by Actor Bela Lugosi; it is similar to the organizations cited by the Attorney General as subversive. The list I am looking at now gives the names of the directors and incorporators of that organization.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that organization, to your knowledge, left-wing or pro-Communist?

Mr. BALOGH. It is pro-Communist.

Mr. DEKOM. You speak of your own knowledge?

Mr. BALOGH. That is right, from my personal knowledge of the men who organized it and were associated with it.

Mr. DEKOM. Are the names on there the usual names which appear on left-wing fronts, or Communist fronts among Hungarians?

¹ See p. 836.

Mr. BALOGH. Some of these names appear over and over again on the stationery and publications of each pro-Communist organization which comes to the surface every now and then. I see the name of Dr. Takaro again with the rest of his usual associates.

Mr. DEKOM. I have here the Reverend Mr. Borshy's Exhibit No. 5,¹ which is a little pamphlet entitled "New York Council of Hungarian Americans for Victory," and which lists some of the same names, including the name of Dr. Geza Takaro. Can you identify that organization? It is also left-wing or pro-Communist?

Mr. BALOGH. This organization came into existence when I served in the United States Army—I was overseas in 1944—I cannot identify the organization, but I surely can identify the same names which again appear here, too, like Emery Komlos, Mátyás Török, Dr. Geza Takaro, and so forth. These are the same names who are the directors and the leaders of organizations cited by the Attorney General as subversive agencies.

Mr. SCHROEDER. You refer to the Attorney General of the United States?

Mr. BALOGH. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any information concerning the public writing done by Dr. Takaro?

Mr. BALOGH. Dr. Takaro repeatedly wrote articles in the Magyar Jövö, the Hungarian Communist daily. As far as I am concerned, anybody may write for any paper as long as he so desires and his articles are published.

What appeared to be, though, one of the embarrassing publications of Dr. Takaro, was a personal letter written to him by our highly respected president of the Reformed Church, our denomination, the Reverend Dr. Louis W. Goebel. This personal letter giving him authorization to attend church conferences in Europe, was exclusively a church matter and surely was not meant to be published in a Communist daily paper, the church-smearing Magyar Jövö. By publishing this church matter in the antichurch Communist daily, he embarrassed an outstanding national church leader, an eminent Christian, like our president Dr. Goebel. Furthermore, one must think that Dr. Takaro identifies himself with the same Communist organization which accepts the Magyar Jövö as its official paper.

Mr. DEKOM. By the way, have you known the gentleman under discussion?

Mr. BALOGH. Yes; I know Dr. Takaro. I have known him for over 30 years. I was a student in Budapest. As a student, I admired Dr. Takaro and I respected him. Many of us young students of the Budapest Junior College traveled 10 or 15 miles on Sunday mornings to hear him preach in a suburb known as Köbánya. He was an outstanding preacher and spiritual leader. He was our ideal and we idolized him. Until 1944, I always thought very highly of Dr. Takaro. It was about November. I was on the front in Germany when I received a letter from America written by a Hungarian pastor describing how Rev. Dr. Takaro denounced one of our patriotic and fine ministers in one of the Communist-line weeklies. Previously, Dr. Takaro demanded at a special meeting of a fraternal convention that every Hungarian church should designate a special Sunday

¹ See p. 836.

prayer service for the Jewish refugees suffering in Hitler's concentration camps. The committee inquired about the source of the request Dr. Takaro presented. After he declined to identify his source, they advised him that our churches are praying every Sunday and every day for every suffering human being. Dr. Takaro wasn't satisfied with the answer. In his fury, he denounced his fellow pastors as Jew-baiters, and played up his own self as the only one who loves the Jewish people.

From then on, Rev. Dr. Takaro's activities proved to be very un-churchmanlike. He became the organizer and representative of various suspicious leftist organizations. He kept on writing in Communist newspapers. Frequently he published his own church announcements in these anti-religious papers.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Could you identify the Reverend Takaro if you saw him?

Mr. BALOGH. Yes, sir. I know the Reverend Takaro. He is sitting in this room in one of the chairs at my left.

Mr. DEKOM. Reverend Balogh, you said that you received this letter on the front line?

Mr. BALOGH. That is correct.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you mean the front lines of the United States armies in Europe at that time?

Mr. BALOGH. That is right. In November 1944, in Alsace-Lorraine, on the borders of Germany.

Mr. DEKOM. In what capacity were you serving?

Mr. BALOGH. I was a United States Army chaplain. Group chaplain of a combat engineer group consisting of about six combat battalions. I served in General Patton's Third Army. We were engaged in one of the most serious actions when I received that letter.

Mr. DEKOM. To your knowledge, has Dr. Takaro been back to Hungary since the Communists have taken over?

Mr. BALOGH. To my knowledge, he has been back twice. The first time he went to Hungary about March of 1948. He again went to Hungary during the latter part of the same year.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any knowledge as to the purpose of his visit there?

Mr. BALOGH. I don't have any first-hand knowledge, except the statements made by some ministers. According to them he was seeking the seat of one of the anticipated vacancies as bishop.

Mr. SCHROEDER. May I ask a question?

Mr. DEKOM. Certainly.

Mr. SCHROEDER. When a government undertakes to appoint or elevate a clergyman, wouldn't that turn him into a political minister?

Mr. BALOGH. I would term Dr. Takaro the "Hungarian Red dean." Unfortunately, he has been a dean previously for a number of years. He is too intelligent to associate his name, his dignity, his cloth, and his church unwittingly with subversive activities.

Mr. SCHROEDER. In other words he could not serve two masters, God and the Communist regime at the same time?

Mr. BALOGH. Not according to my convictions, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. I have here lists of persons who have been officers and leaders in the American-Hungarian Council for Democracy and in the Communist movement among Hungarians. I would like to ask you, Major, to identify any that you recognize.

(Among the names submitted to the witness are the following:)

Andrew Adelman	Bela Lugosi	Rev. Robert Victor
Stephen Arch	Kalman Marki	Peter Zvara
Joseph Bochardi	Dr. John Pearl	Joseph Feher
James Corvin	Bela Rubig	Rev. I. Kovach
Ferenc Földi	Zita Schwartz	John Gyetvai
Rev. L. A. Gross	Alexander Sinfed	Moses Simon
Ignac Izsak	Alexander Stone	John Lautner
Dr. Renee Jonas	George Striker	
Hugo Kormos	Mátyás Török	

Mr. BALOGH. This list includes the name of a Reverend Gross. I met this gentleman when I was a pastor in Chicago. He left the Jewish faith and became a Baptist minister. He was a Christian missionary among the Jewish people.

Another man is the Reverend Imre Kovach. He is a lecturer. He was the honorary president of some "democratic" council which was cited by the Attorney General of the United States as a subversive organization.

Mr. DEKOM. Where is he now located?

Mr. BALOGH. He lives now in a little village in Pennsylvania. Both of these men were used as fronts to infiltrate our churches.

I also recognize the name of George Striker. I understand that he is now in one of the Communist factories at Budapest, Hungary. When I knew him he was an engineer of the Zenith Radio Corp. at Chicago. He is the same man whose name appears among the organizers and directors of the subversive organization already mentioned before.

Another name I recognize on these lists is of a Communist newspaperman, author, and writer: John Gyetvai. He left the United States, returned to Hungary, denounced America, and immediately became Lord Lieutenant of the County of Baranya. Recently the Communists again promoted him. He became Minister of Hungary to Ankara.

Then there is Simon Moses. He lived in the United States, too. Now he is a member of Parliament in Hungary.

I also recall the name Lautner.¹ I don't know his first name. I knew he was a sergeant in the United States Army assigned to the Office of Strategic Services.

Shortly after I came back to the United States from overseas, the executive committee of the American-Hungarian Relief invited two of us Army officers of Hungarian descent to address them in Pittsburgh. As a chaplain of the European theater of operations, I had seen the camps of displaced persons, their sufferings, and the untold terrors to which they had been exposed. The other officer invited to this meeting was Maj. Albert Fiok, now a practicing attorney in Pittsburgh. We were still in uniform when we addressed this group, talking to them about the displaced persons of Europe.

Major Fiok related to the group his experiences in Hungary. He had been sent from Paris to Hungary after the war. Gen. Goffrey Keyes was in charge of the American Military Mission in Hungary then. At a border city of Hungary, the Communist Russian Army arrested Major Fiok. Two days later, they let him go. Again the

¹ John Lautner, member, board of directors, International Workers Order.

Russians arrested him in Budapest. They dismantled his jeep, took away his food and personal property while he was on an official mission.

In our talks to the executive committee of the American-Hungarian Relief, I described the sufferings of the refugees. Major Fiok talked about his ugly experiences encountered with the members of the Russian Army in Hungary. After our talks, the Communists, Mr. Lautner and others like him, proceeded to call us liars, agitators, and propagandists. Those are the people, some of whose names I recognize on these lists.

Among them are Mathias Török, whose name was already mentioned; Joseph Feher, who was connected with the IWO; Lautner, Weinstock, Stone, George Striker.

Mr. DEKOM. You have mentioned this one instance in which the Communists were vociferously working against loyal American citizens, pointing out this case at Pittsburgh. Have you any similar instances you would care to recall?

Mr. BALOGH. I would like to. In February 1948, I attended the Cleveland convention of the National Association of Hungarian Presbyterian Ministers. They concluded their conference with a special evening service, open to all. The speaker of this church service was Mr. Ferenc Nagy. As the chief elder of the Budapest Calvinist Church, Mr. Ferenc Nagy talked about religion.

Coming to the church that evening, I was surprised to find that we could hardly enter the church. There was an unruly mob outside of the church door picketing, shoving the people, forcing leaflets into the hands of everyone, and blocking our way. Soon police officers were summoned to disband the loud-mouthed picketeers disturbing a peaceful, spiritual church meeting just because Mr. Ferenc Nagy was the speaker at the service. This was the first and only American church service I attended which was held under police protection.

Mr. SCHROEDER. In your opinion, was that Communist-inspired?

Mr. BALOGH. It was the same group whose leaders were identified at this hearing.

One of the officers of our New York branch reported the following incident: A partner of the Hungarian Village, a commercial restaurant in New York City, Mr. Laszlo Zettle, who is not a politician, but a small-business man, was warned to cancel a banquet scheduled for the aid of Hungarian DP writers and authors, otherwise his place would be picketed. First he received some anonymous telephone calls, then a Hungarian actor, Mr. Paul Javor, went over there and notified him that his place would be picketed unless he canceled that banquet.

This is another proof that with only a small organization, they can be a menace to the peace of the public, when they dare to threaten small-business men.

Mr. SCHROEDER. In other words, they terrorize peaceful citizens who are trying to make an honest living?

Mr. BALOGH. It seems that way, sir.

I have here a personal letter which was addressed to the American Hungarian Federation by a man named Ladislaus Sipos, whose address is 28 Pershing Avenue, Carteret, N. J. The letter is dated September 8, 1949. This is a reply to a previous letter written to him by me. In his original letter he related that a certain Communist recently leaving the United States for a temporary visit to Hungary wrote threatening letters to some Hungarian-American citizen living

at Carteret, N. J. I asked the name of this individual to whom he referred in his first letter. Here is his letter literally translated:

I received your letter and I would like to give you the exact name of the individual who wrote the threatening letter. Mr. and Mrs. Julius Szokolacki, they went to the village of Gyfire, Szabolcs County. He left on July 27 with the steamship *Mauretania*. I hear that he is coming back by the first of October. I wish you would be able to hear Tibor Paszka himself, how he (Szokolacki) threatened him at the union meeting. We would like to see him kept out of this country. Let him stay among the Communists and never come back to disturb our peace.

Respectfully yours,

L. SIROS

This is just one of many similar letters I receive from honest, loyal citizens, simple Hungarian laborers. We received letters indicating that Communists are disturbing small-business men, threaten laborers, picketing churches, disturbing the peace of organizations, becoming a menace to the law abiding orderly American public.

MR. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will accept that letter in evidence as exhibit 6.

(The letter referred to was received in evidence as Balogh Exhibit 6 and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

MR. DEKOM. Now, you have heard the statement which was read earlier by Father Biro?

MR. BALOGH. Yes, sir.

MR. DEKOM. And you concur in that statement of Father Biro?

MR. BALOGH. Yes, sir; I concur wholeheartedly.

MR. DEKOM. Now, are you familiar with the provisions of S. 1832, which is under consideration by this subcommittee?

MR. BALOGH. Yes, sir; I read and studied both S. 1832 and Senator McCarran's excellent speech introducing this bill in the Senate.

MR. DEKOM. Have you any personal comment you care to make on that subject?

MR. BALOGH. I think it is an excellent and a much-needed bill. Senator McCarran stated in his speech:

We have found glaring loopholes in our immigration system, complicated by the laxness with which the existing exclusion and deportation provisions have been enforced. The cold fact is that agents of international communism move freely across our borders to engage in espionage, sabotage, anti-American propaganda, and subversive activities; to plot with almost complete impunity the destruction of our free institutions.

During my childhood, which I spent in Hungary, I lived through the horrors of the first Communist revolution.

Based upon my personal experiences, I am confident that American citizens of Hungarian origin are happy to endorse S. 1832. If there is one national minority in the United States which has nothing to fear of the spirit and of the provisions of this bill, it is the Hungarians. They are the descendants of a country which was twice devastated, robbed, and oppressed by the dictatorial terrorism of the Communists. We are the sons of that nation whose descendants served and fought in every American war and revolution for freedom and liberty. We are those conscientious and freedom-loving people who will always serve, work, sacrifice, and fight for our beloved country, America.

We are in accord with Senator McCarran's Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittee; that it is high time to incorporate into our national laws such preventative measures as S. 1832, to safeguard our free democracy and to protect the future welfare of our country.

Mr. DEKOM. Thank you very much.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Reverend, you three gentlemen here today are churchmen and you know what is going on in our homeland today. Can you give us your deduction as to what is the future of Christianity for the world if this menace is not halted within the near future?

Mr. BALOGH. In the light of the things the three of us have referred to at this hearing, I dare say that both Christianity and our country are threatened if we permit the Communists to freely exercise their destructive purposes and teachings.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask your permission to submit two more documents into the records of this hearing. One is a letter written by Mr. Louis Szanto, member of the board of directors of the American-Hungarian Federation. He addressed this letter to President Truman. This letter was published in the Times-Dispatch of Richmond, Va., requesting the deportation of naturalized Communists.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will accept that letter in evidence as exhibit 7.

(The letter referred to was received in evidence as Balogh Exhibit 7 and is as follows:)

[Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 18, 1949]

REQUESTS ACTION AGAINST NATURALIZED COMMUNISTS

EDITOR OF THE TIMES-DISPATCH:

To awaken the average American citizen to the dangers of degradation of half the world caused by communism, in the interest of the American way of life I shall greatly appreciate your publishing this letter, addressed today, July 18, to the President:

Mr. HARRY S. TRUMAN,

President of the United States of America,

The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Referring to news report (AP, New York, July 17), Marcantonio Calls Red Trial Vote Getter, the Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 18, 1949, column 4, page 9, attached herein, in view of the war declared by world communism on all religions I respectfully recommend immediate legislation to revoke American citizenship from all naturalized citizens, who openly profess membership in the Communist Party. This being the Soviet's international fifth column, Communists are quasi citizens of the U. S. S. R., therefore should be transported immediately to the country of their allegiance after due process of law of the United States.

L. SZANTO.

RICHMOND.

Mr. BALOGH. I would like to offer also into the records the article of a known commentator, Mr. George E. Sokolsky, published in the New York Sun on April 2, 1946. Mr. Sokolsky comments in this article on what happened when the President's War Relief Control Board refused the registration and the accreditation of the Hungarian Relief until they united that organization with a subversive agency.

Mr. DEKOM. We will receive that article in evidence as exhibit 8. (The newspaper article referred to was received in evidence as Balogh Exhibit 8 and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

Mr. BALOGH. May we offer additional supplementary material if needed?

Mr. DEKOM. With the consent of the chairman, you are requested to submit any additional information on this, or material, concerning the testimony which you have presented here today.

Mr. BALOGH. Thank you very much.

Mr. DEKOM. Thank you, Reverend Balogh and the others for your appearance, for the time you have taken in presenting this information and for your analysis of the legislation which is before this subcommittee.

AMERICAN HUNGARIAN FEDERATION,

Washington, D. C., December 30, 1949.

CHAIRMAN, SENATE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO

INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,

Committee on the Judiciary, Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: According to instructions received on the open hearing conducted by your subcommittee on September 28, 1949, when I appeared as a witness, I hereby submit the attached affidavit for the purpose of incorporating same as a supplementary document in support of the evidence with reference to the activities of a Hungarian actor named Mr. Paul Javor.

Upon the request of the president of the Magyar Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church (Rev. Victor Racz), I also attach three letters. These documents are submitted to refute the false statement made by Rev. Dr. Geza Takaro in his testimony about the proposed abolishment of the Magyar Synod.¹

Respectfully yours,

STEPHEN E. BALOGH, *Executive Secretary*

AFFIDAVIT

We, the undersigned, being duly sworn depose and say:

That in the year of 1948, month of October, Mr. Joseph Herlitesek, coowner of the Hungarian Garden Restaurant in New York City, made the following statement in our presence:

That an actor with the name of Pál Jávor was one, who warned them that if they give their facilities for arranging a benefit performance for the starving children of Miklos Teghze Gerber, composer (who resided in Germany at that time), their business would be boycotted. For this reason he begged Margaret Bodan, one of the directors of the mentioned performance, to cancel it. This cancellation was done according to the wishes of Mr. Herlitesek.

LOUIS BALOGH,

346 St. Ann's Avenue, New York 54, N. Y.

MARGARET BODAN,

507 East Seventy-ninth St., New York 21, N. Y.

NEW YORK, October 26, 1949.

Sworn to before me this 26th day of October, 1949.

[SEAL]

ELZA PETRO,

Notary Public, Residing in Queens County.

Commission expires March 30, 1950.

EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH,

Chicago, Ill., October 5, 1949.

Rev. VICTOR RACZ,

220 Fourth Street, Passaic, N. J.

DEAR BROTHER RACZ: Yesterday I mailed you an exact copy of the action taken by the general council with regard to the First Hungarian Church of New York City.

It is not quite clear whether Dr. Takaro appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee for the purpose of making a statement on immigration laws, or whether he was cited to appear before this committee because he was charged with activities injurious to the welfare of the country. At any rate, on this phase of the matter I would wish to withhold judgment. I, too, do not know who the Reverend Perlo is.

I am sorry that the Free Hungarian Reformed Church voted that it no longer wishes to consider a union with the new United Church of Christ. The reason they give is not based on fact. It is true that there are those who hope that the

¹ See p. 874.

day may not be too far distant when the Hungarian churches will integrate themselves into the synods or conferences in which they are located. There is, however, on my part and on the part of the administration of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, no secret plan, and there are no secret efforts made to bring about this integration until the Hungarian churches, of their own accord, desire it. I think you will agree with me that as the years go by such integration will be very natural. Personally, I understand your problem better perhaps than most in the church. At the time of my boyhood the Evangelical Synod was predominantly a German-speaking church. The transition from German to English, in one respect, was altogether too slow. On the other hand, it served a purpose, enabling the church to minister to people who had received their education in that language. A similar situation, of course, exists with you. Another generation or two will wish to integrate itself fully into the church of which it is a member. In the United Church you can be assured of the freedoms you have enjoyed at present. I feel that you could make that statement very emphatically.

Very sincerely yours,

L. W. GOEBEL.

EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH,
Philadelphia Pa., October 5, 1949.

Rev. VICTOR RACZ,
220 Fourth Street, Passaic, N. J.

DEAR BROTHER RACZ: YOUR letter of yesterday was received this morning.

You state that my name was mentioned in the hearing in Washington. So far as I can discover, the only place I am referred to is in the second sentence of the last paragraph, where the general secretary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church is mentioned. I am the secretary of the church, without the designation "General."

In my opinion, the six sentences after the second sentence in the last paragraph are a general comment of Mr. Takaro regarding what "they" will do. I doubt if he meant to include the secretary in that.

In any case, I am confident that Mr. Takaro does not refer to me in that second sentence, but if he did I state unhesitatingly that I have not had any conversation with him or any communication by letter, telegram, or in any other way with him in the last few years.

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM E. LAMPE.

HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL OF NORTH AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N. Y., November 2, 1949.

Rev. VICTOR RACZ, B. D.,
220 Fourth Street, Passaic, N. J.

DEAR BROTHER RACZ: YOUR letter of October 26 regarding a statement involving my name, made by Dr. Geza Takaro before a Special Subcommittee to Investigate Immigration Laws, at Washington, D. C., has been received.

In reply I can only say that in view of the statement made by Dr. Takaro there must have been some misunderstanding, as such matters as those to which he referred can only be decided when and after the union of the Congregational-Christian and Evangelical and Reformed Churches is effected.

Cordially yours,

I. GEORGE NACE, *Executive Secretary Elect.*

**TESTIMONY OF REV. GEZA TAKARO, MINISTER OF THE FIRST
MAGYAR REFORMED CHURCH, NEW YORK, N. Y.**

Senator EASTLAND. Will you present your next witness, Mr. Dekom?
Mr. DEKOM. Our next witness is Rev. Geza Takaro.

Senator EASTLAND. Rev. Geza Takaro, will you hold up your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. TAKARO. I do.¹

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly identify yourself by name, residence and occupation?

Mr. TAKARO. My name is Geza Takaro. I am minister of the First Magyar Reformed Church in New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Now, how long have you served in that capacity?

Mr. TAKARO. 27 years.

Mr. ARENS. How large is the congregation which you serve?

Mr. TAKARO. We have a regular membership of about 156. We have contributing members, about 400, and some additional 1,000 are on our mailing list.

Mr. DEKOM. Where were you born?

Mr. TAKARO. Hungary.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. TAKARO. For the first time, I came in 1921, when I was delegated by the Hungarian mother church to transfer all these Hungarian churches to an American denomination, because they were supported, before the First World War, by the Hungarian mother church. So, I came over first of all to ask the Government to give back the property from the hands of the Alien Property Custodian to these congregations, and then to ask these congregations to accept transfer to an American denomination. That was made by the so-called Tiffin agreement. They were joined into the Reformed Church in the United States, which later on merged with the Evangelical Synod of the North, and it is now called the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

Mr. DEKOM. That was the first time; when was the second time you came to the United States?

Mr. TAKARO. The next year already they invited me, both the Reformed Church in the United States and also this church in New York City, the minister of which died while I was coming to this country the first time.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you become a citizen?

Mr. TAKARO. In May 1941. When I took out my first paper, it expired. I was so busy in this church in New York City that I just forgot it.

Mr. DEKOM. You mean you forgot to take out your citizenship papers?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes; it was the first time. It was too late when I appeared. Just a few days late; 5 days late, so again I had to take out the first papers.

Mr. DEKOM. Dr. Takaro, did you hear the testimony which was presented before this committee a short while ago?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes, sir; I am very grateful to you, sir, that you asked me to come in. I never thought of this. I am very grateful, in spite of the fact that I have never been so shocked in my life as I was shock-

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

ed at this time, although not about what has been said about the Communists, because I know who they are.

During the first communism in Hungary, after the First World War, I was arrested the first night and was under guard until the end of the short-lived communism, so I know who they are. I know much better since I came here, and have studied a little the situation all over the world. So I was shocked, not at what has been said about the communism, but I was shocked how a man, being a minister, involves someone who has nothing to do with communism, except that I am an avowed anti-Communist and have been from the very beginning of my ministry.

You heard this minister tell you about my ministry in Budapest. For 15 years, I was a minister in Budapest before I came here. He said that they came to hear me from 15 and 20 miles away, so they admired me. They said that.

Now, I must be insane if I definitely want to ruin my life, together with the lives of the 15 members of my family. One is in the Mayo Clinic, an excellent man. Four of my sons and sons-in-law were in the war, the American war, the Second World War. All my children are connected with American churches. Now, if anything is true of what has been said, then I am really supposed to be in an insane asylum.

Senator EASTLAND. What you are saying is that you are not a Communist, and that you have never been a Communist; is that true?

Mr. TAKARO. Definitely. Under oath I gave this testimony before the Magyar Synod. That was signed by two ministers, officials of the Magyar Synod, and they have never published that purposely. I told them to publish that; they have never published it, because they need this testimony this gentleman has just made who has heard it and who is hurt because his father is the one that wrote that letter against the Jews in America when Hitler was doing his terrible, atrocious work.

Mr. DEKOM. That gentleman's father was not a witness.

Mr. TAKARO. His father-in-law is what I mean.

Mr. DEKOM. His father-in-law is not involved in this hearing.

Mr. TAKARO. But he mentioned the letter. He received a letter from his father-in-law which his father-in-law wrote this letter to me when the Government asked me, and the State Department, to commit my church's use for a broadcast against Hitler and the terrible persecution.

I am glad you mentioned something in my office, because here is my testimony in pictures and newspaper clippings and photographs, original photographs.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you know any Communists in New York City?

Mr. TAKARO. I know a few of them, definitely.

Senator EASTLAND. Who are they?

Mr. TAKARO. I know one who is the editor of the Magyar Jövö, the paper just mentioned, one of the three daily papers. I have never met him. Except that, I don't know any.

Senator EASTLAND. Well, you knew several of them. Who are they?

Mr. TAKARO. This one I am sure of.

Senator EASTLAND. That is one.

Mr. TAKARO. The other one is John Nagy. His name was mentioned also.

This Mathias Török, he denied that. He said his brother was a Communist but not he. I never met his brother Neuwald.¹

Senator EASTLAND. Do you know the head of the Hungarian relief organization in New York?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes. I am a member of it.

Senator EASTLAND. What was his name?

Mr. TAKARO. The American Hungarian Relief.

Senator EASTLAND. Who is the head of it?

Mr. TAKARO. That is the name of it.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you know Mr. Török?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes, I know him.

Senator EASTLAND. Is he a Communist?

Mr. TAKARO. I don't know. I asked him when he was elected secretary of the American Hungarian relief organization, of which Reverend Borshy, who was sitting here before, is chairman of the executive board. I am a member of that organization.

Senator EASTLAND. Is he a Communist?

Mr. TAKARO. Török?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes.

Mr. TAKARO. I don't know, because he denied when I told him that I had heard that he is a Communist. He said that definitely he is not a Communist, but that his brother was an agitator and participated in all these things. He said he proves that through Father Láni, who is a Catholic priest in Los Angeles, Calif., with whom he is on good terms, and who would not have tolerated him in his company if he were a Communist.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you know anyone in the Hungarian Legation in Washington?

Mr. TAKARO. I don't know anyone. I knew that Sik² was Minister.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you, since 1945, had any dealings of any kind with the Hungarian Legation here in Washington?

Mr. TAKARO. Since 1945?

Senator EASTLAND. At any time since then?

Mr. TAKARO. Not with the legation. I have never been in the legation. I was there when they arrived. I was there when the first Hungarian Minister Szegedy-Maszák³ arrived.

Senator EASTLAND. What about the consulate in New York?

Mr. TAKARO. The first consul⁴ resigned and then came to me. He wrote me a letter first and then he came to me. He asked my assistance, because he didn't know anything here, and they had been listening to my broadcasts during the war in the underground movement. They were encouraged by my broadcasts, my Office of War Information broadcasts. He asked me to help him. I said, "Well, in which way can I help you?" He didn't know anything. He is just a very modest man.

¹ Eugene Neuwald.

² Andrew Sik.

³ Aladar Szegedy-Maszák, who withdrew as Hungarian minister to Washington in protest to the ouster by the Communists of Ferenc Nagy, last democratically elected Prime Minister of Hungary.

⁴ László Medgyesy, acting consul general in New York.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you pass on the applications for visas of people who were going to Hungary?

Mr. TAKARO. I was asked by the president of the Evangelical Church, the person that wrote me, first of all, informing me that I was delegated to the World Alliance of the Reformed Churches to be held in Switzerland. At the same time, he wrote a footnote on the letter: "Will try to go to Europe about July 1, 1948. Can you get me into Hungary?"

Then I asked the consul general if he could do that. He said that he would have to send in the passport and fill out some application form. He did that and he was very grateful. He immediately asked for another one.

Senator EASTLAND. Wait just a minute, now. The question was: Did you pass on applications for visas of citizens going to Hungary?

Mr. TAKARO. I passed this one.

Senator EASTLAND. Was that the only one?

Mr. TAKARO. No. There were about four or five, including mine, because I was over in Hungary last year, too.

Senator EASTLAND. Now, you only passed on four or five?

Mr. TAKARO. Four or five.

Senator EASTLAND. Were you associated with Török in that work?

Mr. TAKARO. No; not at all. I had nothing to do with him. The consul asked, I think, two or three times whether I knew this or that person, including a Greek Catholic priest. I couldn't give him any information about the priest. There were also some others from New Jersey.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you ever receive money from the Hungarian consul in New York?

Mr. TAKARO. Money?

Senator EASTLAND. Did you ever receive money from anybody in the office of the Hungarian consul in New York or anyone in the Legation in Washington?

Mr. TAKARO. Never. Before I came to this country, I knew that the money for the support of these congregations was sent through the consul general of Hungary. That was before 1921, before I came here. But since then, I don't think any money was forwarded to the consul to any of these churches.

Senator EASTLAND. How was it forwarded? It was not forwarded through the consul, you say. How was it forwarded?

Mr. TAKARO. Forwarded?

Senator EASTLAND. You say the money was not forwarded through the consul. The question is: How was the money forwarded?

Mr. TAKARO. I don't know about any money at all, from whom and to whom; I don't know.

Senator EASTLAND. You don't know anything about it at all?

Mr. TAKARO. No; I don't know anything about it.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know John Flórián?

Mr. TAKARO. I saw him once. He told me that he was going to handle these visas, and that they didn't need to send these applications over to Hungary. That was my only meeting with him, and I never have handled anything with him.

Mr. DEKOM. Did he ever ask you or did any one else in the consulate ask you to pass on visa applications and on the reliability of persons who wanted to go to Hungary?

Mr. TAKARO. Just as I mentioned about the Catholic priest, the Greek Catholic priest. I never heard his name. My answer was that I didn't know him, but that if he has the courage of going over to Hungary, he has not committed anything like the Nazis and if he doesn't have anything to hide, then, you could let him in. There was nothing wrong with him.

Mr. DEKOM. Was that the only instance in which you were asked by anyone connected with the Hungarian Government to pass on the reliability of persons seeking admission to Hungary?

Mr. TAKARO. There were these three or four times when they called over the telephone. I don't remember. They sent me the applications when they asked about these gentlemen, these two gentlemen. I mean the editor and the church leader.

Mr. DEKOM. Did Flórián ever ask you?

Mr. TAKARO. He called me. I think it was him; I am not sure.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not Flórián was a Communist?

Mr. TAKARO. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. He never admitted to you that he was a Communist?

Mr. TAKARO. No; he never did.

Mr. DEKOM. You never knew whether or not he was a Communist?

Mr. TAKARO. I suppose that everybody was a Communist there.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you mean in the consulate?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes; but later on, they resigned, one after the other.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know what happened to Flórián?

Mr. TAKARO. No.

Mr. DEKOM. You don't know as a fact that he was expelled from this country?

Mr. TAKARO. No; I don't.

Mr. DEKOM. You did not know that?

Mr. TAKARO. No; I didn't hear of it.

Mr. DEKOM. In the testimony presented before this subcommittee, there was submitted a list of names.

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. In it, the American Relief for Democratic Hungary was identified as a left-wing organization. Were you ever connected with that organization?

Mr. TAKARO. I don't know—these names. Gentlemen, let me show you these organizations in which I participated. First of all, I have the stationery of all of these.

You remember the alien blood donors. Immediately after December 7, 1941, I think 4 days later, it was announced that a Blood Donation Week would be held in New York City. We immediately joined that movement. The result of that was that we, above any other nationalities, gave blood. In the first month, our organization gave 1,000 pints of blood. I have all of the letters from Attorney General Biddle and Senator Wagner¹ and the Surgeon General of the Navy, and so on, all of these congratulations, because we did more than any other nationality.

That was the first organization. Then we organized a little committee for broadcasting from the city station, the New York City station.

¹ Former Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York.

Then we organized the New York Council of American Hungarians for Democracy. I heard that organization mentioned as a Communist organization. The gentleman had the courage of naming a few of these physicians and others. Now, except this Komlos,¹ I don't think any of them can be charged with communism. Even Komlos was one of their directors of that organization; Reverend Borshy was the president of it. That was the Hungarian Relief. During those first years after the war, they elected a few definitely Communist people, for example, Weinstock.

Now, that is the one man who, I am sure, is Communist, because he admitted that in a Washington meeting of the American Hungarian Relief. I did not become a member of that organization until all these Communists except Komlos were expelled. In the Washington meeting, they elected me as director, and since then I have been in the organization. I am trustee, until today. I was a member of that organization and collected more than anyone else, because I collected \$50,000 for the American Hungarian Relief.

Now, the chairman of the New York Council of Hungarian Americans for Victory is a very well known Republican, Professor Toth,² who is a professor at Cornell University and who has been president of the board of trustees in my church for many years. He is still there. He organized both this and the other organization. His office is in New York City. He is responsible for all these gentlemen. I was cooperating with them.

Now, there was another organization. Of course, this had several subdivisions. We had our USO, our war bonds, civil defense, Allied Nations relief, and so on.

Then the national war fund also was organized in our office. Then came the Office of War Information request for broadcasts. From that time, for at least 2 years, I was broadcasting occasionally. I have all of the interesting facts here, and the responses from Europe telling how they accepted these broadcasts.

After these successes, I was asked by an officer of the War Information to permit my church to broadcast from the church a whole service. That was the service of intercessions, for which we again received a number of congratulations from Government circles.

Then came a mass meeting held in Madison Square Park in New York City. About 50,000 people were there. I was on the same platform speaking with Assistant Attorney General Littel and Senator Brewster.³

Since I had to pass judgment on the Hungarian people over there, because they didn't do anything against these persecutions, these fellow ministers here blamed me that I am not a good Hungarian patriot because I, openly in a park, expressed myself that way.

Then there was this meeting in Ligonier, Pa. There I received a telegram that resentment was sweeping official Government circles that the Hungarian ministers don't do anything against this persecution. They don't want to join me in this. I asked them to give their names, if they accepted this date, some Sunday, to pray for the persecuted ones, and they refused that. Except for about 19 congregations, those

¹ Emery Komlos.

² Louis Toth.

³ Senator Owen Brewster, of Maine.

who were there opposed that and said that no government can order prayers, because here in this country church and state are separated.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Who paid your fare to Hungary on a number of occasions?

Mr. TAKARO. I have some means. This year four members of my family were over in Europe and were not permitted to go to Hungary. They all wanted to go to Hungary, but they were refused. They were waiting in Paris for almost a month, but they were not permitted to go in. I didn't receive any money from any organization, even from my own church.

Mr. DEKOM. Were any of your expenses abroad paid for by anyone other than yourself? I mean travel, entertainment, or anything of that sort.

Mr. TAKARO. No. When I was in Budapest the first time, I was invited by the American Minister to his home. That was the night when we were listening to that famous address by President Truman. I think that was on March 17. Immediately after that, I told him that I was leaving Hungary. There was such tension created by that address. From his table, we went over to the other room at night; it was night already in Hungary.

Except, of course, I received from Bishop Ravasz,¹ for whose position I was supposed to go over there, to take over his position. He was an old friend of mine from my youth. He is the godfather of two of my children.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell us whether or not Mr. Selden Chapin, the American Minister, ever advised you or suggested or urged you to leave Hungary?

Mr. TAKARO. No; never. They had this rumor there that I was forced out by Minister Chapin. I heard that in the Embassy from Mr. Revey,² who was once a student of mine at Columbia University. He was press attaché at that time in the Embassy [Legation]. He told me that the situation was so serious now that his good Hungarian friends, outstanding people, did not have the courage of visiting them because they know the Embassy [Legation] is being watched every day by some unknown personalities, so everybody is known who enters the building of the Embassy [Legation], the office building, or their home in Budapest.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you criticize American citizens while you were in Hungary?

Mr. TAKARO. Criticize whom?

Mr. DEKOM. Didn't you make a speech in Hungary criticizing American citizens?

Mr. TAKARO. I didn't. I was preaching in the Liberty Square Church, and I was invited to preach at the celebration of the Reformed Church on March 15. Bishop Ravasz asked me to speak there. But since that was at the same time when the celebration was being held in the Parliament, which I witnessed from the box of the British and American Ministers, Mr. Revey being with us, I didn't want to miss that, and I promised them that I would speak the next Sunday. It was then announced in the papers that I would speak the next Sunday, but after hearing President Truman's address, I felt not quite safe there.

¹ Bishop Laszlo Ravasz, of Budapest.

² E. Louis Revey.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you give any interviews while you were in Europe, in Hungary, to any newspaper men?

Mr. TAKARO. I gave one to the editor of the Magyar Nemzet. I have the clipping here. I never gave an interview to anybody else, because I heard from Mr. Chapin and also from Mr. Revey that it was very, very dangerous to say anything.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Takaro, I have here a page from the paper called Képes Figyelő. I would like to show you that page.¹

Mr. TAKARO. This is the first time I have heard about this.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you say any of the things reported there that are attributed to you?

Mr. TAKARO. I know this picture. I know who took this picture, but I never gave any interview to anybody. I see here Eckhardt and so on. We planned to work and we had conferences with Eckhardt and others during the war.

Mr. DEKOM. Does that material there represent any statements you made?

Mr. TAKARO. First of all, I didn't at that time know, for example, Varga. I knew Nagy Ferenc. I heard from Bishop Ravasz that Nagy Ferenc had the best intentions. This Nagy Ferenc was chief curator in his district, Bishop Ravasz' bishop. I heard that he had the best intentions. I never met Pfeiffer or Varga. I don't know anything about them. How can I say anything like such statements? I met Nagy Ferenc and the other three ministers when they were here, guests of the Government. I think that was in 1945 or 1946. I don't remember exactly when they were here. There was a reception, and I met them.

Also in a conference in Philadelphia, the Quakers' representatives wanted to ask the ministers to permit them to open an office in Budapest. In that I helped them. I participated in that conference, but I was not with them. I don't know anything about them. I don't know whether they are good or not. I can testify about Nagy Ferenc on the basis of the statements by Bishop Ravasz.

Mr. DEKOM. You said that you had with you the clipping of the interview that appeared in the Magyar Nemzet?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes; I will give it to you. It is not here but I can send it to you.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you remember the nature of that interview?

Mr. TAKARO. I don't remember. It is just a short article.

This wreath was ordered when I got there by this gentleman of the Jewish Relief Organization. He asked me to stand there on the ribbons. There was nothing about the American Hungarians except the Jewish. It was on behalf of the Jewish people. I stood there when they took this picture. He asked me to stand there. It was a very sad occasion.

Mr. DEKOM. Do any of these matters which are published here represent any statements that you made while you were in Hungary?

Mr. TAKARO. I should like to read that first, because I have just looked at it hastily. It will take some time to read it. I have met the gentleman who signed this article. He is the photographer. I met him. I didn't know that he was writing an article. I didn't even know that he intended to write an article.

¹ This clipping was identified for the record as Borshy Exhibit 18 and appears facing p. 846.

Mr. DEKOM. The question was, Do the statements published in this periodical represent any of the statements you made while you were in Hungary?

Mr. TAKARO. None.

Mr. DEKOM. You made none of these statements?

Mr. TAKARO. None. I was warned by the editor of the Magyar Nemzet not to receive any newspaper writers. That reporter was very kind to me. He knew me before the First World War, and he warned me that the Magyar Nemzet was a real, honest, and highest type of newspaper writing. Of course, it has gone down now.

Mr. DEKOM. But you did meet this particular reporter?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes, because he gave the photograph to me. Also, he took the picture.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you have any discussion with him?

Mr. TAKARO. He was with this Mr. Sunshine. I met him in the hotel. When I arrived, they wanted to take me to the hotel where they lived, but I already had my reservation.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you discuss anything with this man?

Mr. TAKARO. Nothing.

Mr. DEKOM. You never talked to him?

Mr. TAKARO. Nothing.

Mr. DEKOM. What did you talk about when you saw him?

Mr. TAKARO. About the festivities, the program, and the details that he was rushing here and there about.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you discuss any of the statements published in this article with any one else while you were in Hungary?

Mr. TAKARO. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Other than what you discussed with Bishop Ravasz?

Mr. TAKARO. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you seen this article before?

Mr. TAKARO. No. This is the first time. I didn't know this existed at all.

Mr. DEKOM. There has been submitted in evidence here a short article from the Hungarian newspaper Az Ember signed by you. That is exhibit No. 17 in the testimony of Reverend Borshy.¹

Will you identify that as yours?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Now, I have here exhibit 16 submitted by the same witness, which is a clipping from the Hungarian newspaper published in New York, the Amerikai-Magyar Népszava.¹

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. It refers to you and to certain activities which are attributed to you. Will you kindly look at it and make any comment you care to make?

Mr. TAKARO. Now, gentlemen, I am sorry I cannot give you a few dozen exhibits from the same newspaper. This gentleman who was the editor 15 years is called the biggest liar by the same paper now, so that, gentlemen, hasn't much value, his testimony hasn't much value.²

¹ On file with the committee.

² This is a reference to Mr. Paul Nadanyi, former editor of the Amerikai-Magyar Népszava. The article submitted was, however, signed by Bálint Tóth. For the testimony of Mr. Nadanyi concerning this article see p. 891.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever undertake to prefer a libel suit against him for writing these things against you?

Mr. TAKARO. I am going to take out a libel suit against him, although they have been very nice to me. They fired this editor, but I am going to take out one against this minister, this Reverend Toth.¹ I am just waiting for the decision of the general council of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. I never go out to the world until in my church the whole thing is clear.

Of course, this is an open meeting and I can't talk very freely. But I was told by the general secretary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church that after Easter this new merger between the Congregational Church and the Evangelical Church will be in effect. The first thing they will do will be to wipe out the whole Hungarian Synod. That is a shame, because I was fighting for that when I was here on the Tiffin agreement. They have all the privileges they can ever have. They can use the language in the services and the same hymns. They can form their own classes and districts. This is the result, because the American leaders, the Hungarians, have been just pulling one another's hair.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Takaro, at the beginning of this hearing, I asked you a question which I believe is as yet unanswered. I have here what purports to be a list of the directors and incorporators of the organization known as the American Relief for Democratic Hungary, Inc.,² which has been identified before this committee as a left-wing, pro-Communist organization. Your name appears among the directors and among the incorporators.

Mr. TAKARO. Which year was it? May I see that?

Mr. DEKOM. I show you this list.

Mr. TAKARO. There are so many organizations. I don't remember.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you please tell the subcommittee whether or not—

Mr. TAKARO. I don't remember which one this is, because there were so many committees.

Mr. DEKOM. Wouldn't you remember whether you were an incorporator?

Mr. TAKARO. I don't remember which one this is.

Mr. DEKOM. Don't you remember whether you were an incorporator of that organization?

Mr. TAKARO. Will you give me the exact name?

Mr. DEKOM. American Relief for Democratic Hungary, Inc.

Mr. TAKARO. I don't remember, really, I don't remember that I was one of the incorporators.

Mr. DEKOM. You are identified here as a director and as an incorporator.

Mr. TAKARO. 1944?

Mr. DEKOM. That is right.

Mr. TAKARO. I will have to look up my papers at home.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you do that and let the committee know, in writing, whether or not this agrees with the facts as you know them?

Mr. TAKARO. All right, sir. Will you give me a few of the names? I don't have any data in my mind.

¹ Rev. Bálint Tóth.

² Borshy exhibit 4, p. 836.

Mr. DEKOM. We would like to have the information of your own knowledge. You ought to know whether or not you have been a member. We don't want anybody else's statement. We already have somebody else's statement. We would like to have yours now.

Mr. TAKARO. All right, sir, I will look that up.

Mr. DEKOM. Now, you also stated in your testimony that you had letterheads of a number of organizations with which you have been connected.

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you care to submit those letterheads in evidence?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes. I can leave the whole thing here, if you wish, because you will find very interesting statements here.

Mr. DEKOM. The committee will then return them to you.

Mr. TAKARO. Yes. I do not hide anything. If during the blood donations, there were Communists involved, I don't know who they were. We were asked to give blood. I never asked anybody. In the back of this leaflet you will find all of the gentlemen who have been criticized here.

Mr. DEKOM. Now, let me ask you first to identify what these books are, these two books that you have submitted. What are they? Are they scrapbooks?

Mr. TAKARO. Scrapbooks, clippings, scrapbooks about all our activities.

Mr. DEKOM. That is, activities in which you have been engaged?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. With the permission of the chairman, we will receive these as exhibit 1.

(The documents referred to were marked "Takaro Exhibit 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAKARO. I have only one copy of those, and I would like to ask you to save them.

Mr. DEKOM. Yes, we will have them returned to you.

Now, I notice that on the first page of this particular scrapbook there appears a little leaflet entitled "Committee of Americans of Hungarian Descent for Freedom and Democracy."

Mr. TAKARO. That was for the broadcasts.

Mr. DEKOM. You are identified there as chairman of the executive committee. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. I also notice a little leaflet of the New York Council of Hungarian Americans for Victory. I find you listed as one of the division chairmen.

Mr. TAKARO. Yes; blood donations, Red Cross, and the USO.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you ever had any connection or had any contacts with a periodical known as The Protestant?

Mr. TAKARO. No, nothing. I know about its existence. I even heard that the editor was in Hungary. I don't subscribe to it. I don't read it. Some of the papers are sent to me free of charge, but that one is not sent to me.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you had any connection with a periodical called The Churchman?

Mr. TAKARO. The Churchman?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. TAKARO. That is a publication of the Episcopalian Church. Yes; I read that occasionally.

Here are a few of the stationery.

Mr. DEKOM. These are organizations with which you have been connected?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes; that is, because my office address is there.

Mr. DEKOM. I see. With the permission of the chairman, we will receive these as exhibit 2.

(The envelopes referred to were marked "Takaro Exhibit 2" and received in evidence.)

Mr. SCHROEDER. What is the membership of your congregation?

Mr. TAKARO. One hundred and fifty-six regular members. We have around 400 contributing members and we have about 1,000 on the mailing list who occasionally give something. We send out announcements just for Easter and for Christmas. I contacted them during the war effort.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Was it ever suggested to you by the present regime in Hungary that you should go back to Hungary and that you would be made a bishop?

Mr. TAKARO. No. To take the place of my friend, Bishop Ravasz, who was the most outstanding man during this generation, and to go over there for that purpose, I couldn't go over when I have a family of 15 who are all settled in the United States, because how can I go there and how can we get there? When my wife was over there, my relatives told her that the situation was a thousand times worse now than last year when I was there. So what have I to do there?

Excuse me, sir. I notice that you are looking at that Jewish paper. I don't know what they wrote there about me, but I put that in there, because somebody brought that in. It is about the intercession service which the Office of War Information broadcast from our church. That was translated for me once, but I haven't been able to find the pencil writing. I can find that, I believe. I didn't even have time to read it, it is such a long article.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you account for the fact that you and members of your family were able to get visas into Hungary?

Mr. TAKARO. No; they were not, except my wife. She was permitted to go in, but my children, my daughters, went to the Hungarian Minister in Paris. They moved heaven and earth, and all their friends and connections were unsuccessful in trying to get them into Hungary. No; they couldn't get in.

Mr. DEKOM. You have testified that you have been in Hungary twice since the establishment of the Communist regime and that your wife has been over there.

Mr. TAKARO. My wife has been there this year.

Mr. DEKOM. Yes; this year. How long ago did she go?

Mr. TAKARO. I can give you that exactly.

Mr. DEKOM. Tell us approximately.

Mr. TAKARO. She left Ascension Day, and she returned on the 10th of August.

Mr. DEKOM. This year?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you account for the fact that visas were issued to you and members of your family by the Hungarian Government?

Mr. TAKARO. No.

Mr. DEKOM. How do you account for that?

Mr. TAKARO. I don't know. They like me very much probably.

Mr. DEKOM. They like you very much probably; is that what you said?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Who likes you very much probably?

Mr. TAKARO. Probably they don't like me very much.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Who?

Mr. TAKARO. I don't know who is handling the visas now. Sometimes they say that they are being handled at the consulate and at another time they say that they can't give you anything, because they have to wait for an answer from Hungary. So I don't know who is handling that.

As an example, my wife went to the Hungarian Minister in Paris with a friend, and she was told, "I am sorry, lady, we have a telegram from Budapest that Mrs. Takaro and her daughters cannot enter Hungary."

She said, "I didn't come here for myself, because I have my Hungarian visa here."

"But this telegram is of recent date, so you can't go."

My wife just had the courage and went in, in spite of that. The daughters were left out.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you ever been connected with the American Hungarian Council for Democracy?

Mr. TAKARO. No; I know what that is.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you ever been connected with any organization headed by the screen star, Bela Lugosi?

Mr. TAKARO. Never. I have heard by hearsay very often that he is a Communist, but I can't prove that he is a Communist.

Mr. DEKOM. All right. With the permission of the chairman, the subcommittee will extend to you the privilege of submitting any statement that you would like to make.

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. And you may submit such additional evidence as has been requested of you.

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

Mr. SCHROEDER. When was the last time you were in Europe in conversation with Mr. Török?

Mr. TAKARO. Török?

Mr. SCHROEDER. Yes.

Mr. TAKARO. When I returned from Hungary in March that was the last time I saw him.

Mr. SCHROEDER. March of this year?

Mr. TAKARO. No; last year.

Mr. DEKOM. 1948?

Mr. TAKARO. Yes. I organized a pilgrimage to the centennial celebration. But when I returned the first thing that I did was to write a letter to that committee saying that I am sorry I would have to resign. I didn't give any reasons, but I resigned with a written letter. So I have not seen them since then.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Weren't you and Mr. Török in business together, selling railroad tickets and steamship tickets to the exposition over there?

Mr. TAKARO. Oh, no. I had nothing to do with it. I don't know what kind of business he had. When he sent over these packages by the hundreds and thousands, they were sent over through the mail or through this Danubia Co. When we sent those to the orphanages or other institutions or churches, we sent them through this Danubia Co. I never sent one package through that organization. I heard that he advertised in a paper.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Isn't it a fact Doctor, that you and Mr. Török would be called to the consulate frequently to give advice on certain people that had made application to go to Hungary?

Mr. TAKARO. Never. I never asked him, and he never came to me for that purpose. I never asked him. Well, I had my opinion. If I was asked, I didn't need Török's opinion.

Mr. SCHROEDER. I didn't say that. The question was, Weren't you called to the consulate frequently to give your advice on applications?

Mr. TAKARO. Three or four times all together while Balassa and Alth¹ were at the consulate. I was asked about some people, a few cases, some outstanding, well-known gentlemen. Otherwise, I don't remember. Simple folks by the thousands went over, and they didn't need my advice. I don't know them. In fact, I don't know everybody in the United States, so how can I give any information? I didn't give it. They knew everybody who belonged to their organizations, these different organizations. They didn't come to me for assistance to give advice to the consul general.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know Mrs. Ralph Bowman?

Mr. TAKARO. No. You mentioned that name when you were in my office, but I had never heard it before. This is the second time I have heard that name.

Mr. DEKOM. With the consent of the chairman, Dr. Takaro, you are excused from further attendance at this hearing, but you will be kept under subpoena subject to the fulfillment of the conditions and whatever may be the pleasure of the Chair in this case.

Mr. TAKARO. Yes.

(Whereupon, 4:25 o'clock p. m., the committee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

¹ Béla Balassa and Aurel Alth.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 3 p. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland presiding.

Present: Senator Eastland.

Also present: Messrs. Otto J. Dekom and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

Senator EASTLAND. The committee will come to order. This is a continuation of the hearings already held on S. 1832.

You solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before the Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NADANYI. I do.¹

TESTIMONY OF PAUL NADANYI, EDITOR, AMERIKAI MAGYARSÁG

Senator EASTLAND. Would you give your name?

Mr. NADANYI. Paul Nadanyi.

Senator EASTLAND. Proceed.

Mr. DEKOM. Before we interrogate the witness, Mr. Chairman, we would like to introduce in evidence a letter received addressed to the acting chairman with reference to Mr. Nadanyi's standing.

Senator EASTLAND. You may put it in the record.

(The letter is as follows:)

AMERICAN HUNGARIAN FEDERATION,
Washington, D. C., September 29, 1949.

HON. HERBERT R. O'CONNOR,

*Acting Chairman, Immigration Subcommittee, Committee on Judiciary,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

HONORABLE SIR: The undersigned representatives of the American Hungarian Federation and ministers of the Gospel, who had the privilege of testifying before your honorable subcommittee on September 28, 1949, wish to state they are personally acquainted with Mr. Paul Nadanyi, editor of the weekly *Amerikai Magyarország*, previously editor of the *Hungarian People's Voice* of New York.

We used to know Mr. Paul Nadanyi as a loyal American news editor and an ardent anti-Communist writer.

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

His long constructive services, his fine editorial comments, and his loyal record are valuable contributions to the patriotic and civic institutions of the loyal American citizens.

Respectfully yours,

STEPHEN E. BALOGH,
GEORGE E. K. BORSHY.

Mr. DEKOM. The letter is from the American Hungarian Federation and is signed by two ministers of the Gospel.

Mr. NADANYI, would you please give us your occupation?

Mr. NADANYI. I am editor of the American Hungarian, a weekly newspaper published in Bridgeport, Conn.

Mr. DEKOM. What has been your occupation?

Mr. NADANYI. I have been a newspaperman for the last 26 years.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you briefly review your experience in this field?

Mr. NADANYI. Yes, sir. I started as a reporter in 1923, became a political reporter 2 years later, and was a political reporter and writer in Budapest until 1926. Then I was assigned to Vienna, and I became the Vienna correspondent of two large Budapest papers. I stayed there until 1928. In 1928, I went back to Budapest. I was on the staff of the same papers; and, in 1929, I came here to this country to write articles about the United States. I stayed here for a year, got married here, returned, and after a short time I came back to the United States on the regular quota visa; and, ever since, I am in this country.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you citizen of the United States?

Mr. NADANYI. I am a citizen of the United States.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you become a citizen?

Mr. NADANYI. In 1939.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you for the record give us the place and date of your birth?

Mr. NADANYI. Mineola, Nassau County—

Mr. DEKOM. I am sorry, the date and place of your birth.

Mr. NADANYI. Oh, pardon me. I thought where I became a citizen. October 13, 1903, Budapest, Hungary.

Mr. DEKOM. You have a prepared statement which you wish to submit to the committee?

Mr. NADANYI. I would like to submit it or read it.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you please proceed with reading it?

Mr. NADANYI. Yes. The Hungarian faction of the American Communist Party has been since many years one of the most important nationality groups in the Communist organization. It was not a coincidence that Moscow's chief American agent was a Hungarian for many years—

Senator EASTLAND. Who was that?

Mr. NADANYI. J. Peters.

Senator EASTLAND. What was his real name?

Mr. NADANYI. Bornstein; I think that was his real name, he went under different aliases, but Bornstein—

Senator EASTLAND. Bornstein.

Mr. NADANYI. I think that was his real name.

Senator EASTLAND. What was his first name?

Mr. NADANYI. I could not tell you, sir.

Another American-Hungarian Communist served for a long time as the liaison officer between the American Communist Party and the

allegedly dissolved Comintern. The Hungarian group is not only one of the oldest, best-organized groups in the nationality division of the American Communist Party, but one of the most aggressive and ideologically best equipped, too. It should not be forgotten that Hungary was the second country in the world which had a Communist regime, as far back as 1919, and after the collapse of the Hungarian Soviet, several officials of this regime managed to come to the United States, and remained in direct contact with Moscow.

At present, the Hungarian fraction of the American Communist Party receives instructions both from the nationality division of the American Communist Party and from the Communist Party leadership in Hungary. It is one of the tasks of the top faction of the American-Hungarian Communist group to coordinate instructions seemingly coming from two different sources, but actually reflecting the same will, the will of the Kremlin. For over two decades, while the Communist Party was outlawed in Hungary and the top Hungarian Communist leaders lived in Russia, there was close direct contact between the American Hungarian Communist group and Moscow. Proofs of this contact came into my possession, and I revealed some of them in articles published in the *Amerikai Magyar Népszava*, Hungarian daily. I was a member of the staff of this newspaper for almost 20 years and was its editor from 1934 until last March.

My attention to Hungarian Communist activities in the United States was first called in the early part of 1930, when I stayed in America as the correspondent of the 8 *Orai Ujság* and *Budapesti Hírlap*, Hungarian daily newspapers published in Budapest. Count Michael Karolyi, President of the ill-fated Hungarian Republic after World War I, came to the United States to deliver several lectures. As it was his regime which paved the way for Bela Kun's Communist dictatorship in Hungary in 1919—and ever since he has been known as a fellow traveler—his American visit stirred up considerable controversy, the Communists and fellow travelers siding with him.

In order to write articles for my Budapest papers on Hungarian Communist activities in the United States, I started to investigate, and learned that their main headquarters functioned in the Yorkville section of New York and their chief was working in the office of the *Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség*,¹ an organization originally formed by Hungarian workingmen to protect their families and themselves in case of sickness and death. The Communists captured this organization and were out to capture others, too. They had full control of the *Uj Elöre*,² daily newspaper, which was the continuation of the *Elöre*, founded in the beginning of the century by Social Democrats.

The late Zador Szabados, a left-wing Socialist, who came to the United States prior to World War I to edit the *Elöre*, related to me in full detail the bitter fights between the Socialists and Communists and how the control of the *Elöre* was wrested from the Socialists by the newly formed Communist group. It is interesting to note that Mr. Szabados, an honest idealist, like many other Socialists, opposed to totalitarian dictatorship and firm believers of democratic processes, was also willing to forget his differences with the Communists when Moscow seemingly abandoned the idea of world revolution and was promoting united fronts against fascism.

¹ Hungarian Sickness Assistance Association.

² New Forward.

During the prosperous twenties, the membership of the American-Hungarian Communism group dwindled, and the leaders were desperately trying to keep together the faithful in such large industrial cities as New York, Chicago, and Cleveland. The Communist paper, too, was dying on its feet, and collections had to be held frequently to keep the paper alive. In my first articles in the American-Hungarian Communist group, I stressed their insignificance. As depression came in the United States, the picture changed considerably, and I saw the American-Hungarian Communist group grow more aggressive by the day.

May I say here one thing, sir. I read several of the letters written by Mr. Peters to party members instructing them to keep the nuclei of their organization alive in Chicago and Cleveland, and that is to which I am referring now.

In those days, when I first became interested in their activities, the editor of the *Uj Elöre* was Lajos Bebrits, a former Hungarian railroad worker and union official, an experienced organizer, who worked in close harmony with J. Peters, the Communist official who used the Yorkville offices of the *Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség*. Peters was a sort of mystery man, of whom I could not find out too much at that time. Bebrits also worked closely together with leaders of the International Workers Order, which gave considerable financial support to the *Uj Elöre*, just as this organization is still one of the main supporters of the *Magyar Jövö*, the present official organ of the American-Hungarian Communist group. Several members of the top faction of the American-Hungarian Communist group worked in the offices of the International Workers Order.

Bebrits came to this country illegally. When faced with deportation, he fought desperately against deportation to Hungary, or to Rumania, which was his native country. Finally, he was permitted to leave on his own expense to Russia. As soon as he arrived in Moscow, Bela Kun, former Hungarian Communist dictator, and at that time still a favorite of the Kremlin, appointed him head of the American-Hungarian Bureau. For over 10 years the American-Hungarian Communists received their orders from Bebrits, who several times made arrangements for American-Hungarian Communist leaders to visit Moscow.

Senator EASTLAND. Who were they?

Mr. NADANYI. They were different delegations. One of them was led once by Joseph Feher. He was the secretary of the Hungarian faction of the International Workers Order. I read memos referring to other trips which were proposed by Mr. Feher, and which were discouraged at that time by Mr. Bebrits in Moscow, who advised them not to take the trip at that time; that they should postpone it for the next year. Bebrits, who returned to Hungary in 1945 and presently is a member of the Hungarian cabinet, is still an important link between the American-Hungarian Communists and Moscow, despite the fact that his name is hardly mentioned in the Hungarian Communist press here.

I came to exchange blows with Bebrits in 1931, shortly after I returned to the United States on a regular quota visa, took up permanent residence in New York and became a member of the editorial staff of the *Amerikai Magyar Népszava*. My newspaper took great

interest in the "Justice for Hungary" ocean flight sponsored by a group of American Hungarians, headed by Msgr. Elmer Fördögh of the St. Stephen Church of Toledo, Ohio. The purpose of the flight was to call attention to the injustices of the Trianon Peace Treaty, which deprived Hungary of two-thirds of her historic territory and one-third of her nationals. During one of the trial flights, the American-Hungarian Communists, who claimed that the revision movement, supported by Lord Rothermere, British publisher, and a large group of English M. P.'s, was giving aid and comfort to the Horthy regime in Hungary, started a demonstration against the ocean flight at Newark Airport. Bebrits and his followers were finally ejected from the airport by the police. The demonstration was staged under the auspices of the anti-Horthy league, one of J. Peters' pet front organizations, which by its name attracted a number of well-meaning liberals who opposed the Horthy regime for altogether different reasons than the Communists.

Soon after the Kremlin realized that Hitler got himself firmly in the saddle in Germany and fascism was definitely and dangerously on the march on the European continent, the Moscow political line changed. United fronts against fascism were propagated by the Communists, and the movement received great impetus by the victory of the Popular Front in France, placing Leon Blum in the forefront.

In the United States, where the Communists were first bitter enemies of the New Deal, which deprived them of their dreams of an imminent American revolution, as soon as the united-front movements were launched by Moscow they hastened under the banner of the social-reform efforts and used the so-called Lundeen bill¹ to form new front organizations to attract the large masses. Moscow instructed the Communists to bore into all civic, fraternal organizations, even into churches. Some of J. Peters' letters, giving such instructions to American-Hungarian Communist leaders, were brought to my attention, and I repeatedly warned the American-Hungarian community to be aware of the Communist danger. I had the opportunity to read one of Mr. Peters' letters in which he particularly stressed the importance of penetrating church groups, wherever possible.

Under these circumstances, the Hungarian Communist leadership was put on the spot in October 1935, when with the participation of American-Hungarian church and civic leaders, a large meeting was held in Philadelphia with the purpose to organize a permanent committee to keep alive the Trianon issue in the United States. I must add to this that the United States never was a signatory to this treaty, and in August 1932, a few months before his election to the Presidency, Mr. Roosevelt, in an exclusive interview granted to me in Albany, stated that President Woodrow Wilson gave his consent to the peace treaties in the belief that, whatever injustices occurred, will be corrected by later international conferences. President Roosevelt's statement confirmed American Hungarians in their belief that their aim regarding the treaty revision is in harmony with American principles.

The Communists, at the time the Philadelphia meeting was called, shouted that it was sponsored by the Horthy regime. The resolution adopted by the meeting refuted these charges. The meeting not only called for revision of the Trianon Treaty but for democratic reforms

¹ H. R. 7598 of 73rd Cong.; H. R. 2828 of 74th Cong.

in Hungary, too. A committee of 10 was formed to keep both of these issues before public opinion. Professor George de Renyi was elected permanent chairman; Rev. Alexander Toth of Lancaster, Pa., treasurer, and I became general secretary in charge of publicity, too. When the Communists realized that a new organization was born, which had supporters in every part of the country where Americans of Hungarian origin live, they quickly tried to bore into this organization. Hailing the resolution adopted by the Philadelphia meeting, they claimed that this resolution is a basis for close collaboration between the non-Communists and their organizations. Soon after this, they called on our committee to join in their appeal to the Hungarian Government to release Mathias Rákosi, Communist leader, from a Hungarian prison. (That is the present Hungarian Vice Prime Minister and Communist leader who at that time served a prison sentence in a Hungarian jail.)

The Communists decided to send a delegation to Washington to Mr. John Pelényi, at that time Hungarian Minister to the United States, and they called on us to join this delegation. They pointed out that Ferenc Gondor, editor of the *Az Ember*, New York Hungarian weekly, was also willing to serve on this mission, despite the fact that Gondor previously had many fights with them. Our committee flatly refused the Communist invitation.

After this, they tried to capture our organization by force. As we called a meeting together in February 1936 in New York, and according to our bylaws we invited every American-Hungarian organization of good standing to send delegates, the Communists quickly revived all their paper organizations and formed new ones, hoping to pack the New York meeting. Their first aim was to elect a president, ready to play their game. Together with Ferenc Gondor's friends they sponsored Rev. Geza Takaro,¹ pastor of the Sixty-ninth Street Evangelical and Reformed Church. As soon as Takaro's name was mentioned, however, a bitter fight started. While the Communists failed to reach their goal, the events of the meeting resulted in the dissolution of the organization formed in Philadelphia.

Communist tactics were the same regarding every other American-Hungarian organization, including the fraternal organizations. First, they tried to bore into the organizations, and when they failed, a barrage of attacks was launched against them, taking the elected leaders as their targets. In those days—the days of the Spanish Civil War—the Communists were also busy recruiting members for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Paul Somogyi, a member of the staff of the Communist paper, joined the brigade and fought in Spain. The son of the former editor of the Social Democratic Party's official gazette in Hungary, who was brutally murdered during the white terror in Budapest, Paul Somogyi was one of the most enthusiastic Communists. I mention his case only to point out what happens to those who are unwilling to follow the Party line no matter where it leads to.

Wounded in Spain, Paul Somogyi returned to the United States and received a hero's welcome in New York by the Communists. When Stalin made a pact with Hitler in 1939, Paul Somogyi became embittered and criticized the pact. His former comrades quickly turned

¹ For the testimony of Geza Takaro, see p. 864.

against him and he was virtually driven to suicide by them. His sad story was told to me by the late Dr. Hollos, in whose home he ended his young life, and the story was confirmed by Dr. Michael Somogyi, noted biochemist of the Jewish Hospital of St. Louis, the uncle of Paul. This is the Dr. Michael Somogyi whose name appeared only last week in all of the papers in connection with his treatment of diabetes without the use of insulin. I was in St. Louis during the winter months, and there I met Dr. Somogyi. We discussed his nephew's case, and he admitted that this was the case, that the Communists drove him to suicide.

While I could never find out the threats used against Paul Somogyi, I had plenty of occasion to learn that the agents of Moscow encouraged such misbehavior by Communist Party members, which could be used against them at any time. I had occasion to read several memos written by party members to top leaders snitching on others' love life, financial dealings, and so forth. Reading these memos it became evident that top leaders not only did not and still do not discourage immoralities, but on the contrary, encourage them in order to have a strong hold on the party members. Once a memo came into my possession for a day, written by an assistant secretary of the Hungarian section of the International Workers Order, and I never could believe that such things could happen. Stories of rape, blackmail, embezzlement followed each other in this memo and some of the top leaders were accused with these crimes. The memorandum was written by Clara Molnar. I think she goes under a different name, now, and she is still with the International Workers Order, but she is not with the Hungarian faction.

Before the war and until June 1941, the editor of the Hungarian Communist paper was John Nagy, who also went under the name of John Gyetvai Nagy, an illegal resident of this country until 1946, when he returned to Hungary, first for a brief visit, then for good, and who is now a high official of the Hungarian Government. I have to relate at this point that the name of the Communist paper was changed twice in the thirties. The *Uj Elöre*, which was first published in New York, moved for a short time to Cleveland. Its editorial staff consisted of such men as John Santo,¹ a protege of Bebrits and Peters, who later became the chief organizer of the International Transport Workers Union (CIO) and who only recently left the United States after a long-drawn-out deportation proceeding; and Louis Weinstock, who later for a number of years held the position of secretary treasurer of the Brotherhood of Painters, district No. 9 (AFL), and who was also at one time a member of the national board of the American Communist Party. Speaking about Weinstock, I have to mention the fact that he still makes frequent trips to Europe, ostensibly going on lecture tours in Hungary or participating on international workers conferences sponsored by Moscow. For years he acted and may still act as one of the go-betweens between the American Communist Party and the Cominform. By the way, the last time I personally met Weinstock was at a radio station from where his wife made a personal appeal to the women voters to cast their ballots for Henry A. Wallace. That was last October.

¹ Desideriu Hammer, alias John Santo (Szanto), John Weiss.

Going back to the Communist paper, I must tell that as soon as the united front movement was launched in the thirties, the *Uj Előre* ceased to exist and a new paper was started under the name of *Magyar Világ*. They hired some non-Communist editors, too, in order to "prove" that the paper is not communistic. Actually the control of the paper remained in the hands of the Communist Party. After the failure of the American Hungarian Communists to lure the great masses into united fronts became evident, the *Magyar Világ* was also suspended and the *Magyar Jövő* appeared on the stands as an "anti-Fascist and democratic" paper.

John Nagy and the Communist paper quickly made an about face as soon as the Stalin-Hitler pact was announced. The fight against lend-lease and American preparedness started. John Nagy was one of the leaders who picketed the White House. The *Magyar Jövő* those days reprinted several articles which appeared in pro-Nazi publications here and abroad. John Nagy was such an ardent supporter of the Stalin-Hitler pact that after June 22, 1941, when Hitler attacked Russia and the Communist line changed again, he had to be removed from the editor's position and was replaced by John Roman. Though a very aggressive Communist, Roman never held a position of influence in the top faction of the American-Hungarian Communist group as his predecessors had. After, Nagy slipped back again in the editor's job; Roman, who was active in the New York chapter of the Newspaper Guild, got a job on the PM and later on the staff of an important news agency.

With Russia in the war, the top faction of the American-Hungarian Communist faction was strengthened with the inclusion of some trade-unionists as James Lustig and Julius Emspak of the United Electrical and Machine Workers of America (CIO). An American-Hungarian Trade Union Council was formed with Lustig, Emspak, and Louis Weinstock in the forefront. Other front organizations were organized later, among them the American-Hungarian Council for Democracy, headed by Bela Lugosi, the well-known Hollywood actor. This organization gained special significance shortly after the end of World War II, when its New York offices became a sort of information center for American Hungarians who tried to find out what happened to their relatives in Hungary during the war. Naturally, it also served as a Communist propaganda center, too. The office was managed by Dr. Moses Simon, an attorney and a former associate of Count Michael Károlyi, who came to the United States from London in the first year of the war. Simon also returned to Hungary a few years ago and both he and his wife, in recognition of their services to the Communist Party, received important positions. Dr. Simon, however, is now in prison. He was arrested a few weeks ago in Budapest by the Communist political police. Charges against him are still unknown.

Since 1938, when the American-Hungarian Federation was revived in Detroit, the Communists attacked this organization, which is sustained by three large American-Hungarian fraternal associations and most of the American-Hungarian churches. In November 1941, however, when the American-Hungarian Federation held its convention in Pittsburgh, the Communists tried to bore into this organization, too. A delegation, led by Joseph Feher—this same Mr. Feher who

went to Moscow with a number of Hungarian Communists in the thirties and who was at that time secretary of the Hungarian fraction of the International Workers Order—came to Pittsburgh to make the offer that the IWO will pay the same dues to the federation that the other fraternal groups pay, that is 1 cent per month after each member. In return they only wanted one membership on the board of directors of the federation. The convention adopted a resolution declaring that no Fascist or Communist could ever be accepted as a member of the organization. Dr. Albert B. Mark of New York, chairman of the convention, and myself were requested to inform Feher and his delegation that on the basis of this resolution their offer must be flatly refused. Ever since, the American-Hungarian Federation is one of the main targets of Communist attacks.

Realizing again that on a national scale they cannot succeed, the Communists tried to make united fronts in various communities. In New York, Rev. Geza Takaro came to their help by sponsoring the so-called Victory Council, headed by Louis Toth, a life-long Republican and conservative who believed honestly and sincerely that in time of war, when Russia is our ally, we must bury the past and work together with the Communists for the common good.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the organization which was known as the New York Victory Council?

Mr. NADANYI. Yes, sir.

Conferences were called first by Reverend Takaro, then by Mr. Toth, and great pressure was put on me to join the council. I, however, rejected their appeals, pointing out that under no circumstances will I work together with Communists, who only a few months ago supported the Stalin-Hitler pact and picketed the White House and tried to sabotage America's preparations to defend herself against aggression. I reiterated time and again that I do not believe in the sincerity of the Communists, who have no interest in America, whose chief interest is that of Soviet Russia. Communist editor John Roman promised, in exchange for my joining the Victory Council, to stop all attacks against my newspaper, the American-Hungarian Federation, and even against the Independence for Hungary movement, which was started by the Federation soon after Hungary signed the Axis Pact in the fall of 1940, and which was coordinated with Mr. Tibor Eckhardt's¹ movement.

All through the war years, the policy of my newspaper was advocating all military aid to Russia against the axis, but keeping the Communists three feet away, reminding them time and again that they must first prove their sincerity after the shooting phase of the war is over. Naturally, they resented this attitude and with their influence growing daily in Washington, they felt free to attack my paper day after day. Alan Cranston, chief of the Foreign Language Section of the Office of War Information and his first lieutenant, Dave Karr—formerly David Katz—I understand he was with the Daily Worker—came to my office and practically held a club over my head to tone down all differences with the Communists. My publisher and myself resented his attitude and told him so. Later, I took my quarrels with Mr. Cranston to Elmer Davis, Director of OWI.

¹ Movement for Hungarian independence from Nazism.

With some Communist and Communist sympathizers fully entrenched in the OSS and the Office of War Information, I went to Mr. Cavendish W. Cannon¹ of the State Department in 1943 to call his attention to Russian news service which was offered to us free of charge. I also discussed with him several similar problems. Though in the State Department I found great understanding of my anxieties, the situation was not remedied. In fact, it became worse during the last phase of the war, when the American Hungarian Federation decided to form a relief organization to be prepared to give aid and assistance to the Hungarian people after the end of the war.

Mr. DEKOM. Before you go into the relief organization, I would like to ask you a question. You mentioned the name of David Karr. Can you tell the subcommittee what he is doing now or what he did later on?

Mr. NADANYI. I understand that he was working on the staff of Mr. Wallace.

Mr. DEKOM. Henry Wallace?

Mr. NADANYI. I understand that. I have no direct knowledge of it.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not he worked for any newspapers?

Mr. NADANYI. I do not know.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Is he an executive in an advertising company in New York?

Mr. NADANYI. I do not know. I lost track of him completely. I understand he was drafted into the Army.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not that was his real name?

Mr. NADANYI. I understand it was David Katz.

Mr. DEKOM. K-a-t-z?

Mr. NADANYI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not he is the David Katz who worked on the staff of Drew Pearson?

Mr. NADANYI. That I do not know. I lost track of him. I only heard later, once I was here in Washington, that he works either for Wallace or on the staff of Mr. Wallace, but I was not too much interested in him.

We were told that the State Department will issue only one certificate of registration to each nationality group. Therefore, we better make arrangements to include in our organization the pro-Communist Lugosi group. As we had no other alternative, at a meeting held in the Park Central Hotel in New York, we offered the Communists represented by Weinstock, Komlos, Lustig, Nagy, 5 places on the board of directors, which was to consist of 30 members. Two of them, Komlos and Weinstock, also got places on the executive committee.

I have to add here this little incident. As I recall, we were told that the Hungarian Trade Union Council will contribute \$500,000 to the American Hungarian Relief. Naturally we were very happy to hear that. Actually I understand we only got \$500.

Soon after the American Hungarian Relief, Inc., was formed, and after the war was over went to work, it became evident that the Communists on our board tried to switch American aid to their

¹ Cavendish W. Cannon was then (1943) a member of the staff, Office of European Affairs, assigned to Balkan matters. He was assigned to Secretary of State Cordell Hull's trip to Moscow in 1943.

organization in Hungary in order that they should be distributed to the people as aid coming from the Communists. They were particularly anxious to channel all aid through the Hungarian Ministry of Welfare, which was headed at that time by Eric Molnar, a Communist member of the Hungarian Government. In the fall of 1945, the Communist group withdrew the representative of the International Workers Order, a man by the name of Chaunt,¹ of Cleveland, Ohio, and appointed in his place a man by the name of John Lautner, who claimed to have served with the OSS and allegedly was broadcasting American radio propaganda to Hungary from Bari, Italy. By the way, they have a third brother in this country, and he goes under another name, Leitner, Oriel Leitner. I think he is on the West Coast. He goes by that name.

We accepted Lautner as the new member of our board of directors. It was only some weeks later that I found out that he is a half brother of Chaunt, former member of our board, who resigned to give place to Lautner. Three or four months later a very interesting document came into my hand. A memorandum, written by Lautner to the national board of the American Communist Party, giving full account of Communist activities in the relief work and extolling the works of the Communist members of the board, telling in great detail how these members, including himself, are using their position in American Hungarian Relief, Inc., to strengthen communism in Hungary. I printed the full text of Mr. Lautner's memorandum in the *Amerikai Magyar Népszava*. As I recall, there was a silence in the Communist press after this revelation. Two days later an article appeared saying it was not true, and three days later they tried to justify it. Shortly after this, in April 1946, at the annual meeting of the American Hungarian Relief, held in the Burlington Hotel in Washington, I moved that in the light of Lautner's memo to the Communist Party leadership, we should resolve that no Communist Party member should be retained on our national board. I also moved that the Communist assistant secretary should be removed by eliminating his office. The assistant secretary was Mathias Török, whose real name is Neuwald, and who was brought to New York from the west coast, where he lived for many years, together with his brother, Eugene Neuwald, who at one time was the manager of the Communist paper. Török worked in the closest harmony with the members of the top faction of the Communist group and in the office sabotaged everything which was not to the liking of the Communists.

Mr. DEKOM. I have here in my hand exhibit 10 submitted in evidence yesterday by Rev. George E. K. Borshy, which is entitled "Minutes of the Special Membership Meeting of the American Hungarian Relief, held at Washington, D. C."² Is that a record of the meeting to which you have referred?

Mr. NADANYI. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. I would like to read one sentence from this report, which is as follows:

Mr. P. Nadanyi moves that no member of the Communist Party be permitted to become a member of the board of directors. Seconded by several members.

¹ Peter Chaunt.

² See p. 841.

Mr. NADANYI. My motion to eliminate was immediately seconded by other members of the board. It was decided to take two separate votes on my motion, the first on the motion that no Communist can be reelected to the board, and another, eliminating the assistant secretary's position. It was decided that the first should be a secret vote, the second an open one. The result of the secret vote was 20 in favor of my motion, 8 against it. On the second motion 20 supported me, 10 votes were cast against my resolution. Among those voting to retain the Communist assistant secretary was Zoltan Gombos, publisher of the Szabadsag, Cleveland Hungarian daily.

The Communists were bitter about the results of this meeting. A few months later, when the Hungarian Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy came to Washington and Mr. Nagy was about to give me a statement in the Blair House, Matthias Rakosi, the assistant Prime Minister and Communist leader, angrily warned Nagy not to issue a statement to me. "This is the man who sabotaged American Hungarian Relief work!" he shouted. "This is a lie!" I shouted back at him and proceeded to tell the full story to Mr. Nagy.

Mr. DEKOM. Is the Rakosi you refer to the same man who is now the Communist dictator of Hungary?

Mr. NADANYI. Yes, sir.

It was no surprise to me when my paper was banned from Hungary, but Mr. Gombos' paper could continue to enter Hungary, together with the official organ of the American Hungarian Communist group, even after the ban was extended to most of the American-Hungarian press. Mr. Gombos appointed Imre Bekessi as the Budapest editor of his paper. Bekessi at one time supported the Bela Kun Communist regime in Hungary, later became a publisher in Vienna, from where he was ousted because of blackmailing practices. He spent the years of the Second World War in the United States, but—as I understand—his application for American citizenship was rejected. He returned to Hungary after the war and until July 23, 1949, remained the Budapest editor and columnist of Mr. Gombos' Cleveland newspaper. Because of his close association with Imre Bekessi, propagandist of the Hungarian Communist regime, I decided to resign my job at the Amerikai Magyar Népszava, when Mr. Gombos, who with the aid of Deszö Sulyok, a Hungarian political refugee, who came to this country on a visitor's visa in June 1948, bought the stocks of the New York Hungarian daily, in January 1949. The immediate reason for my resignation was an item which appeared in my paper while I was on vacation, which evidently aimed to confuse the issues. The item stated that from then on the Amerikai Magyar Népszava will become determinately anti-Communist and consistently anti-Communist, not as it was in the past, and an article which attacked former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy and Msgr. Bela Varga, leaders of the Hungarian National Council, formed in the United States after these Hungarian statesmen escaped from Hungary and found refuge in this country. These attacks, in my opinion, fitted into the pattern set by the Cominform, which instructed Communist agents everywhere to discredit those statesmen who fled from iron curtain countries. While I do not believe that Gombos is a Communist, he certainly placed himself in a strange situation by permitting Cominform Propagandist Bekessi to influence the readers of his papers for a long time.

Before closing this report, I must call attention to the fact that the American-Hungarian Communist group keeps direct and constant contact with the Hungarian Communist leadership, partly through the Hungarian Legation in Washington, the Hungarian consulates in New York, Cleveland, and partly through couriers. Some of the American-Hungarian Communist leaders fly back and forth to Hungary and America as if it would entail no expense.

I must point out also that an old rule still obeyed by some of the American consuls abroad facilitates Communists to send spies to this country. According to this old rule, before an American visa is issued to either an intended immigrant or visitor, he has to obtain moral certificate from the police of his home town. Now, many Hungarian nationals, who escaped from Communist rule, cannot obtain American visas, because they would first have to receive a moral certificate from the police whom they fled. On the other hand, if ruling cliques of iron curtain countries would like to send spies to the United States, they can easily supply them with moral certificates, which some American consuls still request as a prerequisite to the issuance of a visa.

Mr. DEKOM. We have a number of questions which we would like to ask.

First of all, yesterday afternoon the committee heard Dr. Geza Takaro, to whom you made some references in your own statement. The committee had received in evidence earlier from the Rev. Mr. Borshy an article from a paper which was marked "Exhibit 16." I would like to show that to you now. When this article was presented to Dr. Takaro, he made the following statement, which is contained in the official transcript of the hearings of September 28, 1949. Dr. Takaro said (p. 873) :

Now, gentlemen, I am sorry I cannot give you a few dozen exhibits from the same newspaper. This gentleman who was the editor 15 years is called the biggest liar by the same paper now, so that, gentlemen, hasn't much value.

Do you know to whom Dr. Takaro was referring in that statement?

Mr. NADANYI. Evidently he was referring to me, because the paper—

Mr. DEKOM. Were you the editor for 15 years?

Mr. NADANYI. I was the editor for 15 years.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you the author of that article?

Mr. NADANYI. No, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. You are positive that you are not the author of that?

Mr. NADANYI. No; the author of this article was Rev. Balint Toth.

Mr. DEKOM. How do you know that?

Mr. NADANYI. I know, because I instructed him to see Mr. Alth,¹ who at that time resigned as Hungarian—Acting Hungarian consul in New York. I instructed him to see him and have an interview with him and find out where the real causes of his resignation were, and Reverend Toth came back to the office and wrote this article, which was printed in the paper.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that article signed?

Mr. NADANYI. That article is also signed by Toth, I see now.

Mr. DEKOM. So that actually it has the Rev. Mr. Toth's byline on it.

¹ Aurel Alth.

Mr. NADANYI. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. And not yours.

Mr. NADANYI. That is right. I would like to add this much. Naturally, Communist papers always and sympathizers, in order to make people forget about the evidence presented by me in my paper, always tried to evade the issues, and they went in for name calling. They called me Fascist and they called me Nazi and they called me liar and so on, but they never answered the evidence which was actually published by me. And in my statement I refer to a number of letters and memorandums and so on, all of these things were printed in that paper, and to show that naturally that this paper, after I left them, and I left them writing a letter of resignation which contained a bristling attack against the new leadership, attacked me in a few articles. Naturally, I can't expect anything else from them than attacking me. They attacked me once or twice, I think, never disputing facts which I presented.

Mr. DEKOM. You referred earlier to the New York Council of American Hungarians for Victory.

Mr. NADANYI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that a Communist or pro-Communist organization?

Mr. NADANYI. Sir, that was originally started by Reverend Takaro who called me up to form a discussion group to meet once a week at a dinner table.

I must also add this much, that the attacks made against me trying to make it appear as if I would have lied at any time appeared after I exposed in my newspaper Mr. Gombos' employee Békessi, as a columnist on his paper, Békessi, whom I spoke of before, whom I regard as a Communist propagandist. And the interesting part about it is that in July 23, 1949, Gombos' paper announced that they had suspended with the services of Mr. Békessi, and I felt that this was due to my exposure.

Mr. DEKOM. You were about to discuss with us the question of the New York Council of American Hungarians for Victory.

Mr. NADANYI. Sir, there were two councils. One was the so-called Victory Council formed by Takaro and Mr. Toth, and the other was the Council for Hungarian Democracy, which was headed by Bela Lugosi. In fact there was a third council, too, which was headed by Vámbéry¹ during the war.

Mr. DEKOM. This New York group which was headed by Dr. Takaro, was that pro-Communist, left wing?

Mr. NADANYI. It included the Communists, and Reverend Takaro originally asked me to join in a discussion group and to ask my friends to join this group, and I complied with this request, but after the second meeting, John Roman was brought in and I resented this.

Mr. DEKOM. He is the editor of the Communist—

Mr. NADANYI. He was the editor of the Communist paper.

Mr. DEKOM. I have here a list of names which is the group of officers and incorporators of the American Hungarian—

Mr. NADANYI. Of the Victory Council?

Mr. DEKOM. No; this is a new one, the American Committee for Relief of Democratic Hungary, Inc.

¹ Rustem Vámbéry, one of the incorporators of the American Federation of Democratic Hungarians. Simultaneously, he was president of the American Committee for Democratic Hungarians.

Mr. NADANYI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you describe the nature of that organization?

Mr. NADANYI. Yes, sir. They formed this organization with the purpose of aiding people who were suffering in Europe and who had to leave Hungary because of Nazi persecution. But I do not know too much of this organization, the work that they did. Just a second. There was a doctor who was the treasurer of this organization, and I don't see his name here, Dr. Aremu—that was his first name. His name is not mentioned here. He was the treasurer of this organization. It was formed by Ferenc Göndör, who was instrumental in forming this. It is a very common name and I just can't remember his name.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you try to think of it, and then submit the name to the committee whenever you remember it?

Mr. NADANYI. Weinberger.

Now that I think of it, there were two different organizations—one formed during the war to give aid to Hungarian war refugees who escaped from Hungary during the Nazi terror, the other formed in the last year of the war, with the purpose to send relief to Hungary. With a few exceptions, they had the same officers. The doctor I mentioned seems to have been one of the exceptions. The first organization, as far as I know, did some very noble work, helped some people worthy of assistance. But as I said before, I am not familiar with all the accomplishments of this organization. The second organization, the American Committee for Relief of Democratic Hungary, Inc., was formed in the hope that this organization would receive the certificate of registration from the State Department, instead of that formed by the leaders of the American Hungarian Federation and which is still active under the name of American Hungarian Relief, Inc., and which I mentioned a few times in my testimony. After the American Hungarian Relief, Inc., received the certificate of registration, some of the leaders of the American Committee for Relief of Democratic Hungary, Inc., became very active in organizing local chapters for American Hungarian Relief, Inc. I especially have in mind Reverend Takaro, who put up a great fight to head the New York chapter. As a large number of people would not work with him under any circumstances two separate chapters were formed in New York City, one headed by Reverend Takaro, the other by Dr. Tibor Cholnoky. Rev. Takaro's chapter worked closely together with Matthias Török, the Communist assistant secretary of the relief organization. As I recall, any time the chapter had a meeting, a point was made that Török should represent the central office at the meeting. Mr. Dobozy attended the meetings of the other chapter. The members of the chapter headed by Dr. Cholnoky, chapter 22, would have nothing to do with Mathias Török.

Mr. DEKOM. In your statement you made the statement that the Soviets and the Communists seemingly abandoned the idea of world revolution; is the implication of your statement that they actually did not?

Mr. NADANYI. That is right, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you care to comment on that?

Mr. NADANYI. I believe that they, no matter what policy they pursue, they actually never deviate from their main goal, and everything

is that, that they believe that the ends justify the means, and whatever they do, they can change their political line as many times as they want to, but their main aim is always the same.

Mr. DEKOM. You also made a number of references to the IWO.

Mr. NADANYI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. That is the International Workers Order.

Mr. NADANYI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that a Communist organization?

Mr. NADANYI. Well, it is very hard to define it that way. The leadership of the IWO was procommunist for many years. There are a number of members in the IWO who do not even know anything about communism. They are plain workers who joined the organization, or joined smaller organizations which later became affiliated with the IWO, and they keep their membership there, because they have policies from the organization, but they are not Communists, and now I could not tell you exactly how many of the members are actually Communists and how many are not. But the leadership definitely was communistic.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that organization also listed as Communist by the Attorney General?

Mr. NADANYI. I understand that; yes.

Mr. DEKOM. I have no more questions. Thank you very much, Mr. Nadanyi, for appearing here today.

Mr. NADANYI. I would like to add this much, that I read this statement of the representatives of the American Hungarian Federation before this Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Mr. DEKOM. That was this committee.

Mr. NADANYI. Yes. I read it this morning, and I wholeheartedly agree with it.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you familiar—

Mr. NADANYI. I am familiar with the bill and I fully endorse it.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any comments that you care to make concerning the bill?

Mr. NADANYI. I hope that it will work.

Mr. DEKOM. Thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

Mr. DEKOM. Before the chairman recesses the hearing, I would like to refer this for the record: We have a letter here from the Disabled American Veterans, Mr. Francis M. Sullivan, national director for legislation, including a resolution of the Disabled American Veterans endorsing S. 1832, the bill introduced by Senator McCarran and under discussion here today. By direction of Chairman McCarran, we would like to have this made a part of the record.

(The letter is as follows:)

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS,
Washington, D. C., September 7, 1949.

The Honorable PATRICK A. (PAT) McCARRAN,
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR McCARRAN: I am taking the liberty of forwarding to you herewith a short statement, in duplicate, in support of the bill, S. 1832, now undergoing hearings by the Immigration Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judi-

clary. It outlines the position of the Disabled American Veterans regarding the pending bill so we would appreciate it if it is made part of the printed hearings.

Thanking you and with best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

FRANCIS M. SULLIVAN,
National Director for Legislation.

STATEMENT OF FRANCIS M. SULLIVAN, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR, DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

The Disabled American Veterans endorse the principle of S. 1832, providing for the prevention of subversive aliens from entering the United States. Such a law is vitally necessary to this Nation which, until recently, has been so tolerant toward those who plan the destruction of our liberties and the creation of a slave state upon this hemisphere.

Our organization, at its recent national convention held at Cleveland, Ohio, adopted a resolution which would be partially accomplished through passage and approval of S. 1832. This resolution, not only requests the exclusion of subversives, but also expulsion of those now within our midst. Our resolution is emphatic in outlining the DAV's position. It is self-explanatory and reads as follows:

Whereas evidence has been revealed that certain persons in our beloved America are actively engaged in the pursuance of a philosophy of life that is based on an allegiance to a foreign power which has for its avowed purpose the destruction of our American way of life, and

Whereas this philosophy of living which is described as communism is proposed and sustained by the governing powers in the Soviet Socialist Republics; and

Whereas the Government of the United States through its legal and constituted authority has declared that the Communist Party of the United States is designed for the violent overthrow of existing governments including that of the United States; now therefore be it

Resolved, That this Twenty-seventh National Convention of the Disabled American Veterans assembled at New York City in the State of New York, this 19th day of August 1948, urge the Congress of the United States to enact, without delay, appropriate legislation that will provide for the expulsion and future exclusion from these United States of any and all persons who have subscribed to a philosophy of life that has for its avowed purpose the destruction of our American way of life and the subjugation of our people.

We of the DAV strongly urge early and favorable action on the pending bill, S. 1832.

Senator EASTLAND. The hearings are now recessed.

(Thereupon at 4:15 p. m., the subcommittee recessed subject to call.)

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